A

Compleat Collection

OF THE

WORKS

Of the Reverend and Learned

JOHN KETTLEWELL, B. D.

FORMERLY

Vicar of *Coles-Hill* in *Warwick-ſhire.*

In Two VOLUMES.

The ſeveral Treatiſes Printed from Copies Revis'd and Improv'd by the AUTHOR, *a little before his Death.*

VOL. II.

To which is Prefix'd,

The LIFE of the AUTHOR. Wherein are contained many Remarkable Tranſactions of his Time; compiled from the Collections of GEORGE HICKES, *D. D.* and ROBERT NELSON, *Eſq*; and Compleated by a Friend of the AUTHOR at the Deſire both of Dr. HICKES and Mr. NELSON.

With an APPENDIX *of ſeveral* ORIGINAL PAPERS.

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MORGAN

IN TWO VOLUMES.

THE Second Tragedy, Printed from Copies Korrected and Improved

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VIGO: At Cole-Hill in Westprick-Lane.

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OR

RELIGIOUS WISDOM;

Not Degenerating into

IRRELIGIOUS CRAFTINESS,

IN

Trying TIMES.

LONDON:
Printed in the Year MDCCXVIII.

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OR

Christian Prudence,

OF

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OF GODLY WISDOM;

OR,

Religious Prudence,

NOT

Degenerating into Irreligious Craftineſs, in Trying TIMES.

MANKIND were formed, and placed by God in this World, but deſign'd for another. And the Condition and Employment of our Life here, is to be a Paſſage through this World, in Purſuit of, and Preparation for a Better. And whilſt we are duly careful for the next, and omit nothing that is to bring us to the End of our Stage; we may wiſely provide for this too, and contrive for our Quietneſs and Conveniency by the Way.

The Way to the other World of true and perfect Joys, are all the Duties and Directions of Religion: Which are thoſe Paths that the Wiſdom of God ſees neceſſary to perfect and ſpiritualize our Natures, and which the Goodneſs of God has preſcribed to lead us to himſelf, and to the Regions of Eternal Life. Whatſoever God in his Holy Goſpel calls us to profeſs, or practice, that is the Way to the World above. And if we hope to arrive ſafe there, and attain the Glory and Bleſſedneſs thereof; whatever Hardſhips occur, or Accidents befal us therein, we muſt never go out of this Way. When, upon any Conſideration, we turn out thence, all our ſteps are wrong; and will never be right, till we return into it again.

The way to make the moſt of this World, and ſecure to our ſelves the greateſt Eaſe, Advantage, and Enjoyment in our Paſſage, are the *Rules of Human Prudence* and *Worldly Wiſdom.* And, as we are call'd upon to hold on conſtantly in the former, by the more ſtill Voice of Conſcience,

and

and the Laws of God: So are we reminded, to make uſe of theſe latter, as occaſion ſerves, by the more importunate Cravings of our ſenſual Nature and Neceſſities, and the more loud Voice of Fleſh and Blood.

Now, as our fleſhly Nature and Neceſſities require, ſo doth Religion allow us to ſerve our ſelves of theſe Rules of Human Prudence, ſo long as we keep within a due Compaſs: That is, whilſt we betake our ſelves only to ſuch ways of external Quiet and Enjoyment in this World, as go not out of any Way of Religion, or Path of Happineſs, leading to another World. Whilſt the Rule of Wiſdom, is only ſuch as affords Eaſe or Comfort in our Paſſage; but doth not carry us out of our Way, or ſtop our Progreſs. When *he ſent out* his Diſciples, as *Sheep in the midſt of Wolves*; *be Wiſe*, ſays our Lord to them, *as Serpents*; ſo long as they took care firſt to keep *as Innocent*, or *Simple* and plain-carriaged, *as Doves*, Mat. 10. 16.

But Fleſhly Nature is glad of any Way that affords Eaſe here, however it hinders or miſleads us from the Paths of thoſe greater Joys, which we ſhould all ſeek to ſecure and prepare for hereafter. It runs to them, and that with greedineſs: So that, when any Duty of Religion gainſays it, and calls another way; there is a Tryal of our Love and Affection for the two Worlds. When any Way of Righteouſneſs, for Inſtance, becomes burden'd with the Croſs, and a Way of worldly and unrighteous Wiſdom can avoid it, or, it may be, lead to be not only ſafe and eaſy here, but ſeemingly Happy and Proſperous: Then doth God make a Tryal, whether Religion, or Fleſh and Blood, have moſt Force; whether this, or the next World, are of greateſt weight with us. Worldly Reproaches and Perſecutions upon a Duty, are the true Teſt of its worthy and faithful Votaries, and diſcover who they are that ſet it above this World. And God is careful in the courſe of Providence, ſtill to annex Worldly Sufferings to ſome Duties of Religion or other, to ſeparate the impure Droſs from the pure Gold; the light Chaff, that a Storm of Perſecution can drive away, from the ſolid Wheat; and, as a Touch-ſtone, to make manifeſt, who are thoſe truly worthy and ſincere Minds, that will love and ſteddily practice any Duty, when left to it ſelf, and ſtripp'd of all external Baits of worldly Inducement. *There muſt be Hereſies*, ſaith St. *Paul*; which, as they increaſe, grow ſtill into Factions and Perſecutions againſt the Orthodox; *that they who are approved*, *may be made manifeſt*, 1 Cor. 11. 19.

To be ready to approve our ſelves to him in ſuch Tryals, it highly concerns us all, to underſtand clearly what are the Ways of Fleſhly Wiſdom, that, at ſuch Times, we may take more care to keep back from them. There is the more need to be clear in this before-hand, becauſe the Time of determining, and practiſing, is not the fitteſt for deliberating upon it. For Fleſh and Blood ſtarts firſt, and calls loudeſt on ſuch Occaſions. It preſents Variety of theſe Ways to our Minds. And tho' the Ways are wrong, yet through the Biaſs of fleſhly Inclinations, our Minds are leaning and very willing to believe them right. The generality of Mankind are prone to ſee, and aſſent on that ſide, which appears moſt ſafe and conſiſtent with this preſent World. They are apt to bid a hearty Welcome, and liſten to any one who ſpeaks for that Way, and are eaſily convinced by him: Being willing to be deceived, and 'tis well if not active to deceive themſelves into ſuch a Perſuaſion. And when Fleſh and Blood are like to be ſo buſy and powerful on ſuch Occaſions, to recommend ſuch Ways of Worldly Prudence; it is very neceſſary that our Minds and Conſciences ſhould not be without their Armour, but have clear Convictions of their Folly and Unlawfulneſs, to oppoſe againſt them.

To

To afford some Help in this Point, to such sincere Tempers, as would be thankful to be shew'd a losing Truth, and glad to approve themselves to God on such Occasions; I shall offer something, tho' imperfect, to set off the Way of true Wisdom; and to shew what are the Limitations of Religious Prudence, and what the contrary Liberties of fleshly Wisdom, or worldly Craftiness: That so they may not err for want of Information, when, in Course of Providence, they are brought on such Tryals.

CHAP. I.

Of the Nature of Christian Prudence; and how seen in chusing Right Ends.

Wisdom, or *Prudence* at large, *is being wise for our selves*; or *seeing, and following, what Reason sets off as best for us.* It is Reason contemplating, not the mere *Truth* of Things, which is *Science*; but their *Goodness* and *Desirableness*, or what are best for us to seek, or practise. And about this Practice, it considers not only how to do Things *skilfully*, which is the Consideration of *Arts*; but how to do them *profitably*, respecting either their future Accountableness for Rewards or Punishments, or implying Moral Good or Ill, and being directed by, or promotive of any Virtues; or their worldly Usefulness, and Advantage, to the Ends we are driving on, or have to serve in this Life.

It notes Reason not only *contemplating* these Things, but *influencing* and *effecting them.* For Prudence speaks the Commendableness of several Powers: It carries with it the Virtue of our Wills, as well as of our Understandings; and, besides the Skill to see what is good for us, includes also such Influence over our other Powers, as makes them follow it, and take up therewith. A Man may be a *knowing* Man, who acts against the true Dictates of his own Reason: But he only is a *truly wise* and *prudent* Person, who follows, and is guided by them. And accordingly, the *Wicked*, tho' otherwise of never so much Knowledge, are call'd *Fools*, in *Solomon*'s *Proverbs*, and other *Scriptures.*

Thus is *true Wisdom*, or *Prudence*, the same as *Reason well applied to Practice*; or, *Reason directing, and influencing us, unto what is profitable and best for us in any Case.*

Now this takes in the greatest Variety of Matters, even all the Managements and Concerns of this Life: And according to the Difference of these, it comes under different Denominations. When it directs to most Utility, in Managing the common Course of our own Lives, and the ordinary Affairs and Accidents thereof; 'tis *common Prudence*: When to what is most reasonable and equal, to be exacted mutually, or allow'd, in the Course of Negotiation or worldly Intercourse, upon any Dealings or Differences; 'tis the *Prudence of Negotiators*, or Men of Business: When to what is most decent and conversible in our Carriage, to befit our own Condition and Circumstances, and to keep up fair Respect, Favour, and Society with, and procure the same from others; 'tis the *Prudence of Conversation*: When 'tis shewn in the Government and Conduct of other Men; if it directs to what is best, and the way to compass it in *War*, 'tis *Military Prudence*; if to what makes most for common Safety, Order and Benefit, in the

the Conduct of a *Family*, 'tis *Domeſtick* or *OEconomical*; if of a *State*, 'tis *Civil*, or *Political Prudence*. But in Matters of *Religion*, which, as they are to have ſome ſeparate Times, ſo are alſo to run through, direct, and influence all the other Actions and Affairs of this Life; when it ſhews us what are the Ways of Salvation, and how we may compaſs and go on in them; 'tis *Moral, Religious, Spiritual Prudence*. By the other Sorts, we may paſs for *worldly wiſe*; but this is to be *wiſe to Salvation*.

Now, for the better underſtanding of true Religious Wiſdom, or Chriſtian Prudence, I ſhall reduce what I have to ſay upon it to theſe Heads.

Chriſtian Prudence lies,

1. *In ſeeing, and following, Right Ends of Religion; and purſuing them only by fit and Chriſtian Ways.*

2. *In taking for theſe the moſt advantageous Seaſons; in tempering them to Circumſtances; and ſhewing Caution to prevent Harm thereby, or ill Conſequences.*

3. *As for all other inferior and worldly Prudence, about Things of this Life; in ſo ordering the Ends, and over-ruling the Ways thereof, as to keep them ſubſervient to Religion, or as beſt becomes Chriſtians.*

1. Chriſtian Prudence lies, *in ſeeing, and following the Right Ends of Religion, and purſuing them only by fit and Chriſtian Ways.*

1. *It is to ſee, and ſet out to us Right Ends.* The firſt Sign of Wiſdom, or Prudence, is the Choice of wiſe and fitting Ends: And the firſt Care of Chriſtian Prudence, is always to propoſe ſuch Ends, as are becoming Chriſtians. It is to propoſe ſuch Ends, that we may aim at them; and to make us ſee and underſtand thoſe Ends, that we may perceive and know what we are to aim at.

Theſe Ends are; The *Glory of God*, or what will bring in moſt Honour to him: The *Perfection* and *Advancement of our own Natures*, or what will make us moſt like to God, and afford us the fulleſt and trueſt Enjoyment of him, and of our ſelves, and of any Thing elſe that is beatifying: The *Good* and *Happineſs of others*, or what makes moſt for common Good, and the real Benefit and Advancement of our Brethren. Now all theſe Ends are beſt ſerved, by *doing of our Duty*. We are in the beſt Way of glorifying God, and of perfecting our ſelves, and of benefiting our Neighbours, whilſt we are in the way of Holy Obedience: And therefore to aim at theſe Ends, is, in other Words, nothing elſe, but to aim to *obſerve the Rules, and ſeek the Honour of our Religion, and to do our Duty in all Points*.

So far as concerns the End then, which it preſcribes, Chriſtian Prudence is,

1. In the firſt place, to *propoſe in every Point to do our Duty*. True Wiſdom it places in an entire Obedience. And accordingly, all Wickedneſs is call'd *Folly*, and wicked Men *Fools*, in the Holy Scriptures. We muſt never know any Wiſdom, in doing unrighteouſly; nor ſet up for Prudence, by any Breach of God's Commandments. All the Rules of Duty, are the moſt pure and perfect Wiſdom: They are *the Wiſdom of God*: And who can think to ſhew himſelf wiſe, by pretending to correct God's Rules, or running counter unto them? When any Breach of Duty makes ſhew of being prudent, 'tis a mere Show: It is only a falſe Light, that may miſguide any out of the real Way of Happineſs, but lead none into it. Let it promiſe what it will, 'tis all Fiction and Flattery; and if we will truſt God before it, we muſt ever eſteem ſuch a Breach, when offer'd or ſuggeſted to us, only to have put on the Mask of Wiſdom, but under that, and in truth, to be mere Folly.

2. Next, *in every Point, to direct and make us see what is our Duty; that so we may understand whether we do it, or no.* This must go thro' all particular Duties, and tell us what Things are aimed at, and what Offices are required of us, by each. What they ought to do, for instance, who would approve themselves to be resign'd to God: To love, or trust him; to be patient, or devout towards him; to be meek, humble, sober, and mortified to this World; to be true and just, peaceable and charitable, among their Brethren. 'Tis the Part of Christian Wisdom, to teach us what we must propose to our selves, that we may discharge any of these, or any other Duties: To shew what are the Instances and Expressions of all particular Virtues, which should be the Mark and Aim of all their Professors and Undertakers. Prudence is the directing Virtue: 'Tis Eyes to all the rest: All Virtue observing, as * *Aristotle* says, † *as a prudent Man shall define. True and sincere Prudence,* ‖ saith St. *Basil, lies in the Knowledge of those Things which are to be done, or which are not to be done: Whereto whosoever adheres, will never desist from the Actions of Virtue, or be left in the Destruction of Wickedness.* And being to direct the Practice of each Virtue, it must imply the Skill, to see wherein the Practice thereof lies: What is to be done in any; that we may deserve the Name of just, humble, sober, *&c.* And what, in every Case, or on any Occasion, is to be the Work of such a Person.

* Ad Nicom. *l.* 2. *c.* 6.

† Ὡς φρόνιμος ὁριεῖ.

‖ De prospera & adversa Fortuna, & de Prudentia, *Conc.* 21. *Tom.* 3. *p.* 582.

Now this is an admirable and most excellent Part of Spiritual Prudence, to know what is to be done in any Duty, as we are called to discharge it by God's Providence: And 'tis great Shame, that a Professor of any Virtue, should not be able to say wherein the Discharge of it lies, when he comes to need it, and is called out to make use thereof. This has all the Reproach of being ignorant of what a Man doth profess, and of being to seek in his own Business: As if an Artist were ignorant, and knows not, when he comes to set to it, what he has to do in the way of his own Art; which, in the Estimate of all Persons, is one of the most censurable and shameful Sorts of Ignorance. Yea, 'tis extreme and desperate Folly; considering that as he is here called upon to practise each of these Duties, so must he be hereafter to answer, and be tried by them. Now Christian Prudence is to prevent this, by storing up clear Notions of every Duty, and of the Offices thereof, against such Time as we shall have a Call and Opportunity to discharge them. *The wisdom of the prudent*, says *Solomon*, *is to understand his way*; *i. e.* to know what he ought to do on all Occasions; *Prov.* xiv. 8. And this the Scripture expresses, by having *our Senses exercised, to discern both good and evil*; *Heb.* v. 14. and calls for, as a necessary Preparative to our *walking accurately*, or exactly. The *walking* * *circumspectly*, or accurately, which St. *Paul* requires, *Eph.* v. 15. he tells them, is to walk, *not as fools, but as wise*, or † prudent. *Wherefore*, adds he, *be ye not* ‖ imprudent, or *unwise*; *but understanding what the will of the Lord is*: Since if they did not understand it, they were not like to be very exact in keeping it; *v.* 17.

* ἀκριβῶς.

† *The wise Servant made Ruler,* φρόνιμος, *is the same as prudent,* φρόνιμος, Mat. xxiv. 45. *As the* wise as serpents, φρονοὶ, Mat. x. 16. *and* wise Virgins, Mat. xxv. 2.

‖ ἄφρονες.

Now, opposite in this Matter to both these, is the way of fleshly, or worldly Wisdom. For,

1. Instead of proposing, in every Point, *above all Things to do our Duty*; *it aims and proposes, in the first place, to secure our external Quiet*; *to serve our worldly Peace, Prosperity, or Temporal Interests.* It seeks not in all Things what is virtuous, but what is safe; and being for worldly Safety, it never seeks to do what 'tis like to suffer by. Its Eye is first for keeping, or increasing these worldly Emoluments and Enjoyments, for our selves, our Friends or Families, for the Church or State. It may fix upon Religion, as well as the Things of this Life; and carry us out for the Church, as well as for the Commonwealth. But then what it aims at, or seeks in the first

place to ſecure in theſe, is not the inward Excellence, but the outward Appendages; not their integral Parts, and ſpiritual Subſtance, but their worldly Accoutrements and Advantages. If Religion is taken in among the Good Things of this World, and ſtands guarded and enriched by ſecular Laws and Privileges, Riches and Honours; worldly Wiſdom will be carried out as far to ſecure theſe worldly Appendages, when they are about Religion, as when they are about any thing elſe. But as for the Proper and Eſſential Parts of Religion it ſelf, which lies in doing our Duty in every thing, or in the Integrity of Faith and good Life; the Wiſdom of this World ſets them only in the ſecond place. It may ſhew fair Reſpect, and carry decently towards them, even where it will give it ſelf no Trouble about them. As we ſee ſeveral, that have no ſerious Value for Religion, will yet be Civil to it, in Point of good Breeding; and as ſenſible of the Need there is, however 'tis neglected by them, that it ſhould be kept up in the Eſteem, yea, and Practice too, of other Men. Nay, worldly Wiſdom, when it rightly underſtands it ſelf, will aim at it in moſt Caſes; as ſerving its own wiſe Purpoſes, beyond any thing elſe: True Virtue being, for the moſt part, beſt fitted, and conducing to the Happineſs and Enjoyment of both Worlds. But where it thus bears the beſt good Will to the inward and Eſſential Ingredients of Religion, it is only whilſt they are ſubſervient, or conſiſtent with its own worldly Deſigns; being ready to throw them aſide, when once they oppoſe it. On ſuch Competitions, *The carnal Mind is not ſubject to the Law of God, neither indeed can be*; Rom. viii. 7. It conſiders then, not their intrinſick Goodneſs and Excellence, but their Expedience; and will give them up for what it accounts higher Ends, or dearer Intereſts. On ſuch Occaſions, its Queſtions are not, What will become of this Duty, or another; of Innocence, and a clear Conſcience? But what will become of our Eſtates, our Liberties, our outward Peace, Powers, Honours, Privileges, or other Enjoyments of this Life, by ſuch or ſuch a Courſe, when 'tis deliberated on?

2. Inſtead of ſeeing in every Caſe what is our Duty, *Worldly Wiſdom is for continuing ignorant of, and not ſeeing a Loſing Duty.* It cares not for the Knowledge of troubleſome or afflicted Truths. It is ready to look upon, and let in ſuch as conſiſt with worldly Eaſe and Intereſts; but afraid to underſtand, becauſe 'tis loth to practiſe, others: Conviction of a Duty ſerving only to increaſe the Guilt, and diſturb the Quiet of thoſe who will not practiſe it.

Hence comes that ſlightful Saying of fleſhly Wiſdom in theſe Caſes, of *Leaving every Man to his own Perſuaſion; and not Cenſuring any much, if he act therein according to his own Conſcience.* They repreſent ſuch Caſes, as if it matter'd not much which Side a Man takes, and there were no important Difference in the Things themſelves, but only in the different Opinions and Belief of Men about them. So that let a Man but have a Perſuaſion of that Side which is moſt eaſy and favourable to worldly Intereſt; as Men are ready enough to have in trying Caſes, if that will do; and nothing elſe will greatly harm him in theſe Matters.

Hence comes alſo that Backwardneſs of Converſing, and Diſcourſing with thoſe of the other Opinion; who are both ready to practiſe, and able to plead for a Duty, when 'tis oppreſſed, and has the Croſs upon it. 'Tis a Rule of fleſhly Wiſdom, at ſuch Times, to look on ſuch as dangerous Perſons, whoſe Company is not ſafe. Their Diſcourſes, ſuch Men imagine, can only ſerve to make them more uneaſy in the way they have a mind to go. They will ſtart Scruples, to diſſatisfy and unſettle a Mind, that had no ſuch Doubts before, but had eaſily ſatisfied and ſettled it ſelf upon the ſaving Side. Or, if they come in the way of ſuch Diſcourſes, eſpecially when fit to do Right to Truth, by ſetting it off to Advantage; they receive them againſt their Wills, and meet them, not with a religious Deſire, but world-

ly Fear. They are not thankful for the Offer of a saving Truth, but sorry for it, and troubled at it; and ready to say to the Messengers thereof, as *Ahab* did to the Prophet, who still called upon them to hear what they had no Will to understand, that he was *his Enemy*, and *the Troubler of* Israel, 1 *Kings* xviii. 17. and Ch. xxi. 20. When they set Worldly Safety above Religious Innocence; they fear, and *hate the Light*, as our Saviour * says, which *reproves* the secure Ways they desire to take. Minding not to follow it, they use Care not to be hamper'd and troubled with it, and, as the Scripture speaks, *will not have the Knowledge of his Ways*, Job xxi. 14. * Joh. iii. 20.

Hence, lastly, when they allow themselves to enquire and examine the Truth, comes that Hastiness and Partiality, in taking any thing for sufficient Proof that makes for the safe side. Any serviceable, but ill-grounded Presumptions about Words or Things, shall hastily be taken up and pass for Truths, which a little Deliberation and Enquiry would shew to be Falshoods. Former Tenets and Opinions, which usually are so very tedious and difficult to be extirpated, shall be laid aside upon much less Argument and Offer of Proof, than that whereby they had before been maintained. Yea, the very same Things shall be offered as good Arguments, which when offer'd by others, had been cast out and confuted as false ones. Variety of Topicks shall be started, to make up in Number what they lack in Weight: And tho' all are so uncertain, that they who use them keep themselves upon the Reserve, and are afraid to stand or fall by any one alone; yet they shall conclude that some or other of them is right, and sufficient to prove what they draw from it. Which I think is not the way of seeking Truth, but of serving Interest. 'Tis to resolve upon the Conclusion, before one sees the Reason which can make it good. Worldly Wisdom says, this must be held; and then if one Topick that is pressed for Proof cannot make it out, another must. Yea, confessedly weak and false Arguments shall pass for Evidence; and great Names or Numbers when they fall on this side, Fleshly Wisdom will call in its own Case a Proof of Right. Tho' looking abroad every where else in the World, where store of Opinions about other Matters have the same Supports, and yet are condemned by our selves, at the same Time in our Neighbour's Case; it shall be ready to declare, that Names and Numbers are no sure Argument of Truth, but too commonly the false Colour, and fair Show of Error.

These, and such like, are the Effects of that affected Ignorance, which Worldly Wisdom would be held in, of any Duties which it is like to lose by. And this is quite opposite to Spiritual Prudence, and must never be yielded to by any who would make sure their Eternal Concerns, or pass for truly Religious, Honest, Virtuous Dispositions.

In Matters of Salvation, the best and truest Security is being in the Right Way: And I know no Relief for any Man in the Wrong, but a sincere Willingness to see and follow the Right, when the Providence of God shall lay it sufficiently before him. Which gives no Relief at all to those, who for want of Love to a saving Truth, especially when persecuted, and through too much Love of this World, are afraid to come in the Way thereof, and unwilling to let it in.

It is not enough for one that seeks to approve himself a Good Man, that he follow that Duty which he sees; but he must also take Care to see every Thing, which is his Duty that he may follow it. The *Knowledge of our Duty* must not sure be ranked among Indifferent Things; for *Faith*, as well as *Obedience*, makes up the Gospel Terms. To *believe* and *know* what Christianity makes *necessary to be known*, is as requisite as to *do* what it makes *necessary to be done*. Nay, to know those Things which

are neceſſary to be done, is as neceſſary as to do them; ſince we cannot do them till we know them.

Indeed, if the Providence of God affords not an honeſt Mind the Opportunity of ſuch Knowledge, he will graciouſly connive both at the want of Knowledge and Practice. But if we have no Mind to know what we might know, we ſhall ſuffer, both for the want of Practice and Knowledge. 'Tis plainly there, a want of Virtue in the Heart that cauſes a want of Underſtanding in the Head: Such *evil doers*, as our Lord ſays, *love Darkneſs, and hate the Light*, and *will not come to it, leſt their Deeds ſhould be reproved*, John iij. 19, 20. An Honeſt Mind muſt never be unwilling or afraid to ſee its Duty, no, not where 'tis moſt coſtly. It muſt have a Love for it, when 'tis perſecuted, as well as when 'tis applauded; when, in the Eye of the World, it is a loſing as well as when it is a gaining Virtue. They muſt *receive the Love of the Truth*, that they may receive *the Belief* thereof; and to keep off, as St. *Paul* ſays, from being of their Number, *that periſh in their Unrighteouſneſs*, by *believing Lies*, *becauſe they receive not the Love of the Truth*, *that they might be ſaved* thereby, 2 *Theſ.* ij. 10, 11, 12. This Love will not only make them to liſten to it, but to be inquiſitive after it, where ſufficient Inſtruction is not voluntarily offer'd; and thankfully to ſee and receive the Will of God, whether it be with their Worldly Intereſt and Fleſhly Inclination, or againſt them. And this is true *Docility* and *Teachableneſs of Temper*, which is what the Scripture calls † *the Ear to Hear*, or the neceſſary Preparative profitably to hear a Religious or Moral Lecture. 'Tis neceſſary to *Faith*, eſpecially of thoſe Truths or Laws of God which are more Unſavoury and uneaſy to Fleſh and Blood. And being ſuch a previous Requiſite of Faith, and implied in it, 'tis ſometimes in Scripture expreſſed thereby. *Pray that I may be delivered from unreaſonable Men*, ſays St. *Paul*; *for all Men have not Faith*, 2 Theſ. iij. 2. Noting thoſe who receive or reject what is tender'd, only by Humour or Inclination of Fleſh and Blood, not by Reaſon; as Men *void of Faith*, *i. e.* of a teachable Temper and Diſpoſition.

† Mat. xiii. 9, 43. & c. xi. 15.

3. *Thirdly*, Chriſtian Prudence *is alike for taking Care of both Tables*; or *for diſcharging faithfully, as all the Duties of Piety, ſo equally all others of Juſtice and Morality.* Since both are equally Parts of God's Will, they are equally a matter of its Care; And its conſtant Aim and Study is, how it may inviolably obſerve both, and tranſgreſs neither; but never to ſet one againſt the other. Both *Tables* it receives as coming from one Authority, and claiming one Obedience. Well knowing, that *he that ſaid, Thou ſhalt not worſhip an Idol*, ſaid alſo, *Thou ſhalt not kill or ſteal.* And if thou keep from Idolatry, *yet if thou kill*, as St. *James* argues in this Caſe, *thou art become a Tranſgreſſor of the Law*, Jam. ij. 11. There is no Tranſgreſſion of one to ſave another: Nay, there is no breaking of one to ſave all: *For whoſoever ſhall keep the whole Law* beſides, ſaith the ſame *Apoſtle*, *and* yet *offend in one Point*, *he is guilty of all*, ver. 10. And if for breaking that one, he will be puniſh'd as if he had broken all; there cannot be any room left to think of breaking one, tho' it were upon Pretence to ſave all. Which I call a Pretence, becauſe, indeed it is a mere Pretence. For the Commandments never oppoſe one another; and we can never reaſonably pretend to break the Latter, that we may keep the Former: Since, if we pleaſe, we may at all Times keep both; and as we never can have any Authority, ſo neither can we be under any Neceſſity of breaking either.

The Effect and Conſequence which I ſhall obſerve from hence, is,

1. Firſt, *That we never oppoſe the Firſt to the Second Table.* As the *Phariſees*, who, to keep the *Third Commandment*, taught Men to break the *Fifth*: *Not ſuffering a Man to do any thing for his Father or Mother*, after

once he had ſaid, *It is* Corban, *that is, a Gift, by whatſoever thou mighteſt be profited by me*; or *I interdict what I have by the Vow* Corban, *from ever being helpful unto thee*; a Form among the *Jews* of *forſwearing to help others.* Which inſtead of being an approved Way of keeping *Firſt Table Duties*, our Lord charges, as *ſetting up the Commandments of Men for Doctrines, and making void God's Law through their Traditions*, Mat. xv. 5, 6, 9. Mar. vii. 11. We muſt not ſuffer our ſelves to be carried on, to break the *Fifth, Sixth, Eighth, Ninth, Tenth* Commandments; *i. e.* to *throw off Duty to our Parents, Natural* or *Civil*, or any Obligation of *Morality*, of *Juſtice, Truth*, or *Gratitude towards Men*, for the *Honour* and *Glory of God*, or for either the new ſetting up and Erection, or the Continuance and Preſervation of a more *Orthodox, Pure*, and *Spiritual Way of Worſhip and Devotion.*

It is too common among the Worldly Wiſe to conſent to ſeveral Violations of Morality, for *the Preſervation*, as they ſay, *of God's Church*, or *Advancement of his Glory.* Meaning thereby the Glory and Preſervation of a *true* and *Orthodox Profeſſion of Faith*, and of a *Pure* and *Goſpel-Worſhip.* And the Glory ſought thereby for theſe, is to make them externally Glorious, to ſeat them in Worldly Sway, Power, or Privilege, that Men may own the Confeſſions, and pay the Worſhip with external Eaſe and Encouragement to themſelves, or without Perſecutions.

But is not God to be glorified and obeyed in his other Precepts, as well as in theſe Confeſſions of Faith and Pure Devotions? And is it a Way to glorify him in one Point, by diſgracing him in others? Will he receive ſo much Glory and Service by the Orthodoxy, as Diſſervice and Diſhonour by the Immorality? Is not God glorious in his Moral Attributes of Juſtice, Faithfulneſs, and the like, as well as in the Unity and Spirituality of his Nature? And is it not as neceſſary for thoſe who would duly glorify him, to copy out and diſplay his Glory in theſe Moral Excellencies, as to own and declare it in the other? Nay, is he not particularly careful to call us to an Imitation and Tranſcript of his Glory in theſe? To *be merciful as he is merciful*, Luk. vi. 36. and *holy, as he who hath called us is holy*, and that *in all manner of Converſation*, 1 Pet. i. 15, 16. And to tell us, that to be *created after his Image, the New Man, muſt put away Lying* and other Immoralites, and be formed *in Righteouſneſs and true Holineſs*, Eph. iv. 24, 25, *&c.* And muſt not the Church be preſerved in true Ways of Juſtice and Moral Duties, as well as of Worſhip, and Confeſſions of Faith? Ought it not to be as much concerned for good Practice, as for good Prayers; and will it not get as much by good Life, as by being Orthodox? Nay, can Immoral Men be ſaved in any Religion; or will a good Worſhip recommend any to God in Evil-Doing; or ſhall they enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, who *call Chriſt Lord, Lord*, but *do not obey him?* There is no way of glorifying God, but by being entire in our Duty, and performing all that he preſcribes us. Nor of advancing his Chuch, but by advancing the Practice of all thoſe Duties, which are to recommend, to ſave, and ſignalize his Church. We may confeſs the True Faith, and practiſe a pure and Spiritual Worſhip in keeping all the other Commandments, and without the breach of any; yea, and that in Perſecutions, if we pleaſe and dare run Hazards. And ſo may all other Perſons, if they have the Heart to do like. And 'tis not for us to tranſgreſs any of them, only as a way to remove hard Tryals from them, or from our ſelves. Which is not to glorify God, or our Duty, or advance his Church; but to diſcredit and differve both, for our own Carnal Eaſe and Advantage.

2. Secondly, *That a true Chriſtian be ready to ſuffer for any Point of Morality and Juſtice, as well as for any Point of Orthodoxy in Faith, or Purity*

in

in Divine Worship. For upon which soever of these they suffer, the Cause is Religious, and they are alike Confessors.

The Duties of the *First Table*, indeed, have God, not only for their Author, but likewise for their Object; and so are more particularly stiled *Piety*, or *Duties towards God* on that account. As are likewise some Duties enjoined in the *Second Table, viz.* those of the *Fifth Commandment*, towards *Parents* and *Magistrates*, who are in *God's Place*; and on that account, are sometimes in Scripture call'd *Gods: Thou shalt not revile the Gods*, saith the Law, meaning thereby the Rulers, *Exod.* xxii. 28. And thus St. *Paul* calls it * *shewing Piety at home*, when *Children* relieve and *requite their Parents*, 1 Tim. v. 4. And the undutiful are stiled † *Sons of Belial*, and *impious*; and *Disloyalty*, *Impiety*, or *Secundum Sacrilegium*, *a Second Sacrilege*, as || *Tertullian*'s Phrase is.

* εὐσεβεῖν.

† 1 Sam. x. 27.

|| *Apol.* c. 35. de Religione secundæ Majestatis in secundum Sacrilegium convenimur.

But all other Duties are enjoined by God, and performed for his sake, and are as truly Parts of Religion, and he accordingly stands upon them, as those which are more immediately referr'd to God himself. For Religion lies in keeping of the Laws of God at large, or in all the Duties of Justice and Morality, as well as in the Duties and Acts of Piety. *The Grace of God, which bringeth Salvation*, that is, the Christian Religion, consists *in living soberly and righteously*, no less than in living *godly in this present World*, according to St. *Paul*'s Distribution of Duties, *Tit.* ii. 11, 12. And *pure and undefiled Religion*, St. *James* describes by the Moral Acts *of visiting the Fatherless and Widows in their Affliction, and keeping ones self unspotted from the World*, Jam. i. 27. And *the Kingdom of God*, or the Religion of *Christ*, the Apostle makes to consist *in Righteousness and Peace*, those Second Table and Moral Duties, as well as in *Joy in the Holy Ghost*, Rom. xiv. 17. So that to suffer for any Second Table Duties, is to suffer for God's Sake, since God enjoins them: And to suffer for Religion, since Religion implies them. Tho' they do not so immediately respect God; yet are they as much required by Religion, and as truly Parts thereof, as those that do.

Now it is suffering for Religion that makes Men *Confessors* and *Martyrs*. And this they do, who suffer for the Moral Parts thereof.

What the Gospel declares *blessed*, is being *persecuted for Righteousness sake. Blessed are they which are persecuted for Righteousness sake*, Mat. v. 10. And *if ye suffer for Righteousness sake, happy are ye*, 1 Pet. iii. 14. And there is as true and acceptable Righteousness in Moral Duties, as in any Confessions of Orthodoxy, or Purity of Worship and Devotions.

The Confession which *Christ* requires of us, is to *confess him and his Words*, Luk. ix. 26. And the *Martyrs* in the *Revelations* are expressed, by *suffering for the Testimony of Jesus, and for the Word of God*, Rev. xx. 4. And we have as good Word and Command for these, as we have for any others.

The Sufferers he respects, are those that *suffer for his Name*, Mat. x. 22. But all the Duties required by his Gospel, are call'd by his Name. And all the Acts of Morality which stood before on Natural Obligation, now since he has enjoined them, and his Spirit helps us to perform them, being practised out of Christian Principles, and through the Grace of *Christ*, are all become *Christian*. And the Losses which he recompenses, are Losses for his Sake; *He that loses his Life for my sake, shall find it*, Mat. x. 39. Or as 'tis in St. *Mark*, *For his sake and the Gospel's*, Mark viii. 35. And is it not purely for his Sake, and in regard to him, that we perform any Second Table Duties, when we are to sure to lose by them? And are not those Losses for the Sake of the Gospel, which are purely out of Conscience to Gospel-Injunctions?

Thus

Thus are all the Comforts and Encouragements, the Approbation and Acceptance of Goſpel-Sufferers, common and alike to both *Tables*: And he is as true a *Confeſſor*, who, in Peril of Suffering, gives his Teſtimony againſt any Acts of Unrighteouſneſs and Immorality; as he that doth the ſame, againſt any falſe Articles of Faith, or Acts of falſe Worſhip and Idolatry. I know, among Good Things there is a Difference in Degrees: And eſpecially he that ſuffers for owning *Jeſus to be the Chriſt*, ſuffers for the whole of the Goſpel; which is more than ſome particular Duties thereof, whether relating to Faith, Worſhip, or Moral Practice. But Sufferings for any, are all of the ſame Kind and Quality: They are alike Religious; and the Sufferers alike *Chriſt*'s *Martyrs* and *Confeſſors*.

And ſuitable is the received Judgment concerning Sufferers in theſe Caſes. *John* the *Baptiſt* was one of God's *bleſſed Martyrs*; tho' the Cauſe which he ſuffer'd for was that of the *Seventh Commandment*, or *declaring againſt an unlawful and inceſtuous Marriage*, Mat. xiv. 3, 4, 5, 10. The *perſecuted Prophets*, were Brave and *Noble Confeſſors* among the *Jews*: Tho' what they ſuffer'd for, and ſought to revive, was not always, or only a Right Worſhip; but the Duties of Morality and Juſtice, in declaring freely and undauntedly, not only againſt *Idols*, or *Calves*, and *Groves*, and *High Places*; but againſt Falſhood, and Rapine, and Violence, and Perverſions of Juſtice, and other grievous Immoralities, wherewith the *Jewiſh State* was over-run in thoſe degenerate and corrupt Times. Thus the *Holy* * *Women*, and *Virgins*, were ranked in the Liſt of *Confeſſors* and *Martyrs*, who *would dye*, or *diſfigure themſelves*, rather than yield their Bodies to the *Luſts of Tyrants* and *Perſecutors*. And St. *Dionyſius* of *Alexandria* † tells *Novatian*, *It would be as Glorious a Martyrdom, nay, in my Judgment*, ſays he, *a greater, for a Man to ſuffer Death to prevent Schiſms*, and the rending and tearing of the Church among themſelves; *as to ſuffer the ſame for Profeſſion of Chriſtianity*, at the Hands of Perſecutors. So long as we are ſuffering for any Duty of our Holy Religion; be it of Piety, or of Juſtice and Morality; the Difference, as to this, is not much. To make a *Martyr*, or *Confeſſor*, it matters not for which *Table* 'tis, ſo long as it is for either: And accordingly, *to be beheaded for the Word of God*, which extends alike to both, is the *Character of the Martyrs*, Rev. xx. 4.

* Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. *l.* 8. *c.* 14. *p.* 312, 313.

† Id. *l.* 6. *c.* 45.

Now, contrary to this is the viſible Senſe and Carriage of too many Perſons. For many, alas! even of thoſe, who are free to expoſe themſelves, and to ſuffer in teſtifying againſt Falſe Worſhip and Idolatry, ſeem much more indifferent and unconcern'd about ſuffering, or ſtanding out and declaring againſt Unrighteouſneſs and Immorality. By *Religion*, they are wont to mean chiefly, *Confeſſion of Articles*, and *Purity of Worſhip*; and to rate that to be *ſuffering for Religion*, when they *ſuffer for them*; or that to be acting for the Glory of God, and the Good of Religion, when this acting is to ſerve them: Nay, when 'tis only to ſerve and ſecure thoſe worldly Intereſts and Privileges, which are tacked to them. And tho' in Performance of this Service they take a greater Liberty, and make bold with Moral Duties, only that they may ſecure ſuch External Freedom and Encouragement, for ſuch Pure Worſhip and Confeſſions: As if that God who has commanded one, had not commanded the other as much: Or, as if we could oblige him, by breaking ſome of his Commands, to ſave others. Yea, when there is no need of, or Help by any ſuch Breach, to ſave any; but all the Intent and Uſe thereof, is only to ſave our ſelves: Which, tho' it be right and reaſonable in the Eye of the worldly-wiſe, is not ſure the way to be wiſe for God, or for his Glory, ſo far as that is made to lie in our Duty; nor muſt ever paſs for that Wiſdom, which comes by *Jeſus Chriſt*.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Other Ends of Chriſtian Prudence.

A *Fourth* End propoſed by *Chriſtian Prudence*, is, as to diſcharge the Duties, ſo to *ſerve and promote the Honour of Religion*. To be wiſe for God, is to be wiſe for Religion; which is the only acceptable and effectual way of ſerving and honouring him. And to contrive wiſely for Religion, muſt always ſtudy and ſeek the Honour of Religion. For, proportionably to the Honour and Eſteem which the World has for it, is like to be their Acceptance, and Obſervance thereof. Spiritual Prudence, therefore, muſt ever take this Care of Religion, by acting ſo in all Things where it is concern'd, as may ſet it up higheſt in Mens Opinion, and gain it the moſt cordial Reſpect, and greateſt Reverence from them. They muſt conſider in theſe Matters what ſerves beſt, to convince Men of the Truth and Sincerity, to manifeſt the Power and Efficacy, to ſet out the Worth and Excellency thereof: And never take up with any Ways, how promiſing ſoever on other Accounts, that would afford conſiderate Men a Ground in Reaſon to ſuſpect Religion, as if it were a fictitious Thing; and the Profeſſion thereof, as if it were Hypocriſy; or to fancy all its magnified Power to be real Weakneſs, and unable to carry Men on to the Practice of what before they did profeſs, when in any trying Caſe they are brought to the Puſh.

Such Reflections bring Religion under the greateſt Diſhonour and Diſadvantage: And therefore, whoſoever would act prudently for it, muſt have an eſpecial Eye to avoid any Thing, that would make Religion evil-ſpoken of. For this God was highly offended with the *Jews*, that *thro' them the Name of God was blaſphemed among the Gentiles*, Rom. ii. 24. And for this the Apoſtle had great Indignation againſt ſome Falſe Chriſtians, that *thro' them the way of Truth was evil-ſpoken of*, 2 Pet. ii. 2. And to prevent any thing of this among Chriſtians, are thoſe Commands of God, of *walking worthy of the Goſpel*, Eph. iv. 1. Phil. i. 27. *So as becometh Saints*, Eph. v. 3. Of *adorning the Doctrine of God our Saviour in all things*, Tit. ii. 10. Of *walking worthy of God*, and of thoſe High Privileges of *his Kingdom and Glory*, 1 Theſſ. ii. 12. and *worthy of the Lord*, Col. i. 10. Thus would *Chriſt* have it the Care of all his Followers, not meanly and ſneakingly to ſerve Religion, but affectionately to eſpouſe it, and induſtriouſly to ſhew forth and adorn, to magnify and do it Honour, in the Eyes of Men. To approve, in every thing, its Verity and Sincerity; to demonſtrate its Efficacy; to maintain its Dignity, and manifeſt its Worth and Excellency before them. Whatever it receives at the Hands of other Men, yet thus muſt *Wiſdom*, or Religion, *be juſtified*, *i. e.* declared juſt, and made victorious and triumphant, *by her own Children*, Mat. xi. 9. A prudent Chriſtian is to *provide for good Report*, Phil. iv. 8. for *Things honeſt in the ſight of all Men*, 2 Cor. viii. 21.

And from this I note, That the Aim of Religious Prudence, (contrary to what too oft appears in fleſhly Wiſdom) is to own, and do Honour to any Duties:

1. *Not only internally in our Minds, but externally in our outward Carriage.* That muſt be made viſible before others, which doth Honour to it before others. And this is what every Duty of Religion, or every neceſſary Point of Chriſtian Faith and Practice, claims at our Hands. We owe it an external, as well as an internal Service; and muſt not only pay our Acknowledgments to it inwardly and inviſibly, in our own Minds, but, as we

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are call'd thereto, visibly and apparently, before others. *Provide for honest things*, says St. *Paul*, *not only in the sight of the Lord*, (who sees what is inward, or in the Heart) *but also in the sight of Men*; who see it not, till externally owned, and exposed to View in Conversation, 2 *Cor.* viii. 21. We must offer up, and *present to God, our Bodies*, and bodily Appearances, as well as our Souls, and their invisible Motions, for *a living, holy, and acceptable Sacrifice*, Rom. xii. 1. *Glorifying God both with Souls and Bodies, which are* both *his*, 1 Cor. vi. 20. *Whatever ye do, let all be done to the Glory of God*, 1 Cor. x. 31. And by making our Good Things visible, he is most glorified. We please him by Internals, which are secret, and which will do him Glory at the last, when they come to be openly exposed. But what Glory do they to him at present, if they are not externally manifest? *Glory consists in the Testimony of many*, says * *Seneca*. *It is the concurrent Praise of good Men; or an incorrupt Voice of those who judge aright of an Excellent Virtue*, says † *Cicero*. So, what doth glorify, must be notified to many: And this appearing externally Honourable, or Glorious in the Eyes of Men, is what God stands much upon; having many times forborn what otherwise *he had resolved to do, lest his Name should be polluted before the Heathen, among whom they were, and in whose sight he had made himself known unto them*; Ezek. xx. 9, 14, 22.

* Gloria multorum indiciis constat. *Ep.* 102.

† Est consentiens laus bonorum, incorrupta vox bene judicantium de excellenti virtute. *Tusc. Quæst. l.* 3. *sub initio.*

Some Virtues, indeed, are not so observable by Men; being more purely Spiritual in their Natures, and less Publick in their Use and Exercise. And others, that fall more under View, good Men will seek to keep as private as they can, to preserve the greater Purity of Intention, and prevent all By-Ends of worldly Interest or Ostentation; as our Saviour directs about *Private Devotion*, *Alms*, and *Fasting*, Mat. vi. 1, 5, 16. But what Duties are publick, he expects we should practise publickly; and, whensoever we have a Call to profess, or perform them before others, that we should externally shew them forth, and not smother any. They must then not only burn within us, but shine out to others. Among ill Men, and *in a crooked Generation*, we must *shine as Lights* to guide them, *Phil.* ii. 15. Our inward *Wisdom* must be *shown forth in our Works and good Conversation*, Jam. iii. 13. *Our Light* must *shine before men, that they may glorify our Father which is in Heaven*, Mat. v. 16. We must *be blameless, and harmless, as the Sons of God, without rebuke*; not only before God, but likewise before them, *Phil.* ii. 15. As *Zachariah* and *Elizabeth walked in all the Ordinances of the Lord blameless*; or not to be taxed by the World for any apparent Breaches, *Luk.* i. 6. On all such Occasions, not content with an inward, they are careful to manifest an outward Holiness: Not neglecting any Duties; or appearing like those, who either transgress, or omit a Virtue, when they are call'd to an open Discharge thereof.

And this external Owning of every Part of Religion, especially *when we are brought in Danger for it*, which is the great Temptation to conceal or dissemble it, is the Virtue of *Confession*. This *Christ* himself did before *Pilate*; *before whom*, as St. *Paul* says, *he witnessed a good Confession*, 1 Tim. vi. 13. And this he expects from all his Followers. *He that confesseth me before men, him will I also confess before my Father which is in Heaven. But whosoever shall deny me before men, him will I also deny before my Father which is in Heaven*; Mat. x. 32, 33. *The Faith of the Heart*, says the * *Comment of an Ancient and Learned Author* upon this Place, *will no more avail, without the Confession of the Mouth, than the Confession of the Mouth will, without the Faith of the Heart. And if it must be enough for Christ that we know him, tho' we confess him not before Men; therefore it must be enough for us, that he knows us, tho' at the last he confess us not before Men. 'Tis not sufficient for any to say, I will hold the Truth in my Heart, and in*

* Comment. Authoris incerti in Matt. inter Opera Chrysost.

the mean while diſown it before the World. And therefore he ſays not, he that confeſſeth me in his Heart, but he that confeſſeth me before Men. This Confeſſion or Denial of him, is the Confeſſion, or Denial, of any Point of Faith or Practice, or Part of his Doctrine. *Whoſoever ſhall be aſhamed of me, and of my Words*, ſays he in another Place, *Mar.* viii. 38. *Luk.* ix. 26. 'Tis not enough in Heart inwardly to receive theſe, unleſs on juſt Occaſion, we are ready openly to profeſs them. *For with the Heart Man believeth unto Righteouſneſs, and with the Mouth Confeſſion is made unto Salvation*, Rom. x. 10.

This Confeſſion is made, one way by Words, as St. *Paul* ſpeaks of *Confeſſion of the Mouth unto Salvation.* And another way, *by Actions:* For a Man may deny a Duty in Deed, as well as in Word; as the Scripture ſpeaks of thoſe, who *profeſs God in Words, but in Works deny him*, Tit. i. 16.

And a Duty is thus denied in *Deed*, when on any juſt and publick Call to practiſe it, we omit and diſſemble it. 'Tis not enough in this Caſe, to pretend that we adhere to it in our Minds, unleſs we ſhew our ſelves to be among its Adherents, by our Practice. Our Deeds, as well as our Words, are among the neceſſary Acknowlegements. *Not every one that ſaith unto me, Lord, Lord, ſhall enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, but he that doth the Will of my Father which is in Heaven*, Mat. vii. 21, 23. The Manifeſtation of the Principle, muſt be by its Effects; and of *the Tree, by its Fruits, for every Tree is known by its own Fruits*, Luk. 6. 44. When a Queſtion ariſes, or a Teſt comes, to try and diſcover the true Adherents to any Duty; 'tis not the Heart, which is unſeen, but the viſible Practice which muſt determine who are, and who are not ſtedfaſt to the ſame. *Shew me thy Faith by thy Works:* It being our Works that muſt declare what our fix'd Belief or Opinion about the Duty is, *Jam.* ii. 18. To Neglect it, or Conceal our Adherence to it out of Shame thereof, Chriſt accounts a Denying it. *He that ſhall be aſhamed of my Word, of him will I be aſhamed*, Luk. ix. 26. And St. *Paul*, ſpeaking of his Sufferings for the Goſpel, oppoſes our Practice of a ſuffering Duty, when we are called to *ſuffer* for him, to our *Denying him: If we ſuffer, we ſhall reign with him; if we deny him, he will alſo deny us*, 2 Tim. ii. 12. When Men come to ſearch after the Retainers to any Duties, they cannot judge by what is Inviſible, but only by what externally appears: So that he who doth not practiſe it when called to it, in Human Account is eſteemed to diſclaim it.

But it is much more denied *indeed*, if, when put to the Tryal, they do not only neglect to practiſe it, but deliberately practiſe what is directly oppoſite and inconſiſtent with it. If any Chriſtian, when called to the Teſt, would *burn Incenſe on the Heathen Altars*, and *ſacrifice to their Gods*; he did really, and was eſteemed thereby, to *diſown his Chriſtianity*, and to *deny Chriſt and his Words*, as if he had renounced them with his Lips.

Now, oppoſite to this way of Honouring all the Duties of Religion, by verbal and real Confeſſions, and external Appearances, is the way of Worldly Wiſdom. It is for ſuch ways of owning them, as ſuits beſt with the Ends and Conveniences of this World. It will outwardly practiſe and profeſs faſhionable Duties, ſuch as are in Vogue, and the World honours and ſpeaks well of. But as for thoſe that are publickly decry'd, or bear againſt the wicked Cuſtoms received, or the Ends and Projects purſued and driven on in this World, which expoſe to the Cenſure thereof; it is not for manifeſting, but for concealing them. It is for owning there, only in the Mind, which can give the World no Offence, becauſe the Mind is not under this World's Notice; or, for owning and practiſing in private or out of ſight: As *Nicodemus* did at firſt, who *came to our Saviour by Night*, Joh. iii. 2. and thoſe *many of the chief Rulers*, who, tho' *they believed on him, yet did not confeſs him, becauſe of the Phariſees; loving the praiſe of Men more*

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than the praise of God, John xii. 42, 43. Not that Worldly Wisdom is for *Heart Duties*; being no more for inward than for outward Holiness, further than it agrees, or makes for Worldly Ease and Interests. Nay, indeed, being less for that, because 'tis harder to perform, and more uncouth and opposite to Flesh and Blood. But what Duties it can conform to and comply withal, it is for keeping up in the Heart, not for exposing in open Practice, when that is like to give the World Offence, or cause hard Names and Censures. Or what it cannot or will not comply with in very Deed, it is for counterfeiting and pretending to serve in Heart, which lying out of Sight, is more easy to be pretended, and not so easy to be detected and disproved.

2. This External owning of Religious Prudence, *is not only in Times of Peace, but also of Persecutions.* It is confessing it under impendent Sufferings, as often as we are called, either to profess or practise an oppressed Duty before others. To confess it then, is truly to do Honour to Religion. It shews it true and unfeigned, and that the Pretenders to it believe themselves in what they say of it, when they are ready to venture all thereupon; in suffering for Religion, they give Testimony to it. It proves it Strong and Powerful, Admirable in Motives, and Mighty in Effects, able to set Men above this World, to outstand the hardest Tryal, and Conquer all the World counts terrible. 'Tis to Honour it, when the World explodes it, and seek to cast all the Disgrace they can upon it: To own it, when its own Followers are ready to fall off and desert it. The Days of Suffering for Righteousness, are worst Times for Flesh and Blood; but the best and most advantageous for serving Religion, and doing Honour unto God. When you *suffer as Christians*, says St. *Peter*, and *are reproached for the Name of Christ, on your part he is glorified*, 1 Pet. iv. 14, 16. So that in the Eye of Spiritual Prudence, whose Aim is to be wise for Religion, and to see what serves it, not what serves our selves; these Times of Persecution, instead of exempting us from such Confessions, are their most proper Seasons.

Accordingly, this Confession of any Duties is particularly required of us, and call'd for at such Times. We are to *be blameless, unrebukable, as the Sons of God, in the midst of a crooked and perverse Nation*, Phil. ii. 15. *Be not ashamed of me, and of my Words*, says our Saviour, *in this adulterous and sinful Generation*, which was wholly bent on Persecution, *Mar.* viii. 38. When he calls for *Confession of him before Men*, Mat. x. 32. He puts the hardest Cases, and confronts the doing of our Duty with the dearest Worldly Interests: And there bars all opposite Influence and Interposition of *Fear of Men*, that would hinder Confession; and strikes it down with the greater and more powerful *Fear of God*, which will hinder Denying. *Fear not them which kill the Body, but are not able to kill the Soul: But rather fear him who is able to destroy both Soul and Body in Hell*, v. 28. He allows us not to be stopp'd of Confession, by regard to Father or Mother, Son or Daughter: *He that loves Father or Mother more than me, is not worthy of me*; *and he that loveth Son or Daughter more than me, is not worthy of me*, v. 37. Nay, nor in regard to our own Life: *He that finds his Life, viz.* out of the way of confessing me and my Words, *shall lose it: And he that loseth his Life for my sake*, or *for mine and the Gospels*, as St. * *Mark, shall find it*, v. 39. The Cross on any Duties must be no Discouragement: The Cross must be taken up with the Duty, and not the Duty let alone or rejected for the Cross's sake: *He that doth not take his Cross and follow after me, is not worthy of me*, v. 38. Nay, at some times, *He must take it up daily and follow me*, Luk. ix. 23. And if then, when he must *bear his Cross*, tho' it be in Neglect of his *Dearest Relations*, *yea, of his*

* Ch. viii. 35.

his own Life, he doth not for all that keep on in my Way, *and come after me, he cannot be my Disciple*, Luke xiv. 26, 27.

† παῤῥησία

Thus strict is our Blessed Lord in calling for this Christian † Boldness, or *harmless Constancy*, and *free owning of him* and *his Laws*, even when beset with the greatest Worldly Perils. Very frightful were these Perils in the *Apostles* Days, which drove many from this *way of Couragious Confessors*, to shifts of *deserting Cowardice*: tempting them sometimes *to conceal themselves*, and *to forsake the Publick Assemblies*; against both which St. *Paul* absolutely declares, *Rom.* x. 9, 10. and *Heb.* x. 23, 25; and sometimes to fall quite off from the Way *of Christ*, to that of their Persecutors. And what now, doth *he that sits upon the Throne*, say to such Persons? As *he that* continueth constant, or *overcomes*, *shall inherit all Things*: So the *fearful*, or * cowardly, *and the Unbelievers*, or false and † unfaithful, *i. e.* the timorous and mistrustful Deserters, who fell in their Tryals for want of *Faith* and *Patience*, formerly held the Glory of Saints, tho' now made the Scoff and Derision of Prophane Spirits; these, says he, together with *Murderers and Whoremongers, and Idolaters, and all Lyars, shall have their part in the Lake which burns with Fire and Brimstone, which is the Second Death*, Rev. xxi. 7, 8. *Among all Reprobates, yea, before all, he first places these cowardly Deserters for their share, in this Lake of Fire and Brimstone*, says (*a*) *Tertullian.*

* δειλοὶ. † ἄπιστοι.

The Foundation of this *Confessorian Constancy* and *Freeness*, is (*b*) *Love to Christ*, and to *his Laws and Doctrines*. For, *when Love is perfect*, as St. *John* says, *it casts out Fear*, which, in time of Danger, is the Parent of all revolting Tergiversations, or hypocritical and unlawful Compliances. And *herein*, adds he, *is our Love made perfect, that we may have Boldness*, or this * *Freeness* and *Fearlessness in Confession*, which it is the Perfection of Love to inspire us with, *in the Day of Judgment*, or when brought before any Tribunal for the Cause of *Christ*: *Because, as he is, so are we in this World, viz.* in a persecuted State, wherein we are to shew this Constancy and Courage, as he did, 1 *Joh.* iv. 17, 18. And the Cure of Cowardice, or *the Spirit of Fear*, St. *Paul* notes, is by *the Spirit of Love*, which is *the Spirit of Power*, 2 Tim. i. 7. And therefore the *Spirit* writing to the *Church of Ephesus*, which was, it seems, in danger of falling into the Practices of the temporizing *Gnosticks*, when he calls them ‖ back to their former Courage and Constancy in Tryals, bids them *return to their First Love*, Rev. ii. 4. This *Love to Christ*, and the *ways of Godliness*, when, in a great many, it is strong enough for times of Peace; is apt to be much shaken and impaired in their Hearts, in Times of Tryal and Persecutions. *Because Iniquity, i. e.* of Persecutors, as the Context shews, *shall abound, the love of many*, says our Saviour, *shall wax cold*, Mat. xxiv. 12. And as it decays, so will the Confessorian Constancy and Courage, which is shewn by virtue thereof; and timorous Haltings, Compliances, and Revolts, will still succeed in its place. *But he that shall endure unto the end*, or whose Love and Constancy at such Times shall both hold out, *the same shall be saved*, v. 13.

* παῤῥησίαν.

‖ Vid. *Hammond. Annot. in loc.*

But now, quite contrary to this is the way of Worldly Prudence, which is never for professing persecuted Truths, or practising persecuted Duties. Its Care is, not how to confess, but how to conceal or dissemble its Sentiments at such Times. Instead of looking then to the Duty, it looks to it self; and considers not what is Good, but what is Safe. Distressed Virtue, at

(*a*) Inter omnes Reprobos, imò ante omnes; timidis autem, inquit, &c. *Tert. Scorp.* c. 12.

(*b*) *The Spirit of the Martyrs was not broken or dismay'd by all the Terrors of the Tormentors,* διὰ τὸ τὴν τελείαν ἀγάπην ἔξω βάλλειν τὸν φόβον, *because their Love was perfect, and had cast out Fear,* says *Phileas the Martyr in his Epistle to his Church*, ap. Euseb. l. 8. c. 10.

at the beſt it neglects, or diſclaims in open View ; which it thinks to make up, by approving, or practiſing it in Private. It divides it ſelf between God and the World, and ſeeks to content him by a ſecret or inviſible Obſervance ; and to content it too, by open and viſible Neglects or Violations of oppreſſed Religion and Righteouſneſs, on ſuch Tryals.

But now, inſtead of conſcionable lawful Prudence, this is nothing but wicked Subtilty, and mere Carnal, or Satanical Suggeſtions. For to perſuade on any trying Call, not to ſhew forth an incumbred and afflicted Duty, but to let it alone, is the Voice of Fleſh and Blood, not of Religion ; it never comes from God, but from *Satan*. So *Chriſt told Peter*, when he counſelled him to fly the Obedience of the Croſs, and, inſtead of that coſtly way of doing the Will of God, to look more to himſelf ; *Get thee behind me, Satan*, ſaith he, *thou art an offence unto me ; for thou ſavoureſt not the things that be of God, but the things that be of Men*, or mere Carnal Human Wiſdom, *Mat.* xvi. 23, 24. And thereupon he immediately repeats this Precept to his Diſciples, telling them, *If any Man will come after me*, he muſt not hearken to *Peter*'s Advice, to ſtand ſtill, or ſtep out of the Way, when the Croſs is laid upon any Duty ; but *take up his Croſs, and follow me. And follow me, i. e.* going on ſtill, under the Burden of the Croſs, in the Duty whereto I call : And going on alſo therein after my Example, as you ſee, notwithſtanding the Croſs now in my Way, I do, *v.* 24.

It is a deceitful ſhuffling on both Sides, playing faſt and looſe, or halting between two Opinions : As thoſe of *Iſrael* did, who, in their Hearts ſtood right for God ; but yet, to pleaſe *Ahab* and *Jezabel*, and for fear of the Times, externally complied in the *Worſhip of Baal*, and went to his Sacrifices. Whom *Elijah the Prophet* reproved, ſaying, *How long halt ye between two Opinions ? If the Lord be God, follow him ; but if Baal, then follow him*, 1 King. xviii. 21. If it were enough, thus to ſerve one inviſibly in our Hearts, whilſt we viſibly ſerve the other in external Appearance, there would be no neceſſity of what our Lord declared, that *no Man can ſerve two Maſters*, Mat. vi. 24.

It is, at beſt, but to affect the Duty, whilſt we plainly fly all the Scandal and Offence thereof. Which, if it be a lawful Prudence, there is *no Engagement to preach up perſecuted Truths againſt perſecuting Errors*, as St. *Paul* thought there was, for all the Croſs that lay upon it, when he preached down *Circumciſion* ſo zealouſly ſet up by the *Jews*, Gal. v. 11. There will be an end of the *Scandal of the Croſs*, which, when tack'd to any Duty, will be no longer a Scandal, or an Occaſion of Sin, if we may lawfully paſs it by, and let the Duty which it is laid upon alone, without Sin. Eſpecially, *taking up the Croſs*, when placed in the way of Confeſſion, could never be the *Condition of Worthineſs in Chriſt's Diſciples*, as our Lord declares it is, *Mat.* x. 32, 38. And afterwards, in Oppoſition to *Peter*'s Advice of Ways to prevent it, by forbearing the Duties burden'd with it, which he imputes, as I noted, to carnal Wiſdom, and the Suggeſtion of *Satan*, Mat. xvi. 23, 24. Men may *bear the Croſs*, when it comes upon them by Neceſſity, and they cannot help it. But then only they *take it up*, when they might let it alone if they would, by forbearing, or avoiding the Duty, whereto it comes annexed. And if they may be worthy Diſciples, in ſhunning it, it can be no Condition of their Worthineſs, to take it up. *Laſtly*, Were it no Point of Duty and Religion, for which they were ſure to be finally rewarded, this *taking up a Duty with the Croſs upon it*, could have nothing inviting here, for them to Glory and Triumph in it. And yet this, our Saviour, and his Bleſſed Apoſtles, direct all good Chriſtians to do at ſuch Times. *If ye be reproached for the Name of Chriſt*, or *for Righteouſneſs ſake*, as Ch. iii. 14. *happy are you ; for the*

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Spirit of Glory reſts upon you, 1 Pet. iv. 14. *If any Man ſuffer as a Chriſtian, let him glorify God on that behalf*, v. 16.

3. In theſe Confeſſions, it is another Part of Spiritual Prudence, *not to ſtay till we are under an abſolute Neceſſity, or Force, but to confeſs with Freeneſs.* I do not ſay, this is abſolutely neceſſary in all Caſes. And when there is utmoſt Peril, the Torture extreme, and Confeſſion Capital; the Caſe is pitiable, and to wait, in caſe of ſeveral Truths or Duties, for Proof from Proſecutors, ſeems more excuſable. But this is only Connivance and Condeſcenſion to Human Weakneſs: And to be free in owning any neceſſary Articles, or part of Virtue and Godlineſs, on a juſt Call thereto, openly preferring it to our own Lives, is the Praiſe of Confeſſors, and moſt excellent and rewardable in it ſelf. * *Being judicially asked, he voluntarily confeſſes it; being condemn'd, he gives thanks for it*, ſays *Tertullian* of the *Primitive Confeſſors.* This again, is for the Honour of Duty and Religion, that its Followers are not driven by Neceſſity, but led to own it by Affection. 'Tis not for its Reputation, that its own Servants would do no more for it, than they needs muſt; nor appear in its Cauſe, ſo long as they can lie hid. This argues it to be little beloved by its own Retainers; and that the Acknowledgments it has from them at ſuch trying Times, is out of Fear, which needs to be driven; not from Love, much leſs from Zeal, which would ſhew forth, not only a free but forward Motion. Men may ſerve the Duty, when they ſhew not their Adherence, till they are neceſſitated to it; but to honour it, they muſt move of themſelves, and be prompt and forward to profeſs it.

* Interrogatus, vel ultrò confitetur; Damnatus, gratias agit. *Tert. Apol. c.* 1.

And this Freeneſs, as it is requiſite to the Honour of any Part of Duty, or Religion; ſo, I think, is implied in the Nature of Confeſſion. Conviction, indeed, may be a forced thing, and we are at Liberty there to plead, Not-Guilty; and not own the Charge, till it is judicially proved upon us. And this way may be taken by all Malefactors, in what they are aſhamed of, and acknowledge to be ill Things. But Confeſſion is to be our own, and the Praiſe of it lies in being a voluntary and free Thing: And of our ſelves we are to profeſs and own the Matter there on any juſt Call, when, in way of publick Tryal, or private Uſefulneſs, we are put to the Queſtion about the ſame. And this is the way in any Duties, which we profeſs to Glory and Triumph in. When we ſtay to have them proved upon us, as if they were Things we would not own, but are aſhamed of, we are convicted as Criminals. Or, if we come in as Confeſſors there, it is, as having before voluntarily and freely Choſen to be ſuch Perſons, or do ſuch Things, as we plainly ſaw would bring us into Danger: We are Confeſſors, only in reſpect of what we practiſed or profeſſed under terrifying Proſpects before, not in reſpect of our preſent Anſwer. But when we are ready to own them our ſelves, and to glory in what they accuſe, that is a further Degree, and then we *anſwer as Confeſſors.* And this Freedom and Promptneſs, to own and profeſs ſuch perſecuted Truths or Duties, was moſt eminently ſeen, and honourably diſcharged, as I noted from *Tertullian*; yea, ſometimes to exceſs, in the Primitive * Liberty, or Boldneſs of the *Ancient Confeſſors*: The Zeal of carrying them, under the greateſt Hazards, and amidſt the moſt terrifying Examples, to profeſs before they were accuſed, and publiſh in open Court their own Faith, whilſt they ſaw their Brethren Tryed and Condemned for it; as we learn abundantly from the Story of thoſe Times.

* παῤῥησία

4. I ſhall add in the laſt Place, That 'tis for the Honour of Religion in theſe Confeſſions, that *they be diveſted of too ſcrupulous and nice a Care of our own Worldly Intereſts.*

I do not condemn all prudent Care of Confeſſors, for ſecuring their Worldly Concerns, when their Duty is firſt ſecured, and they are not want-

ing, either by Word or Deed, to assert and honour it, as they are call'd to it. When they have taken care to save Religion and a good Conscience first, they may be allowed a just and reasonable Care for saving what they have in this World next; it being reasonable that they should save what they well can, when 'tis against Reason and Religion too that they should lose any thing. And thus the *Apostles* and *Primitive Christians* about *Jerusalem*, when they saw the Storm coming on, *sold their Lands* and private Properties, *putting the Prices into the hands of the Church*, in Preparation for the approaching Wants and Confiscations, *Acts* iv. 34, *&c.* But I think they are most honourable to Religion, when they are not most solicitous at such Times, nor exact in all Arts and Methods of indemnifying themselves. Such Confessions are a Trial of the Spirituality of our Minds, how able they are to contemn this World; and how far they are set above it; and how strong their Faith and Trust in God is. And we acquit our selves best in manifesting this, when we only shew a moderate Care, and take the plainest and most reputable ways of Saving: When we are not scrupulously exact in Things, or immoderately solicitous, or stretch to the utmost Lengths we dare in any indemnifying Arts, which may sully this Profession and Proof of Spirituality, by a Suspicion of Earthly-mindedness; and of Faith in God's Providence, by Signs of immoderate Care for our selves. Our Sufferings, as well as our Service, is honourable and useful to God and Religion at such Times. A prophane and atheistical World, and an exploded Duty, need a suffering Testimony. And when we may exalt and advance our Duty by our Losses, as well as by our Practice and Professions, godly Wisdom looks more to serve God and Goodness, than to secure our selves; bidding such Loss of Goods welcome, and *taking it joyfully*, as the manner was of the Primitive * *Saints*. And tho' it will not rashly and unnecessarily, without a Call, throw its worldly Things away; yet, when 'tis call'd thereto, it will not be over-careful, or scrupulously inquisitive how to keep them.

* Heb. x. 34.

Now all this is contrary, in the Aim of *worldly Wisdom*. Its great End is to be free and forward in getting, but forced in losing worldly Things; to move of it self in any way of compassing, but to move no faster than 'tis driven, in any way of parting with them. It will readily neglect any Thing, that will occasion present Damage; but it knows not how to omit what promises any Removal, or Abatement of it. Worldly Wisdom is wise for worldly Goods, but wise against worldly Evils; and never free to serve the Spirit against the Flesh, to seek the Honour of Religion by worldly Disgrace, or to advance and enrich it by its own Loss and Impoverishment.

4. In Pursuit of this End of the *Honour of Religion*, it is another Rule of Spiritual Prudence, *not to change our Doctrines, as we change our Interests, or to do alike our selves, to what we have loudly condemn'd in others.* To maintain, for instance, the indefeasible Power of Princes, whilst they are of our Religion; but of the People, when Princes are of a contrary Religion. To preach up Toleration, and Temper, and Liberty of Conscience, whilst we are under, and kept down; but, as mere Hot-spurs, to decry all Temper, and screw up all to our Apprehension, shewing no Tenderness to other Mens Consciences, when we are in Place to Lord it over them. To call any Thing a Publick Grievance in Government, while our Rulers do it; but to pretend, and plead Necessity for it, when the Power is got into our own Hand.

For a *Jew* to condemn a *Heathen*, that he *robs God of his due Honour*, by *Worship of Idols*; and yet not condemn his own Robbery, *in committing Sacrilege*, Rom. ii. 22. For *Christians* to cry out of the *Jews*, for distinguishing away the Commandments; and *making void*, as our Lord * *says* and

* Mat. xv. & xxiii.

and *shews* they did in several Instances, *the Law of God thro' their Traditions and Expositions*; and yet to justify and cry up themselves, whilst, to all Appearance, they seem to take the same Liberty, and are doing the same Things.

For any *Protestants* to condemn the *Papists* for *Deposing Heretical Princes*; and yet to be for Dethroning their own; for his Zeal in a False Religion: To accuse them, for holding it lawful *to do evil, that good may come*; and yet be ready to do the same themselves, when they think it necessary for the Church, or Nation: To blame their Liberties, in any Breach of Faith, Justice or Charity, towards *Heretick*; and yet take Liberty, neither to keep Promise, nor do Justice, nor shew common Charity and Humanity, to Men of those Opinions which are most displeasing to themselves: To upbraid them, lastly, for thinking to excuse their false Appearances, in Word or Practice, when that may save the Things of this World, by *Equivocations*, and *Mental Reservations*, *i. e.* inward Reserves of Intention, and Limitations in their own Minds; tho' in their Practice they shew none, but appear the same as others; and yet, when they are brought in streights for their Consciences, to use like deceitful Artifices, and take the same Liberties to bring themselves off: This is saying and gainsaying, as it serves our Turns, and doing what we condemn in others; or, what is so like it, that the By-standers are not able to distinguish it; and making the same Thing a Vice, when used in our Neighbour's Case; but a Virtue, when used in our own.

But now this Change of Doctrines as we change Interests, or doing the very same, or like to what we condemn, is apt mightily to reflect upon the Honour of Religion: As if its Principles stood not upon intrinsick Truth, but external Usefulness: As if we held Things true, while we gain by them, and they make for us; but begin to hold them false, confessing our Eyes are open, and that we see the Error of them, when once we are brought to lose thereby, and they make against us. This is as if Gain were Godliness; and seems, as if what in these Tenets we seek to set up, were not the Honour of God, but the Interest of this World; not Truth, but our Selves. Which Reflections are such, that Religion cannot fall under a sorer Disgrace, or a more hurtful Prejudice. And therefore Spiritual Prudence, which professes to be wise for it, is especially careful to prevent such Turns of Doctrine and Practice, according to the Turn of worldly Interests, which would give Men Ground, or Occasion, to pass such Reflections on it.

'Tis true, good and wise Men may change their Opinions: And as they grow older, mortal and fallible Understandings may be allowed to grow wiser. And when we discover Errors, we must not after that obstinately adhere to them, because we have formerly believed and professed them. Constancy in former Opinions, must not be Obstinacy in former Errors: And when we discover a new Truth, we must not deny it, because we condemned it before; but be glad to profess it now we see it, and sorry we saw it no sooner. Nay, if it happen to make for our Interest, we are, for all that, to receive and profess it. For Truth is Truth, and will challenge both our Belief and Profession, whether it make for us, or against us. Our Interest must not make us take Falshood for Truth; but withal, it must not hinder us from owning and embracing Truth it self for Truth. It would be a strange Return to a profitable and advantageous Truth, to be Foes to it, because it is a Friend to us; and therefore to deny it, because we are like to be the better by it. So that if it is a real Truth which we profess now, good and wise Men must profess it, tho' they gain by it, and tho' it be contrary to what they professed formerly. And 'tis no Scandal to Religion, but the

the Command and Credit thereof, to have Men thus exchange their Errors for Truth; or that which was not Religion, nor honourable to it, for that which really is.

But then this Change muſt be made upon manifeſt Appearance, and ſufficient Evidence of Truth. 'Tis juſtifiable and honourable, when 'tis an Exchange for Truth, not for Intereſt: And therefore that which juſtifies it, muſt be the Evidence of Truth being got by the Exchange. 'Tis the Suſpicion of Intereſt, that occaſions all the diſhonourable Reflections; and the Demonſtration of Truth muſt clear them. And therefore, on ſuch Changes, the Diſcoverers of the new Truths muſt diſcover new Reaſons, and produce better Proofs for them, than they had for their old Errors. They muſt bring new Arguments, which, whilſt they were of a contrary Belief, were not urged to themſelves; or carry the old ones further than they had met them improved by others, and ſhew the weakneſs of thoſe Anſwers which they were wont to give to them; or of the Arguments they uſed to offer againſt that Side which they now take. And this they are the more obliged to do, with Clearneſs of Argument and Reaſon, in apparently advantageous Changes; becauſe in the conſtant Senſe and Experience of the Wiſe World, Intereſt is not held the beſt Enlightner of our Minds. Its Power is not ſo much to make us knowing, as willing; not ſo fit to carry our Underſtandings before our Wills, as to make our Wills outrun our Underſtandings: And in the conſtant Experience of the World, both formerly, and at this Day, is much more ſucceſsful in making the Minds of Men to miſs of Truth, than in carrying them to find it.

Wiſe Care therefore, for the Honour of God and Religion, or Spiritual Prudence, requires that we ſhould not change our Doctrines on an apparent Change of Intereſt, unleſs we make out before Men, as plain an Appearance of Truth in the Exchange, as there is of Intereſt; that we may not ſeem to hold it true, becauſe it is for our Intereſt, or to be led more by Intereſt, than we are by Truth.

And therefore, when once good Men ſee their Errors, it highly concerns both themſelves and Religion, inſtantly to renounce them, not for Advantage, but for the Truth's ſake. And not ſtay till the Courſe of this World turns, and they may hope to get as much by diſclaiming, as before they had by profeſſing them. For otherwiſe, the World will be but too apt to judge them, not Religious and Conſcientious, but Secular and Self-ended Penitents; who will never ſee and repent of their Errors and Evil-Doings, whilſt they bring them in preſent Advantage: Or whom Reaſons of Truth and Duty, could never bring to Repentance, till Reaſons of Fleſhly Intereſt ſtruck in therewith; but who can readily repent of any Ways, as ſoon as once they turn to Loſs, and they are evidently call'd to ſuffer for them.

And, on the other hand, we muſt be wary how we cenſure others, when we ſee them change from their former Judgments, and ſtay to hear their Reaſons, before we preſume to tax their Sincerity in the Exchange. When the Intereſt is apparent, the By-ſtanders have an appearance of Intereſt at firſt ſight; but have not the appearances for Truth, till the Perſon who made the Change, has Opportunity to make known to them, how the new Truth appear'd to him. This, indeed, is a Temptation to thoſe who take up with what comes next, and are confident of the Evidence of their own, and the little appearance on the other ſide, to be too often haſty, and hard in their Cenſures. But one Man muſt not be raſh to judge of the Appearances of Truth to another, but wait to hear them from himſelf. And after he has heard them, not preſently conclude, that a Way could not thereby appear true to him, becauſe, on the ſame Evidence, it doth not, nor really ought to appear ſo to himſelf. That the Thing is not true, he

may ſafely ſay; not that the other could not think it ſo. For all Mens Judgments are not equally wrought upon by the ſame Things; and that may ſeem good Proof to ſome, which doth not ſo to others. So that, as to the Cenſure of particular Perſons, eſpecially whilſt they keep true to their New Principles, not ſtill as Neceſſity calls, out-running their own Pretences; it is good and ſafe ordinarily to be ſlow in paſſing our Judgments, and leave them to their own Judge, who ſees their Hearts, and to whom each of them ſtands or falls.

But in general, when the Arguments of Truth are not as apparent, as thoſe of Intereſt in the Change; and the Parties, by all their Study, could never ſee the Truth pretended, whilſt they were like to loſe by it; but ſee it clearly, yea, and that, perhaps, without much Study, when once it makes for their Profit: The World is very ſuſpicious, that 'tis Intereſt more than Evidence, which opens their Eyes, and a great Scandal comes upon Religion by ſuch Changes. Such Men are wont to preach up, ſay the World, what ſtands them in ſtead; not what they themſelves really believe and think. All Colour whereof, St. *Paul* was careful to remove from himſelf, when his Calumniators ſuggeſted this of him to the *Corinthians*. For, having profeſſed his *Simplicity, and godly Sincerity, without fleſhly Wiſdom, more abundantly towards them: We write no other Things unto you*, ſaith he, *than what you read or acknowledge, and I truſt you ſhall acknowledge, even to the end*, 2 Cor. i. 12, 13. That is, as *Theodoret* comments, *We do not preach one thing to you, and think another, as ſome endeavour to calumniate * us. For what I taught when preſent, I write now being abſent, and hope I ſhall always be found preaching and ſaying the ſame to the End.*

* Quid enim vos præſens docui, ea & abſens mitto, & in omne quod deinceps ſecuturum eſt tempus me prædicaturum ſpero. *Theod. in loc.*

But now, oppoſite to this is the way of Worldly Wiſdom. It is ſtill for ſeeing Truth, in that which is Advantageous and Convenient for it: And willing to be beat out of any Duty or Doctrine, when it comes to loſe by it. It firſt conſiders the Gain and Convenience of a Caſe. When it ſees what makes moſt for that, it reſolves that Side is to be held, and then caſts about, to find a Reaſon or Pretence for it. And any Thing is a good Reaſon for a Way to thoſe who before-hand are reſolved to take it. It blames or commends, condemns or juſtifies, as a Corrupt Party, not as an Equal Judge. Self-Love ſteers all its Determinations. And following all its windings, it is never true to the Reality of the Thing, but to its own Concern therein. Which, being differently affected by any Ways, at different Times, it accordingly either applauds or decries them, and has one Judgment of them, when they are in our own Caſe; and another, when they are in our Neighbours: Contrary to all good Reaſon and true Wiſdom; which, if *it come from above, is without Partiality, and without Hypocriſy*, as St *James* ſay, *Chap.* iii. 17. Which therefore, if obeyed and followed, would make us as True and Conſtant to all good Things, ſo True and Conſtant to our ſelves, in loving and commending them. Never to blame that in one, which we cry up in another. Never to acquit that in our ſelves, which we accuſe in our Neighbours. And when we advance any Tenets as True; or any Things as Juſt, as Reaſonable, as Religious; always to allow as much Truth to the Tenets, and as much Juſtice, Reaſon, and Religion to the Things, when they happen to ſerve our Brethrens Purpoſes, as we claimed to them before, when they ſerved our ſelves.

5. A *Fifth* Rule of Chriſtian Prudence for this Purpoſe, is *not to be glad of any Temporal Advantage by ill Things*, and, whilſt we reap the Profit, *to be content with the Wickedneſs*. By the Ill done, Religion ſuffers; tho' what is ſo ill and diſhonourable for Religion, happen to be uſeful for our Intereſt in this World, and make us Gainers. And if we can be content for our own Gain, to have it damnified, it ſhews that we are not ſo much

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for it, as for our ſelves; but are free to have it truck'd away, and given up for our own Advantage. Spiritual Prudence therefore, which propoſes the Honour and Intereſt of God and Religion, in the Firſt Place, and ſets them above our ſelves; will not be bribed by any Thing to enrich our ſelves by their Loſs, or glory in their Diſgrace, or be pleaſed in what is to their Prejudice.

Indeed, if a good Thing is done, tho' with an ill Mind, he who is Wiſe for God and Religion, may rejoice in it. As St. *Paul did*, and declared *he would do, that Chriſt was preach'd*; tho' they who preach'd him, did it not ſo much *ſincerely* to promote the Goſpel; as factiouſly, *out of Envy and ill Will*, to make themſelves ſeem more conſiderable than he at *Philipi*, or to ſpight the Apoſtle, *Phil.* i. 15, 18. 'Tis the Thing that is done, which in the Eyes of Men, doth Honour or Diſhonour to Religion. So that if a good Thing is done, that doth good to Religion, and may cauſe Joy to the Friends and Well-wiſhers of Religion; tho' if it be done with an evil Mind, it be ill for him that doth it, and ſo may cauſe Sorrow in behalf of the Perſon. But when an ill Thing is done, that wounds Religion it ſelf; and no Man who ſets a juſt Price upon Religion, can think any worldly Gain a ſufficient Recompence for that. And therefore, a Projector for Religion, or one who is ſpiritually wiſe, can never, for any worldly Expedience, be content with ill Things, or ſeem glad of any Wickedneſs.

Like to this is another Point of Chriſtian Prudence, *not to be all Zeal in matter of our own Rights, but all Indifference and Lukewarmneſs in the Breach of God's Rights.* Nay, it may be, *not only content that they ſhould be broken by others, but to break his our ſelves, in the aſſerting of our own Rights.* Now this is highly diſhonourable to God and Religion. This different Senſe of what concerns him and us, ſhews what Things we are the moſt tender of. The Quickneſs and the Vehemence of our Motions in our own, and the Coldneſs and Slowneſs of them in his Caſe, ſpeaks plainly how little we value him, and how much we value our ſelves. And therefore Chriſtian Prudence, whoſe chief Aim is to do Honour to God and Religion, will make us more tender of his Rights than of ours, and more careful of what makes for him, than of what makes for our ſelves. As *Moſes*, who was ſo eminently patient, and hard to be provoked in his own Caſe; yet when he ſaw the Diſhonour of God in the *Golden Calf*, was ſo far moved therewith, that in a Tranſport of Zeal *he brake the Tables*, for which he had waited *faſting in the holy Mount for forty Days*, Deut. ix. 9, 11, 17.

But now theſe are quite otherwiſe in the way of worldly Prudence. Worldly Things ſtand higheſt in the Accounts of worldly wiſe; and therefore they are more affected with what touches them, than with any thing elſe. To ſmite them there, is to wound them in their moſt ſenſible Parts, or touch the very Apple of their Eyes: It gives the quickeſt Senſe, and creates the higheſt Paſſion in them. But what doth preſerve theſe, preſerves what they eſteem of moſt Worth; and ſo may recompenſe and over-balance any other Loſſes. Tho' Religion ſuffer in ſome Point, they are not ſo ſenſible of that: And ſo long as they have no Hand in making it ſuffer, they can be well enough content to ſee it, and leave others to be ſorry for their Wickedneſs, who bring Hurt to it. And if its Loſs makes for their Temporal Profit and Advantage, they think they are very well paid for it, and can be glad thereof. Self-Love ſways fleſhly Prudence: And that always finds its ſelf in our own Advantage, and takes that to rejoice in for its Share; leaving others to look to themſelves, as it doth, and to mourn for the Prejudice it doth them, or for the Ill which they have done therein.

CHAP. III.

Chriſtian Prudence for Pleaſing God, and a good Conſcience; and againſt Popularity.

5. *Fifthly*, and laſtly; A Fifth End which Religious Prudence propoſes to it ſelf, is, *To pleaſe God, and a good Conſcience, by doing Things in themſelves good and virtuous.* Religion is not for Shows, but Realities; and God is for Truth, not Appearances. And therefore Spiritual Prudence, which aims to be wiſe for Religion, and for God, is for ſecuring thoſe ſolid and ſubſtantial Goods, or thoſe Things good in themſelves, which Religion preſcribes, and God approves; not what paſſes for Good in the Miſtake of the World, or in Mens diſeaſed Apprehenſions.

Theſe Good Things it doth, *that it may pleaſe God*: His Will is the great Rule of Duty and Goodneſs; and his Approbation is the Recompence thereof. To do what is good, for other Ends and Conſiderations, may be fleſhly Deſign, or human Diſcretion; but to do it, that we may thereby pleaſe God, is Religion and Spiritual Wiſdom. The great Aim which Religious Men have in all theſe Things, is, that God accept of them. And they have enough, when he accepts a Service, tho' here it meet with nothing but Perſecutions, inſtead of Recompences. To be able to take up with this, and think pleaſing God enough, whoever elſe be diſpleaſed at us, is to act like our Fore-runners in the Faith, who did all Things *to be accepted with him*, 2 Cor. v. 9. to be *praiſed* and *commended by him*, or have *him approve them*, 2 Cor. x. 18. Rom. ii. 29. to have *our Eye ſingle*, or that Purity and Sincerity of Intentions, which muſt make *the whole Body full of Light*, or carry us to a Diſcharge of Duty in the whole Compaſs of Converſation; as our Saviour ſays, *Mat.* vi. 22.

This thinking it enough for our Practice thereof, that any way will pleaſe God, tho' tis moſt diſpleaſing to Men, and utterly decried by them; will take us off from *Popularity*, or *ſteering our ſelves by publick Fame*, and *the Applauſe of Men.* And this is abſolutely neceſſary, and one of the Things to be firſt laid, in the way of Religious Wiſdom. He that enters in that way, muſt fix this as a Rule, Not to do what Men will commend, but what really deſerves to be commended. To pleaſe them who will be pleaſed with their Duty, and with his doing of his Duty; but to pleaſe God, and a good Conſcience; tho' for that all the World ſhould be diſpleaſed with him. Had Men ſtood in the State of Innocence, we might ſafely have governed our ſelves by their Pleaſure and Applauſe; becauſe then they would only have applauded good Things: But ſince all are fallen from that, as the World now is, they are generally moſt pleas'd with what moſt offends God, and cry up ill ones. They commend Things, not for intrinſick Worth and Goodneſs, but for their Uſefulneſs and Expedience in ſerving Ends and Purpoſes; or for their Suitableneſs, not to pure Reaſon and Innocence, but to impure and corrupt Nature, and fleſhly Appetite. So that, as the Caſe now ſtands, if we will have their Applauſe, we muſt ordinarily want the Applauſe of God, and of a good Conſcience.

This being the State of all Times, always render'd Popularity, or a Reſolution to do or omit what would prevent Offence, and pleaſe the People, inconſiſtent with Duty and true Goodneſs. *How can ye believe*, ſays our Saviour, (and 'tis the ſame Caſe with all other diſcountenanced and exploded Duties) *who receive Honour one of another, and ſeek not the Honour which*

comes from God only? Joh. v. 44. *The chief Rulers*, even when convinced in their Consciences, would not *confess Christ*; *because they loved the Praise of Men, more than the Praise of God*, Joh. xii. 42, 43. And, *If I yet pleased Men*, saith St. *Paul*, *I should not be the Servant of Christ*, Gal. i. 10. He who will be good therefore, and truly wise for God, must arm against Censure; and be content, as Christ, and his Apostles, and the best Men in all Times were, to hear himself call'd by hard Names, and pass *through good and ill Report*, 2 Cor. vi. 8. Nay, in trying Times, especially if his Station is any ways publick, it is scarce possible to avoid it; but in seeking to shun it, he would, tho' in a less measure, run upon it. For whilst, for striking in with the Crowd, he is cried up by those who are in the wrong; he must expect to be cried down by those who are in the right; whose Applause, tho' it makes less Noise, yet ought to be of more Moment. We must not be dismay'd then, because the World is against a Thing; but because there is just Reason for it to be so. We must not begin it, because it is commended; nor give over a Duty, or good Thing, because it is decried. We must resolve to look what pleases God, not what will please the Multitude; and then we are wise for God, not foolish for the Company of simple Men, and like to do what we ought to do.

Next to this of Pleasing God, is *Pleasing their own good Conscience*: And this is subordinate to the former, and a Consequent thereof; since we can never in Conscience be pleased with our selves, but when we think God is pleased with us. This is a most wise End, and of mighty Importance, to be satisfied with our selves. Without this, we can have no Happiness. If we are discontented in our own Minds, whatever is without us can never please us. Nothing makes us happy, further than we are pleas'd with it; and we can have no true Relish of Pleasure in other Things, whilst we are uneasy and displeased with our selves. Better all the World should be angry with us, than God and our own Conscience. So that the Wisdom which would secure the Power and Honour, and afford us the Comfort and Pleasure of Religion, must always propose to it self the doing what will please God, and thereby our own Consciences.

And whether or no we have done what we know is pleasing to him, Spiritual Prudence *sends us to learn, not from others, but from within our selves. This is our rejoicing*, says St. *Paul*, *the testimony of our Conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but the Grace of God, we have had our Conversation in the World*, 2 Cor. i. 12. And this is the great Happiness of all upright Walkers, that all their Comforts are from a Witness within themselves: *If our own heart condemn us not, then have we confidence towards God*, 1 John iii. 21. Our own Heart is near us; so that at any time, when we please, we may ask it the Question. It is privy to all our Actings; so that whensoever we enquire, it can answer us. And we are as privy to its Answers; so that we need not go to learn of any, what Return is made to us. Such is the Advantage of having this to learn from the Testimony of our own Hearts and Consciences. And to their Testimony, God, and Spiritual Wisdom, send us in this Case: For when the Question is about our own Actings; *the Things of a Man*, as the Scripture says, *are best known to the Spirit of the Man* himself, 1 *Cor.* ii. 11. Tho' we do not know so much of others; yet, under God, we are all able to tell the most of our selves; and no one else can say so much as our own Bosoms.

So that we must not fetch our Rejoicing from the Censures and Commendations of others; nor be chearful, or dejected, according as they surmise or think of us; but according as we know by our own selves. It may be, they are rash and unjust in their Censures, and judge us unheard; as indeed, they are oft apteſt to condemn us, who know least of us. But if all the while our own Conscience can testify 'tis otherwise; we may say

with St. *Paul*, *'tis a very ſmall thing with me, that I ſhould be judged of you, or of Man's Judgment*, 1 Cor. iv. 3. If all the World ſpeaks well, what is that, if we are accuſed in our own Conſciences? And if we are acquitted there, that is worth *Ten Thouſand Witneſſes*, and what ſignify all their Accuſations? Let us take care therefore to live ſo, as that we may be well Reported of in our own Breaſts; and we need not look out for Comforts, from the Opinions and Reports of others. To know what is in us, for our Joy or Sorrow, we muſt not take our Account from Strangers, we are beſt known to our own ſelves.

But now, quite contrary to all this, is the way of *Fleſhly Wiſdom*. Its Care and Aim is, not how to pleaſe God, but how to come off among Men. It is more concerned, for what is like to anger and offend them, than for what will offend him. As the *Chief Rulers were*, who, *believing in Chriſt*, knew that to own him was moſt pleaſing to God: But yet they *did not confeſs him, leſt they ſhould be put out of the Synagogue*, Joh. xii. 42. It is for ſuiting its Carriage, not to the Reality of Things, but to their Diſeaſed Opinions. Its Maxim, is not to ſide with the Truth, but to ſwim with the Stream. It is for doing what is in Vogue, and ſeeming to approve what is by moſt applauded, whether it be good or bad. It will aſſert an ill Cauſe, when the Multitude are for it; and deſert a good Cauſe, when 'tis generally decried. It will renounce any Duty, or Virtue, when 'tis exploded: And ſtrike in with the Oppreſſors of much envied and hated Perſons, when they are trampled under Foot; tho' it happens to know that they are Innocent, or knows not that they are in Fault, or however faulty they are in other Things, tho' it believes that they are greatly wronged in the preſent Caſe, and ſuffer againſt Juſtice. It will always run along with all the Violences of the Time: And that, as ſeeking, not what is really good, but what other Men think and call ſo; not as ſtudying to pleaſe God, but to live at Quiet, and pleaſe the World, ſteering all its Courſe, not by Truth and Virtue, which are a certain fix'd Thing, always one and the ſame; but by the uncertain Blaſt of Popularity, or vulgar Opinion.

Agreeable to this, we may obſerve it is the Rule of Worldly Wiſe Men, *to ſtand for Virtue and Duty, not when it has few Friends, and they muſt practiſe it alone; but when they have Company enough to back and ſtand by them.* They are for Truth and Goodneſs, when they have the ſtrongeſt Parties, and the Cry of a Crowd, to approve and juſtify them in that Cauſe: But not when the Cry goes againſt them, and they ſee no Numbers to join with. So that 'tis not Spiritual Truth and Goodneſs, but Worldly Strength and Number, which is higheſt in their Opinion, and takes moſt with them.

We may likewiſe obſerve, from the ſame Influence and Interpoſition of Fleſhly Wiſdom, even among well-diſpoſed Men, *The great Difference between Suffering Duties, when cried up, and the ſame when decried by the Multitude.* Men find it much eaſier to ſuffer for a good Thing, when the Shout of the People is for them; but very hard, when it runs all againſt them. Nay, there is a Terror in the Clamour of Rabbles, which frights many, that dare even ſtand the Face of Regular Juſtice. Fleſhly Wiſdom, looks out ſtill for ſome viſible Support, and a Fleſhly Arm; which when it cannot have from Authority, and the Higher Powers, it would fain have from the Number of Partakers. Where it has Inclination, it needs moreover to be heartned, and commended in a good Thing. It is not mortify'd enough, to the Countenance and Cry of Men: Looking too much without it ſelf, to their Applauſes; and too little within, to the Commendations of God and of a Good Conſcience.

Whereas, by all the Rules of God and True Wiſdom, if a Way is bad, no Authority of Numbers, or Preſs of the Multitude, muſt bear us along with

with it. *Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil*, saith the Law, *Exod.* xxiii. 2. *If sinners entice thee*, whether more or fewer, whether a Sinful Man or a Sinful Nation, *consent thou not*, saith *Wisdom*, *Prov.* i. 10. When ill Men list themselves in Numbers, and combine in Errors or ill Things, they are ungodly Conspiracies; and all who love God, or themselves, must take care not to be drawn in, or go along with them. *Say not ye a Confederacy to all them to whom this People shall say a Confederacy; neither fear ye their fear, nor be afraid. Sanctify the Lord of Hosts himself, and let him be your fear*, Is. viii. 12, 13. Thus, must not we run in with their wrong Opinion, or fear what affrights them; but instead thereof, what will offend him. When the World is bent upon ill Things, as it ordinarily is, Good Christians must not think it will excuse them, to say, that they were born away in the same with the Torrent. But they must remember, that in their *Baptism*, *they renounced the World*; that *Christ*, tho' he found his Followers in the World, yet has called or *chosen them out of*, or from among the *World*, John xv. 19. and that they must *not be conformed to this World, but transformed* into a quite different Stamp, *by the Renewal of their Mind*, Rom. xii. 2.

And on the contrary, if a Way or Thing is truly Virtuous and Good, no Smallness of Numbers on its side, or Scarcity of Adherents, can warrant us to forsake it. Our owning it at such Times, instead of being excused, is more highly requisite, and most of all needed. For then, under all the Attacks of its Enemies, it is to be supported by its Followers, and can worst dispense with their Service. It is then in want of Adherents, and so can least of all spare us. It is then like to be left destitute, and without help in its greatest Need: Which, instead of releasing any, must incite every one, who would approve himself its true Friend, (a Friend being born for Adversity,) instead of flinching from it, to appear for it, and put to his helping Hand.

And accordingly the best Persons, have not cowardly slunk away, but couragiously stuck to God and their Duty, when they had the least Company, and were left to own and stand to it by themselves. When *Jesus Christ*, that absolute Patron and Advocate for Virtue, appeared in the World, He was * *a Sign spoken against*, Luke ii. 34. When the *Apostles* after him, came to embark in its Cause and Interest, they were *a Sect every where decryed*, Acts xxviii. 2. The whole World in a manner stood at gaze, and *they were made a gazing-stock to the World, by Reproaches and Afflictions*, Heb. x. 33. *Being made a Spectacle*, or † Theatrical Show, *to the World, to Angels, and to Men*, 1 Cor. iv. 9. Confessing the Truth bravely and undauntedly, as did all the Primitive Saints, under all the discouraging Cries and Persecutions, of *Popular* † *Tumults* and *Uproars*, as well as of Courts and Judicatures. *Noah* was a Pattern and *Preacher of Righteousness* to the old World, when *the whole Earth had corrupted themselves*, with one Voice decrying his Virtue, and deriding his Preaching and Provision of the *Ark*, and were full ripe for Ruin *by the Flood*, Gen. vii. 1. 2 Pet. ii. 5. *Elias* was true to God and Religion, and *jealous for them*, when he had none visibly to side with him, and take his Part; *all the Prophets*, as he complains to God, *being slain with the Sword*; *and I, even I am left, and they seek my Life to take it away*, 1 Kings xix. 10. *Jeremy* asserted the Truth and Way of God, when he alone was to be a *defenced City, and a Brazen Wall, against the whole Land*, Jerem. i. 18. *When he was a Derision to all his People, and their Song all the Day*, Lam. iii. 14.

In the great Article of the *Divinity of our Lord*, St. *Athanasius* was almost left by himself, and there was, as it was said, ‖ *Athanasius against the World*, or *Athanasius on one side, and the whole World on the other.* And to

* σημεῖον ἀντιλεγόμενον.

† θέατρον.

† 2. Cor. 6. 5.

‖ Athanasius contra mundum.

to thoſe who then objected the (*a*) *Paucity of its Numbers*, and *meaſured the Authority of a Doctrine by the Multitude of Applauders*; he ſuggeſts, that *Chriſt choſe Twelve Apoſtles, and armed theſe Twelve, who were all ſimple, illiterate, and poor Men, with Truth, againſt the whole World, who, tho' ſo many more in Number, were yet all in the wrong. And theſe Twelve, were not to follow Ten Thouſand: But the Ten Thouſand were to compoſe themſelves to the Way and Belief of theſe Twelve. Who*, as he goes on, *when St.* Stephen *ſtood alone, derided by all, and Stoned to Death, would not rather have been on the Side of this ſingle oppreſſed Man, than of the Numerous and Perſecuting Vulgar? Or, on* Phineas's, *who went out alone for God among the* Jews? *Or, on* Noah's, *to have been ſaved with thoſe few Souls in the Ark, when the univerſal World were deſtroyed by a Deluge? 'Tis good, 'tis good, for a juſt Man, tho' he be but one, and ſtands alone, to ſhew a Confeſſorian Liberty, and profeſs the Truth boldly and freely, and this way to break the Power of Error and Wickedneſs, tho' ſtanding on the united Votes, and concurrent Agreement and Approbation of the Multitude.* And as for the Weight of Numbers, *a Multitude without Demonſtration, proceeding only by Will, is fit to imprint Fear, not to perſuade Belief. Tho' ſome Multitudes I alſo reverence,* viz. *that which corrects Father-like, and gives Demonſtration, and keeps to the old Way, not rejoicing in Innovation. Not that Multitude, which is hired by Gifts and Flatteries, or hurried aſide by Ignorance and Unskilfulneſs, or which is lapſed by Fear and Terror, or that prefers a Momentany Enjoyment of Sin to Eternal Life,* † ſays that Good Father, *to thoſe who took the Judgment of the Multitude for a Proof and Evidence of Truth.*

† Tom. Op. 1. p. 293, 294.

Thus has it been the Care of Good Men in all Times, and muſt be ours when God ſhall call us to the Tryal, if we will be their true Followers, to ſtick firmly to their Duty, whether with, or without Company. They were reſolved to adhere to it, tho' all the World did deſert it. They had determined before-hand, to ſacrifice every other Intereſt to that, or to ſtand or fall with it. And therefore, whereſoever it called, they readily followed: Not conſidering, whether it were with the Cry, or againſt it; whether any body elſe went along to back them, or all ſtaid behind. What the *Poet* ſaid, in the Character of the *Good* and *Upright Man*; that (*b*) *neither the Madneſs and Heat of the Rabble, calling for an ill Thing; nor the Face of a Tyrant menacing and commanding it, can ſhake his virtuous Sedfaſtneſs*; is a Pitch which others content themſelves to talk of, but which they ſtill made viſible in their Practice.

I add, in the laſt place, concerning all the fore-cited Ends of Chriſtian Prudence, That tho' being Fleſh as well as Spirit, we are allowed to have other lower Ends; yet is it one of its Rules, *when we cannot ſerve both, to give up the inferior, to ſerve the main End.* It will part with our Worldly Goods and Conveniency, to preſerve all the foreſaid Ends of Duty and Innocence, of the Honour of Religion, and a good Conſcience; and forego any Good of our Bodies, for the greater Good of our Souls. This is implied, when this Prudence is recommended and required by our Lord, under the Name of *the Wiſdom of the Serpent*, Mat. x. 16. For his chiefeſt Care, as has been commonly noted, is *to ſave his Head. And as the Serpent*, ſays St. * *Chryſoſtom*, upon the Place, *gives away all firſt,*

* Homil. 34. in Mat.

(*a*) Non dubitandum eſt paucos Epiſcopos eſſe pretioſos de merito Confeſſionis & inviolabilis fidei, multos verò nullificari meirto hæreſeos vel prævaricationis, quia in cauſa veri, maxime in cauſa Religionis & ſacræ Fidei, non numerus numero comparandus eſt, ſed pura illa Apoſtolica fides, probata exiliis, probata cruciatibus licent unius, multorum infidelitatibus præponenda eſt. *Fauſtin. & Marcell. in Lib. Precum*, p. 13.

(*b*) Non ardor Civium prava jubentium, non vultus inſtantis tyrannimente quatit ſolida. *Horat. Carm.* l. 3. Od. 3.

tho' it be his Body it ſelf to be cut in Pieces, that he may thereby preſerve his Head ſafe: In like manner, ſays our Lord, be thou ready to ſurrender up all Things, tho' all thy Poſſeſſions, tho' thy Body, yea, tho' thy Life it ſelf, to preſerve thy Faith. For that is the Head and Root of all. And ſo long as that is kept, tho' thou loſeſt all the reſt, yet ſhalt thou recover all again with greater Magnificence at laſt. —— *Requiring thee, to ſhew the Wiſdom of the Serpent, he warns thee not to loſe what is of moſt Account, and when a Blow doth come, never to receive it in a Principal, or moſt Vital Part.* And this is a Rule of Worldly Wiſdom too, to give up what is of leſs Account, for the Preſervation of what is of more. But its Fault here is, to ſubject Spiritual to Temporal Ends, (as may be ſeen in all the Preceeding Inſtances thereof,) which, in all Right and Reaſon, ought to be ſet above them.

CHAP. IV.

Of not doing Evil, that Good may come.

AS Chriſtian Prudence is in the firſt Place to fix the Mark whereat we are to aim, and to ſee and ſet out to us *Right Ends*: So it is,

2. *Secondly, To purſue thoſe Ends, only by fit and Chriſtian Ways.* Prudence, is moſt taken up in Choice of Means; appearing in either *Sagacity* and *Acuteneſs*, by diſcerning them inſtantly; or in *Counſel*, when it diſcovers them by Thought and Study.

And oppoſite to this, is *Imprudence*, which has no due Underſtanding or Conſideration about Ways and Methods; and doth not either ſee, or ſtick to thoſe Means which are fitteſt for the Ends it aims at. Sometimes it miſſes them, *through inordinate Haſte*, not ſtaying to take Counſel, or deliberate which Courſe is beſt. As it happens, when Men are puſh'd on raſhly by their own Will or Paſſion; not taking Time and Pains, firſt to reflect with themſelves, and call to mind former Experience and paſt Succeſs of the ſame Courſe, or view preſent Things and Circumſtances, or conſider what may be the Effects and Conſequences; or reaſon, and compare one Thing with another; or where there is need thereof, ſhew Docility and Regard to other Mens Skill, hearkning to a good and wiſe Adviſer. Theſe, and ſuch like, are the orderly and intermediate Steps, whereby the Mind ſhould proceed from Propoſal of a Thing, to Purſuit thereof; and guide it ſelf as need requires, in conſulting about the Fitneſs of Ways and Methods. And, when without ſuch orderly Proceſs, in a Caſe that needs it, it fixes on a wrong way in haſte, at the Impulſe of its own Will or Humour, or of ſome External Impellent, without having taken Counſel about it; this *uncounſell'd Choice*, or *inordinate haſte in fixing*, is call'd *Precipitancy*. And this, where it is not only *a blind Feſtination*, but bears with it *a plain Contempt of known Laws and Rules*, which ſhould have kept it in, or ſuch an headſtrong Motion, as is a clear Effect of Pride and Preſumption, is call'd *Temerity*. At other Times, when it ſtays to conſult about them, *Imprudence* miſſes the right Way and Means, not by viewing ſufficiently, but *contemning or neglecting the Circumſtances of Things*; eſpecially thoſe that are neceſſary to form a Right Judgment of them: Which Act of Imprudence is call'd *Inconſiderateneſs*. Or, laſtly, when it has done all in point of Deliberation, a *Third* Act of Imprudence about the Means, is, *not to ſtick to what has been once reſolved upon*, or *be ſtedfaſt in Right Purpoſes*; which is *Inconſtancy*. Precipitancy, is a Fault and Defect in *Conſultation*; Inconſiderateneſs,

ſideratenes, in *Judging*; and Inconſtancy, in point of *Perſiſting*, or ſticking to what had been well fixed or judged before.

Now, as Prudence is thus taken up in Choice and Uſe of Means; ſo is *Chriſtian Prudence*, in the Choice and Uſe of ſuch only, *as are fit for Chriſtians*. As *Prudence*, it muſt direct to *fitting* Means: And as *Chriſtian*, to ſuch as are agreeable to the Holy Religion and Laws of *Chriſt Jeſus*.

One part of this, and that of great Wideneſs and Importance, is to ſee what Ways and Means are fitteſt for the Attainment or Increaſe of all particular Virtues. All Duties have their proper Means which make way for their Performance, and Hindrances that do obſtruct it. And 'tis the Part of Prudence, in one who would be Wiſe to do his Duty, to diſcern and direct what theſe Means are, in the Caſe of each; that ſeeking them always in Wiſe and Right Ways, he may labour after them with the more Succeſs. To ſhew what theſe are, through all particular Virtues, what Means are beſt accommodate to their ſeveral Natures, or to our Needs and Temptations in the Exerciſe or Diſcharge thereof, is beſides my preſent purpoſe, and may be learned, as Occaſion requires, from thoſe good Books, where the Duties themſelves are practically and particularly treated of.

But, beſides this ſeeing what Means are fitteſt for the Diſcharge of any Duties; another Part of Prudence is, to ſee, in ſuch Diſcharge, what ways are fitteſt for its or our own outward Encouragement; or that we may do it with moſt Eaſe, Convenience, and Safety to our ſelves. This Prudence looks at in all our Ways; whether the Diſcharge of Duty, or any others that are free, and left to our ſelves. And this Prudence Chriſtianity muſt moderate, that our Care for our Safety never carry us againſt, or make us careleſs of our Duty. And upon both theſe, *viz. the Ways of ſecuring both Religion and our ſelves*, I ſhall obſerve ſeveral Limitations, which, in regard to the Nature and Rules of Chriſtianity, Spiritual Prudence lays on us, whilſt a Latitude is given therein by Fleſhly Wiſdom, and taken by the Worldly Wiſe.

In the *Firſt* place then, I obſerve of Spiritual Wiſdom, That *it is never for doing Evil, that Good may come.*

This *Good*, is any Fleſhly Convenience or Benefit of this World, that concerns us, either as Men or Chriſtians. And this, whoſe Worldly Convenience ſoever it ſerves, whether our own or our Friends and Relations; whether of few or many; private or publick; of Religion or Civil Government; Church or State. Theſe Things are the main Care of the Wiſdom of the Fleſh; and the great Mark, which the Prudence of this World drives at. And Spiritual Prudence allows the ſeeking thereof, ſo long as it is without Sin; but it gives no leave to do Ill, *i. e.* to omit any Duty, or tranſgreſs any Commandment for them. I ſpeak of Commandments which require Things of a Natural or Moral Obligation. In mere *Poſitives*, as *Circumciſion*, *Shew-Bread*, and the *Sabbatick Reſt*; God ſometimes allows more Liberty, in caſe of Neceſſity or great Convenience: As the Omiſſion of Circumciſion was conniv'd at for the extream Burdenſomneſs thereof, whilſt they were in a Travelling State in the Wilderneſs. But Natural or Moral Obligations, are not to give way to any outward Convenience. In caſe of theſe, Spiritual Prudence is not for doing a Spiritual Ill, for any Worldly Good: It will rather ſuffer any Ill, than do it. It gets by the Ill it ſuffers, if it can ſuffer with Patience and Innocence. But it always loſes, by the Ill it doth. Tho' it get a Worldly Convenience, it parts with what is incomparably better, *viz.* its Integrity, and a good Conſcience. It will never yield to commit a Sin, no, not for the Worldly Convenience of the Things of God and Religion; not owning that Corrupt and Ungodly Maxim, of *breaking Religion to preſerve Religion. Be wiſe as Serpents, but ſimple* and *innocent as Doves*, ſaith

our Saviour, *Mat.* x. 16. That is, ſays an * *Old* and *Learned Comment*, *To ſpeak in a word*; *Be wiſe as Serpents, that you may underſtand and ſhun what is ill*; *but be ſimple as Doves, that you may not do any thing that is ill.* * Incerti Authoris in Mat. ap. Chryſoſt.

It may ſeem needleſs, perhaps, to prove this to be a Rule and Precept of true Spiritual Wiſdom to Chriſtians; or indeed, to any Perſons of Natural Honeſty, and good Moral Tempers: But yet we ſee by ſad Experience, when they are brought to the Pinch, and cannot have the Good which they ſeek without doing ill for it; that not only Chriſtians, but Chriſtians of all Perſuaſions, are ready to think and profeſs 'tis otherwiſe. This is the General Effect of the Wiſdom of the Fleſh; and in their Neceſſities offers it ſelf, (and too oft, God knows, with over-much Succeſs) to all that have fleſhly Natures, and is not confin'd to any Sects or Parties. They who will blame it when they do not need it, and cry out of it in others, are ready, alas; moſt ſhamefully many times to juſtify it in their Need, and practiſe by it themſelves. But when they do thus, it is only at the Incitation of fleſhly Wiſdom; of that † *Craftineſs*, that makes uſe of any Thing which will help on a Deſign, and which the Scripture notes and taxes in worldly wiſe Men, *Eph.* iv. 14. 1 *Cor.* iii. 19. but is what Religion and Chriſtian Prudence (which contrives more for God and Goodneſs, than for any worldly Convenience) will never allow of. † παυεργία.

This doing a Spiritual Ill, that a Worldly Good or Convenience may come thereby, is not to be juſtified,

1. *Firſt*, By *any Pretence of Serviceableneſs*, or *Ends of Piety towards God.* We muſt never ſin for him, or tranſgreſs his Laws, to pleaſe, or do him Service. He has no need of our Sins; for 'tis only Human Impotence, which has no Place in him, that is the Parent of, and puts upon all unlawful Expedients: And he will never accept, or be ſerved by them. For our Service is not ſo much to do him good; who being all Fulneſs, and perfectly happy in himſelf, ſtands in no need of any Thing from us; as to ſhew our Obedience. And if the Acceptance of all our Services lies in our Obedience; we cannot think he will ever count himſelf ſerved, by ſeeing his Laws broken, and himſelf therein diſobey'd. When *Saul ſpared* the Fat Things, *the beſt of the Sheep and Oxen of the Amalekites*; it was indeed a Breach of Duty, God having || expreſly commanded him to *deſtroy all, and ſpare none*; but it was upon *a Pretence of Piety.* They were ſpared, as he pleads for himſelf, only *for a Sacrifice*, which he thought was more for God's Glory and Service, 1 *Sam.* xv. 15. But what ſays God to *Saul*'s committing this Ill to do good to him, or ſinning for his Glory and Intereſt? *Hath the Lord as great delight in Sacrifice and Burnt-offerings, as in obeying the Voice of the Lord? Behold, to obey is better than Sacrifice*; *i. e.* than to yield to an Act of Diſobedience, that we may have a Sacrifice; *and to hearken, than the Fat of Rams*, v. 22. || v. 2, 3.

When well-meaning *Uzzah put forth his hand to the Ark of God, and took hold of it* to bear it up, when *the Oxen ſhook it*, and it totter'd in the Cart; he did ill, 'tis true, for he touch'd it with a forbidden Hand; God having order'd, on *any Carriage of the Sanctuary, and of the Ark*, that no unhallowed Hand *of thoſe that bare it, ſhould touch any holy thing, leſt they die*, Num. iv. 5, 15. But this ill Thing he did in an apparent Danger, and with a moſt viſible Appearance of Good to come to the Things of God thereby. What, might *Uzzah* think, may not I, eſpecially in a ſeeming little Thing, tranſgreſs one Precept, when there is an apparent Neceſſity for it, to ſave even *the Ark of God*, that *Glory and Strength of Iſrael*, as 'tis * called; or to keep and preſerve a Church, already tottering, from tumbling to the Ground? But how doth God receive this unlawful, indeed, but well-meant Courſe, of committing a ſeemingly little Sin, to ſave the Things * Pſal. lxxviii. 61. & cxxxii. 8.

of his own Houſe; which he himſelf had made of higheſt Dignity and Importance? *The anger of the Lord was kindled againſt Uzzah; and God ſmote him there for his error; and there he died by the Ark of God*, 2 Sam. vi. 6, 7.

If God would accept of Wickedneſs for any Ends, certainly it muſt be for his own Glory, which is worth all the World beſides; and which has ſome Plea of compenſating him for the Diſobedience, and making him a Gainer by the Exchange. And if he would allow of any Sin for his Glory, one would think it ſhould be an officious Lye; when his Servants and Well-wiſhers think, and ſtretch beyond the Truth, or traduce the oppoſite Parties; eſpecially where they have ſome plauſible Colour in preſſing Conſequences, merely becauſe they think that his Honour needs it, and they know not how they can otherwiſe well defend his Cauſe. But yet God will not accept of any Service, by any ſuch Sin, or Breach of Duty, as this.

For what ſays the Scripture to *Job*'s *Friends*? *Will ye ſpeak wickedly for God, and talk deceitfully for him? Will ye accept his Perſon* in judging, as you do, between him and me; when he requires, in Judgment to accept no Perſon? *Job* xiii. 7, 8. But now, all the Unrighteouſneſs, or Ill which they did againſt *Job*, was only thereby to clear God's Honour and Juſtice in *Job*'s Sufferings. They were *Forgers of Lies againſt the innocent*, as he tells them, *v.* 4. but all with a Deſign to juſtify the Proceedings of God. *Eliphaz* accuſes him, that *he had plowed Iniquity, and ſowed Wickedneſs, and now reaped the ſame*, Job iv. 8. But this was to make *God juſter than* Job, in his Sufferings, *v.* 7, 17, 18. *Bildad* tells him, that his *Children were wicked*, and he *himſelf an hypocrite*, *Ch.* viii. 4, 6, 13. But this he ſaid, leſt elſe in his Caſe God ſhould appear to *pervert Juſtice and Judgment*, v. 3. *Zophar* charges him, that he had *been wicked*; and that *Iniquity was ſtill in his Tabernacles*, *Ch.* xi. 3, 6, 14. But the Deſign hereof was to juſtify God's Dealings, and to ſhew that *he exacted of him leſs than* Job's *Iniquity deſerved*, v. 6. All theſe ill Things which *Job*'s Friends did, were well meant: Their hard Judgments againſt *Job*, were only the Effect of their *Reſpecting the Perſon of God*, and taking his Part. This is *Job*'s own Conſtruction of them: *Will ye*, ſays he, *accept his Perſon? Ch.* xiii. 8. Their unjuſt Surmiſes and Accuſations were only pious Falſhoods; God's Proceedings needing them, as they conceived. And yet, for all the Ill was done with ſo pious an Intention; *Will ye ſpeak wickedly for God, and talk deceitfully for him?* was a Report unanſwerable, when *Job* objected it againſt them, *Ch.* xiii. 7.

God will never allow his Servants to go out of his own way, tho' it be on Pretence to ſerve himſelf. He will never think, and we muſt never ſay, that he is glorified, when he is diſobey'd; or that he can ever get any Glory, by our Tranſgreſſing of our Duty. We glorify his Power and Sovereignty, when we obey it; his Wiſdom, when we follow it; and Religion, when we keep and practiſe the Rules thereof. We glorify him, as I formerly obſerved, by ſhewing forth his Glorious Attributes, and expreſſing them in our ſelves. Whereas all Sin is never the Expreſſion, but always the Defacement of his Image; and therefore his Glory can only be ſought, as 'tis only compaſſed, by Obedience.

2. Nor is it to be juſtified, *by any Pretence to ſerve the Publick.* However the Good of the Publick is of more Account than any private Good, yet is it of leſs than the Honour and Intereſt of Almighty God. And therefore, if we may not be allow'd to ſin, to ſerve God; we can never be allow'd to do more for the Service of any other Maſter, or ſin to ſerve the Publick. This, indeed, is a ſpecious Cover for unlawful Expedients; and nothing is more ordinarily pretended by thoſe that uſe them, for their own Defence. For this is the way to make all People Parties; to ſtop their Mouths from branding it with juſt Cenſures; nay, to bribe their

Favour

Favour and Approbation of the Expedient; to perſuade the Publick, that it is made uſe of only for their Sakes.

But this will never paſs before an impartial and moſt juſt God, however it may ſtop the Mouths of partial and corrupt Men. This Pretence the *Jews* had, in the Murder committed upon our bleſſed Saviour. *If we let this Man alone*, ſay the *Phariſees* at their *Council* held about him, *all Men will run after him; and the* Romans *will come, and take away both our Place and Nation*, Joh. xi. 48. *'Tis expedient*, ſaid the High-Prieſt *Caiaphas, for us, that one Man ſhould die for the People, and that the whole Nation periſh not*, v. 50. But yet for all this Pretence, and Warranty of Publick Expedience, this was a *Murder* acted by moſt *wicked Hands*, Acts ii. 23. The Publick muſt be ſought under God, not ſet up againſt him; and it, as well as private Perſons, muſt rule it ſelf by Ways of Righteouſneſs, not by Ways of mere Expedience.

Indeed, nothing is ſo true and ſerviceable an Expedient for the Publick, as an entire Practice of Religion, or Performance of Duty and Pleaſing God. This is the beſt Bottom, and firmeſt Security of Common Good, or Publick Intereſt. 'Tis not thought ſo, I confeſs, by worldly Men, who look only at ſenſible and preſent Things: But it will appear ſo to all raiſed and Spiritual Minds, who know God has the moſt to do, or the greateſt Hand in bringing any Events about, and rely on Providence. For to be ſure, they who reſt on Providence more than on Human Proviſions and Appearances, will never think they can ſerve the Publick Intereſt by Diſobedience. * *Let Juſtice be done, whatſoever happen*, is their Maxim. To do their Duty, is their Care: To govern the World, and to ſee that this do no hurt, is God's. And when they have done their Duty, which is their Part, they can chearfully truſt and rely on him for Events.

* Fiat juſtitia, ruat cœlum.

3. Nor *by any Pretence to ſerve our Friends or Relations*; nay, or to *ſerve our ſelves, or even to ſave our own Lives*. If an unlawful Expedient may not be taken to ſerve God, to be ſure it may not be taken to ſerve us; for his Intereſt is infinitely of more Account than ours: And he is not ſo like to diſpenſe with the Breach of any of his own Laws for us, as for himſelf. If it may not be done for the Publick, ſure it muſt not for any private Account; for the Publick Good contains that of Private Perſons, and is worth more to God than any Private is.

Indeed, if Self-Love may be Judge, we might ſooneſt take theſe Liberties in our own Caſe, and ſtretch fartheſt to ſerve our ſelves. But Self-Love and Religion are Two Things; and as the great Rule of that is *Self-pleaſing*, ſo the fundamental Principle of this *is Denying of our ſelves*. 'Tis always, without Exception, for Denying of our Sins; and not doing the leaſt Ill, to get out of the greateſt Diſtreſs. *Tho' my Soul is continually in my hand*, ſays the *Pſalmiſt*, *yet do I not forget thy Law.* † *The wicked have laid a ſnare for me; yet I erred not from thy Precepts.* Pſal. cxix. 109, 110. *They had almoſt conſumed me upon Earth; but I forſook not thy Precepts*, v. 87. When there is no way to eſcape the Croſs, but a Sin; Religion is for taking up the Croſs, not for eſcaping it. Tho' we may love our ſelves, and love our Friends, and ſeek what is pleaſing both to them and us; yet muſt that be under God, not againſt him; and we muſt prefer our Duty, and Pleaſing him, before both. *If any Man love Father, or Mother*, or any Thing elſe, *yea, his own Life above me*, ſays our Saviour, *he is not worthy of me*, Mat. x. 37. Luk. xiv. 26. And when St. *Peter*, in this way of ſelfiſh Expedience, out of pure human Love and Friendſhip, fell to diſſuade *Chriſt* from that laſt and hardeſt Part of Obedience in his Sufferings; *Get thee behind me, Satan*, ſays he to him, *Mat.* xvi. 22, 23. Such Counſels never come from God, nor are accepted with him; but always have *Satan* and ſelfiſh Natures at the Bottom, and are pleaſing to them alone.

† *See* Pſal. xliv. 17, 18, 19, 22. & Pſal. cxix. 51.

Thus,

Thus, upon *no Pretence of Good to come*, may we ever break a Commandment, or venture on an evil Action. Expediency or Serviceableneſs, tho' to the beſt Purpoſes, will never hallow an unholy, or juſtify an unlawful Thing. When we are propoſing any Good, we muſt take a good Way to it: Good Ends muſt be compaſſed by good Means and Methods. To make a good Action, we muſt not only do what is good, but do it with a good Deſign. For * *Good*, as the Rule ſays, *ſprings not but from an entire Cauſe*, taking in the Goodneſs, both of the Act and of the Intention. But to render what we do, an ill Action; 'tis enough, if we either do an ill Thing, tho' with the beſt Deſign; or a good Thing, if we do it with an ill one. For † *Evil*, as the Rule of Morals ſays, can ariſe from any Defect, and will come in, either by the illneſs of the Thing, or by the illneſs of the Intention. An ill Thing, is ſtill an ill Thing, tho' Men do it with the beſt Intention: And the Actors are puniſhable in Religion, for the illneſs of the Action; not juſtifiable for the Goodneſs of the Intention. Some, indeed, once laid this to St. *Paul*'s Charge, as if he taught them to do ill with a good Intention, or *to do Evil that Good may come*, Rom. iii. 8. But this, ſays the Apoſtle, was *a ſlanderous Report*; and the Doctrine was a Doctrine for looſe Libertines, not for Holy Chriſtians; ſuch as he did by no means own, but abhor and throw out with Indignation. *Some ſlanderouſly report that we ſay, Let us do Evil, that good may come; whoſe Damnation is juſt*, Rom. iii. 8. As *God hath commanded no Man to do wickedly*; ſo be the Pretence what it will, *neither hath he*, as the *Wiſe Son of Sirach* ſays, *given any Man licenſe to ſin*, Ecclus. xv. 20.

* Bonum eſt ex integra Cauſa.

† Malum ex quolibet Defectu.

CHAP. V.

Of the Plea of Neceſſity, Providence, or Prophecies, for doing Ill.

HAVING ſaid thus much, to ſhew in general, how inviolable a Rule of Chriſtian Wiſdom this is, *Not to do Evil that Good may come*: I ſhall from hence obſerve the Vanity of ſome Palliations, whereby Men fruitleſly endeavour to blanch over the Deformity of this Practice; ſuch as the *Plea of Neceſſity, Providence, or Prophecies*. And after that, to tax and ſet off ſome of the moſt conſiderable Inſtances of doing Ill, wherein the Fleſhly-wiſe are wont to think they may beſt take Liberty, in purſuit of any Good Ends.

Firſt, Spiritual Prudence will never allow us to *ſet aſide any Duty* on *Pretence of Neceſſity*.

It will never yield, that we offend againſt God or Man; that in any Thing we be falſe, undutiful, or unjuſt; that we Diſhonour our Parents, break our Oaths, Promiſes, and Engagements, covet other Mens Goods, take what is not Right, or with-hold what is; or break any one or more of God's Commandments, on the *Plea of Neceſſity*, or ſaying it was neceſſary for us ſo to do. This, God knows, is too much ſet up in the World. And when unjuſtifiable Ways are taken, and Things practiſed, which the very Actors are ready to own as otherwiſe Ill done; yet is this thought a ſufficient Reaſon why they ſhould be done, becauſe they were neceſſary, and they could not do without them.

But what were they neceſſary for? To pleaſe God, or to fulfil any Rule of his, or Precept of Religion? No ſure, they are not neceſſary to theſe Ends, but neceſſarily overthrow them. But they were neceſſary, for ſaving the Things of this World; to keep what is Ill-got, or to maintain what is Ill-done. But now theſe are not Religious, but Self-Ends; not for the other World, but for this. And theſe Ways of ſupplying its Neceſſities, are not Spiritual, but Carnal; not Religious, but Worldly Prudence. And if we give way to break God's Precepts, for Worldly Neceſſities; this is not to ſhew Religion, but Self-Love; not to ſet up God, but our Selves.

We are not to commit any Sin, as I have ſhewn, when that ſeems the moſt neceſſary, to procure the beſt, and moſt deſirable Goods, either to God, the Publick, or our Selves. And if we might Sin, rather than Suffer, and take Liberty to ſet aſide any Religious Duties, to ſupply the Call of Worldly Neceſſities; what Work would this make with the Commandments? And how are any of them a Duty, longer than they ſtand with our Convenience? What becomes of *Patience*, which is for dutifully bearing Hardſhips, not for removing them by Undutifulneſs? What becomes of the *Religion of taking up the Croſs*, and of *Suffering for Righteouſneſs?* We may *bear the Croſs*, as I formerly obſerved, when we cannot help it; but then properly we take it up, when a Sin might avoid it. And it may be our *Misfortune* ſometimes, to ſuffer for Righteouſneſs; as having no way in Righteous Courſes, more than in Unrighteous, always to avoid Sufferings. But it cannot be our *Duty* to ſuffer for Righteouſneſs, if without Breach of Duty, we may leave off to be righteous, to ſave Sufferings. At this rate, of forſaking the Commandment to ſtick to the World, or when a Worldly Neceſſity drives him to it, contrary to what our Bleſſed Lord and his Apoſtles taught, a *Man may ſerve both God and Mammon*, Mat. vi. 4. *Be a Friend of the World, and not an Enemy of God*, Jam. iv. 4. *They that are in the Fleſh*, this way *may pleaſe God*. And if *the Carnal Mind cannot be ſubject to the Law of God*, as St. *Paul* ſays it cannot, the Law of God will by this Rule become ſubject to it, *Rom.* viii. 7, 8. In Sum, there would be no Neceſſity of being *tranſformed from this World*, as St. *Paul* requires; but a Liberty of being *conformed unto it*, which he forbids, *Rom.* xii. 2. Nor any need of *Denying our Selves*, as *Chriſt* urges, *if we would be his Diſciples*, Luke ix. 23.

So that this Plea, of *Worldly Neceſſity ſetting aſide our Duty in any Caſe*, is a Principle purely of this World, but not at all of Almighty God. It overthrows, as all the Rules, ſo all the Deſign of Religion, and the Grounds of good Practice. It can come into the Thoughts only of Worldly-wiſe, not of truly Religious Perſons, who never urged a Temporal Neceſſity againſt a Spiritual Duty, being not Men of this World, but of a better. There can never be any Neceſſity of Sinning, to him that dare Suffer. And he, who is reſolved againſt Suffering, may think himſelf a Worldly-wiſe Man; but God will account him no good Chriſtian.

But this now is otherwiſe, in the *Wiſdom of this World*. Neceſſity, it thinks a Reaſon not to be argued or diſputed. And what it calls Neceſſary, is what is Neceſſary to one who is reſolved to keep this World, not to one who can part with it: What is Neceſſary, not to one that would ſet God and Religion above the World, but that ſets the World uppermoſt, and ſo makes a God of it. If it talk of any Thing being neceſſary for the Intereſt of God and Religion; it means only, for the Worldly Things about them. It looks not what is Neceſſary to keep Innocence; for other Things it accounts more neceſſary than that: But what is neceſſary for Carnal Worldly Convenience. It is more for Things neceſſary to preſent Safety, than for thoſe which are neceſſary to good Hopes of Eternity. And to make Men ſafe here, by affording viſible Human Securities; not by

by engaging the Protection of God, and the Guard of an unſeen Providence.

2. *Secondly*, Spiritual Prudence will never allow us to *juſtify any Breach of Duty, by the Plea of Providence.*

This is the way of Worldly-wiſe Men, who are ready to catch at any Thing, as a good Argument of a Way's being approved by God, and pleaſing to him, if it profits them. If God gives Succeſs, when they uſe unlawful Ways and Expedients; eſpecially, if in bringing that Succeſs about, there are any ſurprizing or remarkable Circumſtances, they cry up the Hand of God, and think his proſpering it ſo ſignally, is his Approbation thereof. God himſelf here, ſay they, is willing to become a Party, and ſuch Succeſs is his Teſtimony.

But Spiritual Wiſdom teaches us to take the *Morality of Actions*, and the Goodneſs or Illneſs of Things, from *Laws*, not from *Providence.* It is the Laws of God, in Nature or Scripture, that muſt teach us our Duty, and tell us what will pleaſe God, or what will offend him. *Sin is the Tranſgreſſion of a Law*, as St. * *John* ſays; and Obedience is the keeping of them. And theſe Laws, are publiſh'd in the Nature of Things, and in the Word of God; which are a plain and ſure Promulgation of them.

* 1 Joh. iii. 4.

But as for *Providence*, its Deſign is not to be a Publiſher of Precepts. God's Providence is not an Act of his Legiſlation, but of Judicature and Execution. Its part, is not firſt to ſhew and promulge Laws; but, ſuppoſing them promulged before, to ſuperviſe the Carriage of thoſe whom they were promulged to, and execute their Sanctions; or, to recompenſe Actions by ſuitable Events, according as they have either tranſgreſſed, or kept them. The Judgments of God, according to his Will before promulged, we may read in the Events and Iſſues of Providence. But what his Will is, the Obſervance or Breach whereof Providence thus Rewards or Puniſhes, we muſt read in the Moral Nature of Things, and in the Holy Scriptures.

'Tis a bad Uſe therefore of Providence, to make it take off our Eyes from the Morality of Things, and the plain Voice of Laws; and look for what is pleaſing to God, and according to his Will, only in the Events of Actions. Which is like leaving the clear Light of the Sun, to go to read by that of a Glo-worm. 'Tis to go read our Duty, where it was not intended to be writ; and to neglect, or over-look the Peruſal of that, where it is writ.

And 'tis worſe, when we ſee both, to make Providence carry againſt plain Laws, and the Moral Nature of Things: Which is to turn the Signification of Providence, not only againſt the Laws, but againſt it ſelf. For the Uſe of Providence, is to be a Government according to thoſe Laws, and the Morality of Things. It is to be a Maintainer of them, by juſt Retribution: And ſo is only to back and ſtrengthen, but never to oppoſe them.

And therefore Providence muſt never be urged in Favour of an ill and unlawful Thing. For ſince its right Uſe is to be a Retribution of Laws, and to reward Dutifulneſs; all its right Signification, and all our right Remarks thereupon, muſt be only for Encouragement to keep our Duty, but not to tranſgreſs it. It muſt never be preſſed againſt Laws, but always for them: And muſt only draw us to truſt and depend upon God, in a good Thing; but never in an ill one, which Nature, or the Holy Scriptures have forbidden.

Indeed, as Providence is the Adminiſtration of God's Judicature here on Earth; and he permits, or diſpoſes of Events of Things or Actions, in way of Government and Juſtice; there is a Signification of his Liking or Diſliking, in theſe Diſpoſals. But 'tis hard and unſure to fix this on Perſons and Actions;

Actions; to ſay, from theſe Iſſues of Providence alone, who or what he is pleaſed or diſpleaſed withal.

For in the ſame Iſſues and Events, Providence is concerned with a Number of Perſons, of the moſt contrary Qualifications: They are fatal to one, and favourable to another. But yet, ſince therein he has an Eye at both, from the Event alone, we cannot ſay, which God likes, and which he diſlikes; whether the Succeſs is to reward the Actors Righteouſneſs, or to puniſh the Sufferers Wickedneſs. Nay, oft-times in the Juſtice of Providence, God makes ſome Sinners the Executioners of others, and puniſhes one by anothers Offences, making them grind each other to Pieces. So that here, on which ſide ſoever the Shew of Favour or Succeſs falls, it doth not ſignify that God is pleaſed with either. He will ſpeed one, to puniſh another, when he is offended with both. *The Aſſyrian's Succeſs*, was only as *the Rod of God's Anger*, to ſcourge the wicked Nations. Which once done, he and his Ways being no more pleaſing to God than the others were, he was to be broken himſelf, and fall under like Judgments. *Iſ.* x. 5, 12, 16, *&c. The wicked*, who in their Courſe of Wickedneſs, are far from being pleaſing to him, yet, ſays the *Pſalmiſt*, *are a Sword of thine*, and ſo long find Succeſs therein, *Pſal.* xvii. 13.

Yea, as the Thriving of ſome, is not always to ſhew Favour; ſo the Sufferings of others, in Events of Providence, is not always to ſhew Diſpleaſure. For many times their Sufferings are not deſigned to puniſh the Sufferers, but only to try their Patience, and refine and manifeſt their Virtues, and rouze a ſluggiſh World with the ſight of brave Examples. Such was the meaning of *David*'s Sufferings and Perſecutions under *Saul*. Such was the Signification of Providence, in the Sufferings of *Job*, of the *Holy Prophets*, of our *Bleſſed Lord* and his *Apoſtles*, and of all the Noble and Heroick Spirits, the *Martyrs* and *Confeſſors* of all Ages; whoſe Sufferings came not from Providence in a Penal Way, but as a Privilege. Nay, ſometimes, as in an uſeful, eſpecially in a publick Perſon, they ſuffer ſo much, not altogether to prove or puniſh themſelves, as to perplex others, and puniſh the People thereby. *For the* Sins and *Tranſgreſſions of a People, many are the Changes of Princes*, ſays *Solomon*, Prov. xxviii. 2. As, on the contrary, others Succeſs, is oft-times only to compleat the Time of their Reſpite, before they are dragg'd to Puniſhment; or to allow them their full Meaſure of good Things, (which, as our * Saviour intimates, are more liberally proportioned out to them in this Life, becauſe they are to have none in the next,) till they have filled up the Meaſure of their Sins, and ſo are ripe for the Judgment of Providence. So that as it is no Signification of God's Diſlike, that one ſuffers by Providence: For *what Son* or beloved *is he, whom the Father chaſteneth not?* ſaith the *Apoſtle*, Heb. xii. 7. So neither is it of his Liking and Favour, that another ſucceeds by it; *there being*, as to this, *one Event*, as the *Wiſe-Man* ſays, *both to the Righteous and the Wicked*, Eccleſ. ix. 2.

* Luk. xvi. 25.

I add, laſtly, that the Favour or Diſfavour, which the Event of Providence carries with it, in way of Human Appearance, is not to be ſoon determined, till the whole Train is ſeen, (the upſhot whereof may, and often doth, lie very remote,) and till it appears which Party is moſt Proſperous and Succeſsful in the End. The greateſt preſent Unſucceſsfulneſs, is moſt ordinarily made uſe of by Providence, as a Step to much more valuable future Succeſſes. Its Method is, to bring Light out of Darkneſs, and to compaſs Final Succeſſes, by intermediate Diſappointments. And who then can ſay aſſuredly, that Providence is for one, or againſt another, till they have run out the whole Length of the Chain of Effects, and the End appears. And this oft lies very far off, much further, it may be, than we are like to live

to ſee what it will prove. And till this is ſeen, all judging of the Favour or Diſfavour of Providence, from what Events went before, is moſt uncertain; not Right Judgment, but Self-Flattery and Deluſion; whereof each Party ſerves, and wherewithal it pleaſes it ſelf, according as its Turn comes, in the Ebbs and Flows, and various Viciſſitudes, of the intermediate Succeſſes.

Thus, upon all theſe Accounts, to name no more, tho' there is a Real Liking or Diſliking, in the Events of Providence, which is known to, and deſign'd by God himſelf: Yet, is the Application of this, to Things or Perſons, ſo much at Uncertainties, and the Favour or Diſfavour of Iſſues ſo promiſcuous, as appears to us, that *from the Events of Providence alone*, we cannot learn whom he loves or whom he hates, what is pleaſing or diſpleaſing to him. *No Man*, as *Solomon* ſays, in this Caſe, *can know either Love or Hatred, Good or Evil, by all that is before him*, Eccl. ix. 1. To learn this from Providence, beſides the viſible Events, we muſt weigh the Merit of Actions from Laws; and ſtay the final End of Succeſſes, which are the Recompence of them. And when thoſe are ſeen, but not before, from the Qualities of Perſons and Attempts, we muſt read, whether any Succeſs were for a juſt Encouragement of the Actors Righteouſneſs, or for a Puniſhment of the Sufferers Wickedneſs; whether it is for Proof and Trial, or for Recompence. Always making the Voice of Providence, to aſſert and eſtabliſh the Moral Nature of Things, and the Laws and Duties revealed in Scripture; but never in any wiſe, to deny, or gainſay them.

And therefore, the Signification of Providence is not to teach thoſe, that are ignorant of their Duty, or of Good and Ill; but only thoſe who already underſtand it. It is no Expoſitor of the Will of God, to thoſe who know it not; but only an Encourager of its Obſervance, to thoſe who know what it is.

Hence Men ought never to cry up the Hand of God, or call in Providence, to prove the Goodneſs of any Actions; but only to preſs thoſe, which were proved before. It is not to inſtruct Men what is their Duty; but to carry them on, to the Obſervance of thoſe Duties wherein they are otherwiſe already inſtructed.

Hence alſo, we muſt not think it enough in any Attempts, to ſay we follow Providence, and go as God makes way for us. We are to follow Laws, not Opportunities. For Providence affords us Opportunities to break Laws, as well as to keep them. Power and Opportunity are among the neceſſary Cauſes of all that is done. And Providence puts Things in Mens Power, and gives them Opportunity to do them. But Opportunities for Ill Things, are not Warranties, but only Trials and Temptations. All Ill Men follow Providence, when they accompliſh Ill Things; which they could not do, without Providence gave Opportunities; and when Good Men, whom they are purſuing for Ill Ends, fall into their Hands.

If any therefore are ignorant what their Duty is, and truſt to learn it from the Iſſues of Providence, taking any Way for the Will and Command of God, when they ſee the Hand of God, or ſome remarkable Succeſs attending it; this will lead them into infinite Deluſions. It will carry them to juſtify the moſt wicked Actions, recorded in Scripture, or in daily Experience; infinite Numbers whereof in all Times and Places, God for wiſe Ends permits, or ſpeeds, and proſpers; and that againſt the moſt Beloved Perſons, not excepting his own Son, or the Holy Church. Beſides, as it is made to juſtify the Urgers of it, in their Way To-Day; it may be, and ordinarily is, as well made to ſhame and condemn them To-morrow: Succeſſes uſually running, as at one time remarkably for, ſo at another Time

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as remarkably againſt them. It is no Rule for the wiſe and well-inſtructed, who never take it for a Rule of Duty, but always bring it to the Rule, and expound the Liking or Diſliking of God therein, by their known Duty. It is only a Rule for the Ignorant to take up; and thoſe, as it finds, ſo it will leave ignorant of their Duty: Nay, which is worſe, it will miſlead them, as I ſay, into the greateſt Errors and Violations thereof, carrying them into Sin, and Shame enough too, before they have done. It is a Way for Men who know, or may know, that they are doing ill, to flatter themſelves, or abuſe others, with faint (but falſe) Colours of God's Acceptance: And this may paſs among the worldly-wiſe, who ſeek to be in Eaſe and Credit in their worldly Enjoyments. 'Tis a Part of worldly Prudence, ſo to expound theſe Events of Providence, not as may beſt ſerve their Duty, but their worldly Ends: But he who would be ſpiritually wiſe, or wiſe for his Duty, muſt always fetch it from the Laws of God, which are the Rule of Duty; and never make Providence, which is to ſerve as the Motive and Encouragement of Dutifulneſs, to ſerve as a Plea to juſtify the Breach thereof.

Thirdly, To this Plea of *Providence* for *juſtifying of ill Actions*, I ſhall annex another not unlike, *viz.* that of *Prophecy*. *When Men think themſelves authorized to do an unlawful and forbidden Thing, by fancying it to be the Accompliſhment of ſome Prediction which God will applaud, and take Pleaſure in.*

I tax not here all Application of *Scripture-Prophecies*, in the *Revelations*, or *other Books*: Albeit thoſe Prophecies being made concerning the Future State of *Chriſt*'s Church, which reaches out both to ſuch a Length of Time, and Latitude of Places, muſt needs be very difficult, and generally unſure; eſpecially before the final Events have brought a full Light to them, to apply to particular Times and Countries. And therefore it becomes Men not to be too poſitive and peremptory, but to ſhew Modeſty therein; which a little Time makes the moſt confident Interpreters, and their Admirers, (for the moſt part) to ſee, had been their beſt Security, and trueſt Wiſdom.

But what I now blame, is the like Uſe of antecedent Prophecies, as was before of ſubſequent Providences and Events; *viz. To take off Mens Eyes and Attention from the Morality of Actions*; and inſtead thereof, to preſume God's Approbation of them, from their fancied Fulfilling what the Scripture juſtifies and ſpeaks well of, in ſome Predictions. 'Tis of mighty Uſe to Men, in any great and daring Attempt, to have their Followers and others think, That there is Deſtiny in their Behalf; That they are only accompliſhing what God has long before deſigned they ſhould, and doing his Buſineſs. This renders them both moſt violent in their Motions, and incurable either by any Admonitions, or even almoſt by any Unſucceſsfulneſs and Diſcouragements; thinking themſelves all the while God's choſen Inſtruments for effecting what they have in Hand, and ſure of Succeſs, as having his immutable Decrees and Predictions on their ſide. And the Serviceableneſs of ſuch a Belief to their worldly Projects and Undertakings, tempts, as ſometimes, miſtaken Zealots or Enthuſiaſts; ſo, at others, deſigning Men, to clap a Prophecy, eſpecially a Scripture one, to what they are driving on, tho' really it be a moſt unjuſt Thing: Well knowing if once it be received, that God has foretold their Succeſs; that by all Perſons of a ſtrong Faith, (as Perſons of moſt Devotion will moſt endeavour to be) their Work will be eſteemed as ſure, as if it were already done.

The Law of God, and the Voice of Nature, pronounce moſt plainly and loudly, *Thou ſhalt not forſwear thy ſelf, or falſify thine Oaths: Honour thy Father and Mother*; *i. e.* thy Civil, as well as thy Natural Parents. *Thou ſhalt not kill. Thou ſhalt not ſteal. Thou ſhalt not bear falſe witneſs. Thou*

ſhalt not covet thy Neighbour's Goods. But when Men have been running headlong, and to the greateſt Extremities, in the Breach of all theſe Moral Duties, (as they were by Name in our late Diſtractions and Civil Wars, in 41) they have fancied themſelves, and been cried up by others, as authorized to all this by a confident Expoſition and Application of Prophecies, or as the Accompliſhers of Predictions: Particularly * that of the *Two Witneſſes in the Revelations*, who were *to ſhut the Heaven that it ſhould not rain*; *i. e.* ſay they, *to reſtrain the Higheſt Powers in Church and State from their wonted Influence*: And, *To turn the Waters into Blood*; or, as they explain it, *a ſtill Nation into War and Bloodſhed*, Rev. xi. 6. Which, by making it a Prediction of what ſhould fall out at that Time in *Great Britain*, they turn'd into a Call and Juſtification of all that horrible Violence, Injuſtice, Perfidiouſneſs, and utter Breach of Moral Precepts, which the Parliament, and their Adherents, were moſt wickedly and ungodly driving on againſt the King and Church. Here, by ſetting aſide the Morality of Actions, and fetching the Approbation of God from fanciful Approbation of Prophecy, they made themſelves *God's choſen Witneſſes*, ſpoken of in the *Revelations*; not whilſt they are teſtifying for him as *Martyrs*, by their own Blood and Sufferings, or with *Faith* and *Patience*, which is the Voice of his Precepts; but whilſt they are doing it as Rebels, by Arming againſt their Lawful Sovereigns, who are God's Vicegerents; and running on in Murders and Robberies, committed after the Liberties of War, without any Lawful Commiſſion and Warranty, upon the Perſons and Eſtates both of their Prince and Fellow-Subjects; which are all out of the way of Morality, and expreſly againſt all thoſe Precepts.

* See *Contin. of Friendly Debate*, p. 64, to 73.

And this is leaving off to be guided by Laws, which are plain and certain Rules, for Prophecies, which deſigning Projectors, and heated fanciful Enthuſiaſts, will accommodate as they pleaſe. It is running boldly againſt Goſpel-Duties, and the Practice of Obedience and Holineſs, on Pretence we are miniſtring under the Spirit of Prophecy, and ſerving Predictions. As if that ſame Spirit, which is the *Spirit of Prophecy*, were not alſo the *Spirit of Obedience*; or had not dictated all our Moral and Goſpel-Duties, as well as Goſpel-Predictions: Or, as if he wanted Power, or Care, to preſerve one, without deſtroying of the other; and would not verify all his own Predictions, without Help of our Sins; nor could remain true, if we remain innocent. It is not a Thing incident to any ſober and obedient Chriſtians; but either to deſigning and hypocritical Impoſtors, or vain and wicked Enthuſiaſts. Their Vanity ſoon appears in the Events, when they anſwer not their bold and confident Pronunciations; and their Wickedneſs, in that they not only run headlong under this Cover into Immoralities and wicked Courſes; but withal prophane and abuſe the Holy Scriptures, to patronize Ungodlineſs; preſs and wreſt Prophecies, to countenance Breach of Precepts; urge the Authority of God againſt himſelf, and entitle him to their own Abominations. And indeed, a Man muſt needs be far forſaken of God, (as he always is, who is fallen from Moral Honeſty, and an obedient Temper) before he can overlook the plaineſt Moral Duties, and boldly tranſgreſs them on ſuch Fancies.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI. SECT. I.

Of Chriſtian Simplicity and Sincerity; and of not deceiving by Actions.

FRom theſe Pleas to *palliate doing ill*, I come now to tax ſome main and moſt *conſiderable Inſtances* thereof; particularly the Uſe of *inſincere Arts*, and *throwing off of Relative Duties*, to ſerve *Publick* or *Private Good*; wherein great Liberty is taken, and pleaded for, by the worldly wiſe.

1. Firſt, *Chriſtian Prudence* is never for ſerving Ends *by Deceit*; but is *againſt all Uſe of Falſhood and Inſincerity.*

Deceit is the great Art of worldly Wiſdom: It has recourſe to Tricks, when it cannot compaſs its Aim by Truth and Openneſs, and ſerves it ſelf of Men by Impoſture and Deluſion. *The Folly of Fools*, ſays the *wiſe Man*, (ſo he calls worldly Wiſdom, which is mere Folly in the Account of God and Religion) *is Deceit*; *i. e.* it lies all in cheating and deceiving; ſeeking to accompliſh by Arts of Falſhood and Circumvention, what it cannot bring about fairly; *Prov.* xiv. 8. *Their Counſels*, ſays he again, *are Deceit*, Prov. xii. 5. (*a*) *The Wiſdom of this World*, ſaith St. *Gregory*, *is to cover and conceal their Hearts, by ſubtle Sleights and Devices; to draw a Veil before their Meanings, by dark or deceitful Expreſſions; to make Falſhoods appear as if they were Truths, and Truths paſs for Falſhoods.* The general Aim of worldly Wiſdom, indeed, is to compaſs its Ends by any Means: And where it has Power and Confidence enough, it will not ſtay, perhaps, to go about and uſe Deceit, but ſerve it ſelf by open Violence. But in moſt Caſes, it needs to ſerve its Ends, by keeping them undiſcerned. Or, when it doth ſerve ill Ends, it would alſo ſave its Credit, by not being thought to ſerve them; which is by *Deceit*: So that Deceit is its great and uſual Inſtrument.

But, contrary to this, *Simplicity* and Plain-dealing are the great Duty, and inviolable Care of Chriſtian Wiſdom. *We have renounced the hidden things of Diſhoneſty*, ſaith St. *Paul*, *not walking in Craftineſs*, 2 Cor. iv. 2. *There is ſcarce any thing that makes us degenerate ſo far from Spiritual Nobleneſs, as Fraud and Deceit: And nothing doth more hurt in the Church, than verſute Simulation*, ſaith (*b*) St. *Chryſoſtom*. *Simplicity* is what *Chriſt* requires of us at the moſt preſſing Seaſons, when we are put moſt to our Wits, and driven to uſe any Arts or Double-dealings to ſave our ſelves. *Behold*, ſays he to his Diſciples, *I ſend you forth as Sheep in the midſt of Wolves: Be ye therefore wiſe as Serpents, but innocent as Doves*, Mat. x. 16. The * Word here render'd *innocent*, ſignifies *Simplicity* as well as *Innocency*. So 'tis render'd *Rom.* xvi. 19. I would have you *wiſe concerning Good, and* † *ſimple concerning Evil.* And accordingly, in ſome *Manuſcripts*, our Saviour's Words are read, ‖ *moſt ſimple as are the Doves.* If any Thing could excuſe the Subtilty of *Foxes*, their Doublings and deceitful Turnings, it would be the preſſing Neceſſity of ſuch Times, when all their fallacious Arts are only Evaſions, and they betake themſelves to ways of Deluſion, and of be-

* ἀκέραιοι.

† ἀκέραιοι.

‖ Not ἀκέραιοι, but ἁπλόϛατοι.

(*a*) Sapientia hujus mundi eſt cor machinationibus tegere, ſenſum verbis velare, quæ falſa ſunt vera oſtendere, quæ vera ſunt falſa demonſtrare. *Gregor. Magn. l.* 10. *c.* 16. *Expoſ. Moral. in* Job, *upon* Decidetur juſti ſimplicitas, *Job* xii. 4.

(*b*) *Οι* Diaconi non bilingues, 1 *Tim.* iii. 8.

getting a wrong Belief or Expectation in others, only to save themselves. Yet even then will not *Christ* allow his Followers to use any more of the *Serpentine Subtilty*, than what consists with the *Dove's Simplicity*.

And accordingly St. *Paul*, when he speaks of his being *pressed in* Asia *out of measure, above strength*; when *they had the Sentence of Death, and no Hope in themselves*; yet professes, for all this, that he *had held his Conversation in the World, not with fleshly Wisdom, but in Simplicity and godly Sincerity, and by the Grace of God*, 2 Cor. i. 8, 9, 12. And it was amidst all the great Trials and Perils that he run thro' in the Discharge *of his Ministry*, under which, says he, *we faint not*, that, instead of ever having Recourse to, he declares, as I noted, how *he had renounced the hidden things of Dishonesty*, or * *Shame*; never privately betaking himself to that, which he should be ashamed to have known abroad; *Not walking in Craftiness, nor handling the Word of God deceitfully*, 2 Cor. iv. 1, 2. In such Trials, Faith in God, and Trust in Providence, made all that up to them, which crafty Shifts do to carnal Politicians, who can ground no Hope but in human Appearances. They would never part from their Simplicity for carnal Security. Whilst they were in this, or in any other Discharge of Duty, which is God's Way, they knew they were in God's Hand; and so long they were not afraid of whatsoever could befal them.

* Τὰ κρυπτὰ αἰσχύνης.

In the Acceptation of the World, *Simplicity* has one Sense wherein it is no Virtue, *viz.* as it signifies *Unwariness*: A simple Man, in the common way of speaking, is the same as an unwise or unwary Man, who doth not see before, or look about him. And this is no Commendation of Goodness, but an Impeachment of Discretion: It shews no Person to have a better Heart, but only a weaker Understanding. It argues nothing, but that a Man either wants Understanding, or neglects the Use thereof, when he needs to shew it; which is no Ornament in the Eyes of God, more than it is in the Eyes of Men. And instead of calling us to Simplicity in this Sense, true Spiritual Wisdom calls us from it: *How long, ye simple ones, will ye love simplicity, and ye Fools hate knowledge? Turn ye at my reproof*, says *Wisdom*, Prov. i. 22, 23.

But the *Simplicity* which is a Virtue, and which Christian Wisdom enjoins, is only Veracity and Plainness, in what it shews to others; not Improvidence, or Unwariness, in what it either doth to them, or expects from them. It doth not think that every Person with whom it has to do, means honestly, because it means so it self; nor, by heedless Security, or Shortsightedness, doth it expose it self without any Guards against Dangers, or dishonest Actions. The virtuously-simple are provident and wary, as well as the worldly-crafty; but with this Difference:

The Caution of the virtuously-simple is first against Sin, and next to that against Suffering. It is more concern'd how to keep true and innocent, than how to keep safe and quiet. In seeking either to obtain Good, or to shun Loss, its Eye and Care is, in the first place, to do nothing that will offend God, or is of ill Report, and dishonourable to Religion; nor that will delude the Opinion, or abuse the Faith and Expectation of Men. And when this Consistency with Religion and a good Conscience is taken care for, but not before, it is as wise and watchful to remove, or avoid all worldly Evil, as it can. It seeks out the Subtilty and *Wisdom of the Serpent*, when, according to our Lord's Rule, it has first secured the *Innocency of the Dove*. It first considers of the Lawfulness of the Way which it is about to take; and then is moved by the Expedience, or Usefulness thereof; but never admits of the least Thought of doing it self or others Good, by the Breach of any Commandment.

But contrariwise, the Caution of the Crafty, or of the Wisdom of the Flesh, is either all, or at least in the first place, against Suffering; and none

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at all, or only in the next place, againſt Sin. The Caution of this World, is for the Ends and Things of this World. To ſave our worldly Intereſts, or ſerve our fleſhly Eaſe and Appetites, is that which it would have firſt done: And that, if it can, by ways of Innocence, Truth and Openneſs; but yet ſo, as to take up with unlawful Means, with Arts of Falſhood, or Things of ill Report, rather than it ſhould be left undone. And this it doth, where it bears the moſt Good-Will for Religion. But too often the Caution of fleſhly Wiſdom, or worldly Craft, is all againſt Perſecution, Loſs, or Suffering; but none at all againſt Sin. So that in any Caſe, it only conſiders what is fit to be done for Intereſt in this World. And if any Means ſerve the Fleſh, and be deſirable upon that Account; it little troubles or concerns it ſelf, whether it ſavour of Veracity or Deceit; whether, in the Account of Conſcience and Religion, it be good or bad.

Now this *virtuous Simplicity* is *an undiſguized and invariable Tenor of Truth and Innocence.* It excludes all doing hurt; and is eſpecially oppoſite to all the Ways and Methods of Deceit. It ſpeaks, as † *Nazianzen* marks of the *Simplicity of his Father, an Undiſguizedneſs of Soul, and Unfallaciouſneſs of Manners or Converſation.* Whatever it ſeems, it is; and it never is, what will vex or harm others. It is Veracity, without Lies; Singleneſs, without Double-dealings, or corrupt Mixtures; Openneſs, without ſtudied Concealment, and cloſe Reſerves, of what it is call'd to profeſs; Plainneſs, without amuſing or miſleading Dreſs of what it profeſſes; and Harmleſneſs, without doing any Wrong, or Hurt to others. Such an uniform Veracity and Undeceitfulneſs, both of Mind and Carriage, is that Simplicity which Chriſtian Prudence requires of us; and which God calls for, when he bids us to *throw out all Deceit*, Mat. vii. 22. to *lay aſide all Guile and Hypocriſies*, 1 Pet. ii. 1. to be no *deceitful Workers*, 2 Cor. xi. 13. And declares him only to be fit to *ſtay in God's Tabernacle, and dwell in his holy Hill, who ſpeaketh the Truth from his Heart*; or whoſe Words never go againſt the Thoughts and Intents of his Heart, but always expreſs and bear out what is there, *Pſal.* xv. 1, 2.

† Orat. 19. Tom. 1. p. 297. & p. 300. τὸ τῆς ἁπλότητος ἄδολον καὶ τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς ἄδολον.

1. The *Firſt* Thing implied in Virtuous Simplicity, which Chriſtian Prudence enjoins, is *Veracity, in oppoſition to Falſhood and Lyes.* Thus *Heſychius*, explains * being *ſincere*, by being *true* or *veracious.* Simplicity bottoms all on Truth, which it never tempers or brews together, or daubs over with Falſhood. He that is for Simplicity in Truth, muſt needs abhor Lyes, never ſpeaking contrary to what he thinks, (which, ſure, is not *to ſpeak the Truth in his Heart*, as God requires;) nor giving in a Falſe Teſtimony of Perſons, or a Falſe Relation of Things.

* τὸ εἰλικρινὲς by τὸ ἀληθὲς.

1. This will exclude all *ſpontaneous uſe of Falſe Speeches*, when of themſelves Men are ready to frame, or tell Lyes, for Ends. Contrary to the Rule of Spiritual Wiſdom, which every where moſt plainly forbids *Lying*, and ſays, *Lye not one to another, Brethren, ſeeing ye have put off the Old Man*, Col. iii. 9. and tells us of the *Lake of Fire, for thoſe that love and make Lyes*, Rev. xxi. 8, 27.

And alſo *all ſpeaking Lyes, out of Fear or Compliance*; when, for eſcaping Rebuke, or ſoothing Men, any Perſons expreſly aſſent to Things againſt their own Judgments, or ſay and unſay in different Companies. Thus, to the *Deacons*, who, *going about from houſe to houſe*, were like to be under the Temptation to ſay and unſay, or ſpeak different Things, as might beſt ſuit with different Companies; St. *Paul* gives it as a particular Charge, *not to be double-tongued*, 1 Tim. iii. 8. *Not double-tongued*, that is, ſays † *Theophylact, not thinking one Thing, and ſaying another*, or ſaying ‖ *one Thing to one, and another Thing to another.* And to the *Epheſians*, that *putting away lying, they ſpeak every Man truth with his Neighbour, as being members one of another:* Forbidding Lies, not only in direct Aſſertions, but

† In loc.

‖ ἄλλα τούτοις καὶ ἄλλα ἐκείνοις.

in Soothing and Diſſimulation; againſt thoſe, as *Grotius* obſerves, who, to curry Favour with *Jews* or *Gentiles*, were apt to ſpeak contray to what they thought, *Eph.* iv. 25.

'Tis not for ſuch virtuouſly ſimple Perſons, *to ſpeak Lies in Officiouſneſs*, or with intent to hurt none, but to do others a Kindneſs. For ill is not to be done, that good may come of it; and therefore to do others a Kindneſs, they may no more break this, than they may any other Precept. The Rule of Kindneſs to our Neighbour, is to *love him as our ſelves*; but tell a Lie we dare not, for the ſake of our own Advantage, and ſo not for his. Nay, we muſt not tell a Lie, in hopes to do good thereby to Religion, or for the ſake of God himſelf. This really was the Caſe of *Job's Friends. They were forgers of lies againſt him*, Job xiii. 4. But all thoſe were officious Lies, or out of their Officiouſneſs, as I before noted, to God himſelf. And yet *Job*'s was a juſt Reproof againſt them, *Will ye ſpeak wickedly for God, and deceitfully for him?* v. 7.

Veracity, or ſpeaking Truth, we muſt carefully practiſe, not only for its *Uſefulneſs*, or doing Kindneſs, but for the *Truth's ſake.* We muſt bear a conſcientious Regard to it, as it bears the *Image of God*, wherein we were at firſt formed, and whereto we are renewed in *Chriſt. Put on the new Man*, ſays the *Apoſtle*, *which, after God, is created in true Holineſs*, or * *the Holineſs of Truth. Wherefore putting away lying, ſpeak every Man Truth*, &c. *Eph.* iv. 24, 25. God is the *God of Truth*, and of *Veracity* or true ſpeaking. And the *Devil*, God's grand Enemy, is particularly noted, as the *Father of Lyes*, and a *Spirit of Falſhood.* And, as the Authors and Heads themſelves are, ſo are their Children diſtinguiſh'd by the ſame. They that love and ſpeak Truth, are Children of the God of Truth; as they that love and utter Lyes, are Children of the Father of Lyes. For *his Children they are*, as our Saviour told the *Jews*, *whoſe works and luſts they do. And he abode not in the Truth from the beginning, becauſe there is no Truth in him. When he ſpeaks a Lye, he ſpeaks it of his own*; *for he is a Lyar, and the Father of it*, Joh. viii. 39, 44. Veracity then, or ſpeaking Truth, is what we are bound to, not only as beneficial to our Neighbours; but as reſembling God, or bearing his Image, and being a Divine Perfection. And accordingly, this is the Injunction of the Scriptures, *not to lye one to another*, whatever be the Pretence; to ſpeak, as the *Pſalmiſt* ſays, that *Truth* which is *in our Heart*, not that Falſhood which makes for our Brother's Convenience. *To put away all Guile and Hypocriſies*; which admits not of retaining any to ſerve Turns, as St. *Peter* ſays, 1 *Pet.* ii. 1.

Some, indeed, have fetch'd a Plea for *Officious Lyes*, from the Caſe of the *Egyptian Midwives*; or the Practice of *David in his Diſtreſs*, when he fled from *Saul*; or other Scripture Inſtances. But the Practice of a Good Man, is no Argument that a Thing is well done, if it be viſibly againſt the Rule of Well-doing. No, not tho' it have Encouragement from God; as in the Caſe of the *Midwives*, *whoſe Houſes God built*, for their ſparing the *Iſraelitiſh* Infants. For in ſuch mix'd Actions, a Gracious God is prone to reward the Good, which is predominant; and over-look the Ill, which is compaſſionably interwoven with it: As he did with the *Midwives*, if they ſpoke falſly, recompenſing their Charity, not their officious Falſeneſs. Not to diſpute, whether what they ſaid was really falſe or no, as may be juſtly queſtioned in ſome Inſtances uſually alledged in this Caſe, particularly the *Midwives* Anſwer to *Pharaoh.*

2. But beſides this Inſtance of Veracity, or not *lying in Words*; there is alſo another Part of it, which Chriſtian Simplicity takes care of too, and that is, not to *tell a Lye*, or *deceive in Actions.*

There

* Ἐν ὁσιότητι τῆς ἀληθείας. *Or, as in ſome Readings, as* Curcell. Lect. Ἐν ὁσιότητι καὶ ἀληθεία. *In Holineſs and Truth.*

There is a *Signification in ſeveral Actions*, as well as there is in Words and Expreſſions. Some, 'tis true, are more Arbitrary and unfetled in their Meanings, and may ſignify as Men pleaſe. But others, are of more fixed and ſtated Significations: I mean not only as *Natural Signs* and *Indications* of our *Approbation* or *Diſlike*, or other inward Sentiments: But there is alſo as good Authority of Law, or Inſtitution, or common and received Uſe and Cuſtom, to ſettle the Significations of ſome Actions, as there is for Words themſelves. And accordingly, in all reaſonable Apprehenſion, Men are as much underſtood, to have profeſſed or declared Things by ſome Actions, and in all Courts ſhall ſtand as firmly bound by them, as if they had utter'd the ſame Things with their Mouths.

And being there is equally a ſettled *Signification in Actions*; there is alſo room for our being *True* or *Falſe*, for *affirming* or *denying* in them, as well as there is in Words themſelves. Thus the Scripture mentions thoſe, who *deny God in their Works*, Tit. i. 16. And *if my mouth hath kiſſed my hand* (the known and received Profeſſion of Worſhip) *to the Sun, or Moon*, ſaith *Job*, *I ſhould* therein *have denied the God that is above*. Yea, ſays he, *it had been an Iniquity to be puniſhed by the Judge:* Or, as good a Declaration of his being an Idolater, whereof the Judges then took Cognizance, as if he had profeſſed ſo with his Lips, *Job* xxxi, 26, 27, 28.

Thus they thought and believed in the *Primitive Church*: Teaching, that Men might *confeſs* or *deny*, with other Faculties, as well as with their Tongues; by complying in Actions, as well as by verbal Declarations. *If*, (*a*) ſays the *Anicient* and *Learned Author of the Commentary on St. Matthew*, whom, for his Skill in expounding Scripture, *Eraſmus*, in his *Preface to the Reader*, equals to St. *Chryſoſtom* himſelf; *If any one*, ſays he, *ſhall ſay unto thee, Thou ſhalt not eat of things offer'd to the Idol, but only view and behold the Idols, how beautiful they are: If thou lookeſt upon them on ſuch a Provocation, thou haſt denied Chriſt with thine Eyes. Not that 'tis any thing to look on an Idol; but herein is the Sin, to look on ſuch an Invitation. And if thou ſhalt refuſe to look, by ſuch refuſal thou confeſſeſt Chriſt. Therefore, it is written*, Turn away thine Eyes, leſt they behold Vanity, *Pſal.* cxviii. *But if he ſhall ſay to thee, I ask not that thou ſhouldſt look upon the Idol; only liſten and give ear, how that Gentile blaſphemes Chriſt, that he may glorify his own Gods: If thou ſtandeſt to hearken, with thine Ears thou haſt denied Chriſt. If he ſhall ſay to thee, I ſeek not to have thee hear Chriſt blaſphemed; but lo! how they are offering Incenſe to the Gods; only ſtand, and receive the Odour of that Incenſe: If thou comeſt near, and ſmelleſt it, by thy Smell thou haſt offended Chriſt. Again, if he ſays to thee, Do not thou chew the Fleſh with thy Teeth, but only ſeem as if thou didſt, and feign thy ſelf to Eat of the Sacrifice: If thou ſhalt feign a Taſte, tho' thou doſt not taſte it; by thy Taſte, thou haſt that way denied Chriſt. But if thou wilt not feign, thou haſt therein confeſſed him: As* Eleazar, *who by eating Fleſh that was really of his own Proviſion, would not fallaciouſly make as if he had eaten that of the Sacrifice commanded by the King*, 2 Macc. vi. *If he ſhall ſay to thee, I would not have thee feign thy ſelf to eat of the Sacrifice, but only touch the Idol with thine Hand, or hold an Incenſe-Pan: If thou toucheſt, or handleſt it, by thy Touch thou haſt denied Chriſt; but if thou refuſeſt, by thy Touch thou haſt confeſſed him; as it is written*, If there be any Iniquity in my Hands. *For all the Faculties and Members, either of thy Soul or Body, God hath created, not only with an Eye to thee for Uſe, but alſo to himſelf for his own Glory.*

(*a*) In Mat. Hom. 25. in c. 10. v. 32, 33. *Quicunq; me confeſſus fuerit, &c.* Ap. Chryſoſtom.

And since Men may thus affirm or deny in their Actions, as well as in their Expressions; they may be alike true or false, shew Veracity or Lying in both. We may do a Lye, as well as tell a Lye; and deceive by working, no less than by speaking: As the Scripture * tells us, of those who *Lye, and do not the Truth*, 1 Joh. i. 6. And *working Deceit*, Psal. ci. 7. And of *deceitful workers*, 2 Cor. xi. 13. calling those *False Apostles* so, who, as † *Chrysostom* notes, assuming only *the* ‖ *Person and outward Appearance of Truth, thus acting a Part, served the Purposes of Error; all their fair Shews, being only acting a Part to deceive Men.*

* Job. vi. 15. Isa. xxiv. 16.

† In loc. Ed. Sav. p. 673.

‖ τὸ πρόσωπον τῆς ἀληθείας.

And as this is true of *Facts*, so is it likewise of *Non Facts*, or *Omissions, in Things, which we are bound to do and profess.* The not doing these, as I formerly noted, when we are called to them, signifies our being *ashamed of them*, or *denying them*; as the same would be signified by our Expression. *Confession* of a Duty may be by our Practice, as truly as by our Words; and Denial thereof may be by the same. And therefore if we refuse to do it, when God gives us a just Call thereto; in our visible Practice we disown it, tho' it may be, at the same time, inwardly in our Hearts, we joyfully embrace it.

Now Christian Simplicity will not allow us to falsify any of these Ways. As we may not lie, concerning any of the Articles of Faith; so neither concerning any of the Duties, or Laws of Practice. And as it is against the Duty of *speaking the Truth in our Heart*, to speak against what we inwardly believe of them in Words; so likewise to do against it, in Actions. Truth must be kept in Doing, as well as in Speaking: The same Sincerity shewn in the Use of either Sign; since both are of fixed, and instituted Signification.

Among *significant Actions*, there is more particularly a Signification in the *Observance of Days*, which are known and plain Professions of what is aimed at in such Observations. To observe a *Day of Thanksgiving*, for instance, for any Event, is to profess that we are glad of that Event, and thankful to God for it. To observe a *Day of Fasting*; if it be *impetratory*, or for obtaining something future; is a Profession, that we are desirous of that future Thing, and would engage God to bring it about: Or, if it be chiefly *penitentiary*, and for bewailing something past; that we are sorry for it, and seek to appease his Wrath provoked thereby. Now, if Men would deal with the Simplicity of Christians in these Observances, unless in Heart they are inwardly affected, as the keeping of these Days testifies, and rejoice or desire, as such Observance professes; they should not join, or go along in the keeping of them.

For the Signification of these is most express. It is instituted and fixed upon them, *by Laws* and *Edicts*. The same Authority that calls Men to meet together at these Times, appoints the Signification, and tells them the Reason why. Here then is an instituted Signification in these Assemblies, which has Authority and Law to stand upon. And whatever Men inwardly intend, this is externally professed by their resorting to them, and joining therein. And accordingly, by such Resort or Refusal of it; they are understood to testify and declare their Concurrence, or standing off, from what is thereby signified or professed, in the Account, both of their Rulers, and of all others. They rate the Neglecters, not as Prophane or Irreligious, but as disaffected Persons. These Assemblies are a Test, not of Religion and Devotion, but of Parties and Times. So Refusal speaks Dissent from the Signification appointed; as assembling doth Approbation and Concurrence therewith. And all People are ready to say, Such a Person is for the Design and Signification thereby carried on, because he kept the Day, and met at the Assembly held thereupon.

Now

Now the Authority of Laws or Edicts, and Cuſtom or received Uſe, are among the Chief Things that fix and ſettle Significations. And ſince they fix ſuch Meanings in theſe Days and Aſſemblies; the Obſervance, or Refuſal thereof in us, are in the Nature of Profeſſions, either as Affirmations or Denials. And according as they declare either that Truth which is in our Heart, or what is contrary to it; our Profeſſion thereby, is either True or Falſe. If we meet at the Aſſembly, which is to uſe the Sign, and at the ſame Time, have inwardly no ſuch Meaning; this is to ſignify and profeſs what we do not mean; which is not Sincerity, but Diſſimulation. We profeſs to deſire what is ſought in the Inſtitution of the Day, by our outward Act, when in Heart we do not deſire it; or to be glad of an Event, when really, perhaps we are ſorry for it: Which is only to put on a falſe Perſon, and act a Part, to be an outſide Complier, but a real Hypocrite.

This Profeſſion, by outward Obſervance of ſuch Days and Aſſemblies, of what is contrary to our Heart and inward Sentiments,

1. Is *contrary to the owning of Duties, which God requires*; or to the *Part of Confeſſors*. If a Thing is againſt any Rule of Religion, it is againſt Religion to deſire it. And if it is againſt Religion to deſire a Thing, it is a Duty of Religion not to deſire it. And if it is our Duty not to deſire it, we are bound not to ſmother and conceal, but to profeſs that Duty when we are called thereto. Now when an Ill Thing, or Breach of Duty, is put upon us, our Confeſſion is teſtifying againſt the Illneſs, either in Words, or in Practice, by our Refuſal thereof. We betray the Cauſe of Duty in going along, which is to tranſgreſs it in viſible Appearance, and ſeem to the World, as if we disbelieve, or have thrown it off: But we aſſert it by our refuſing. * *He that ſeeks to bring himſelf off, by a fallacious Sleight or juggling Trick, and by ſeeming to comply with the Perſecutors when he did not, therein has denied Chriſt*, ſay the *Clergy of the Church of* Rome, ſpeaking of the *Neceſſity of confeſſing him*. When the Meaning of any Days, or Aſſemblies therefore, is to profeſs Deſires, or Affections, againſt any part of Duties or Religion; if we would act like carnal Compliers, we ſhall viſibly practiſe as others do, and ſeem to deſire where we do not. But if we would diſcharge the Part, both of ſincere Chriſtians, and of right and acceptable Confeſſors; we ſhall own the Unlawfulneſs of the Thing, and give our Teſtimony againſt it, by *openly refuſing*. We ſhall not pretend to do, or make other Men think we do, what in Conſcience we dare not do; but dare to practiſe and profeſs what our Duty and Conſcience is.

* Qui falſaces in excuſatione præſtigias quærit, negavit. *Cler. ap. Cypr. Ep.* 30.

2. *It is judged inſincere by our ſelves, in the like Obſervance of Days, or Meetings on ſuch Occaſions.* The Feſtival of *Chriſtmas*, and *Eaſter*, for inſtance, are appointed as *Profeſſions of Joy*, for the *Birth* and *Reſurrection* of *Chriſt*. And would not the common Senſe of Mankind ſay, He did greatly prevaricate, who would come to obſerve either of theſe, and yet did not believe it? The Thirtieth of *January* is a Profeſſion of Shame and Sorrow, for the *Murder* of our late *Martyr'd Sovereign*. And ſhould we not call it Hypocriſy, for any Perſon to appear there, who did not in Heart condemn, but juſtify that Murder, and think it well done? The Fifth of *November* is a Profeſſion of Gladneſs, for the Diſcovery of the *Powder Treaſon*. And would not he diſſemble notably, in appearing at that Day's Aſſembly, who is inwardly ſorry for the Miſcarriage of it, and heartily wiſhes that Plot had gone on? Take it in any Caſe then, where we have no Temptation to miſlead, or particular Concern to biaſs us; and this Compliance in outward Obſervance, where the Signification is contrary to our inward Sentiments, is Diſſimulation and Hypocriſy, our ſelves being Judges. And how can we hope to clear our Sincerity and Simplicity therein, before any juſt and indifferent Judge, when, make us

but once indifferent, and no longer Parties, and we are all ready to condemn the Falseneſs of it our ſelves?

3. *It was ſo judged and eſteemed in the Primitive Church*; as appears by their dealing with the Obſervers of *Jewiſh* or *Gentile Faſts*, or *Feſtivals*. Thoſe Days were of fixed and received Significations: And the Obſervance of thoſe Times, was a known Profeſſion of what was ſignified by them. And therefore when any *Chriſtians*, who had nothing of the *Jewiſh* or *Gentile* Apprehenſions, did externally join (as ſeveral did) in their Obſervation, they could only publiſh their own Hypocriſy therein. The only Way they had to bring themſelves off from being *Apoſtates*, was to ſay they ſtill retained their own Faith; and, tho' they might uſe the *Jewiſh* or *Gentile* Sign, together with them, yet they had nothing of their Meaning and Intention. Which is no better than to ſay, in other Words, That whilſt they believed one Thing, they profeſſed another. And accordingly, ſuch Perſons were cenſured for their ſcandalous and diſſembling Compliances, by the * *Apoſtolical Canons*; as they were alſo by the Council of † *Laodicea* afterwards.

* Can. 70, 71.
† Can. 37, 38, 39.

For further Proof hereof, and alſo to ſet off by more Inſtances this Part of Simplicity *of not deceiving by Actions*, I obſerve, That

4. *It was rejected as deceitful and diſhoneſt Carriage, by the Pious and Good People among the* Jews. When *Old Eleazar* was required, *on Pain of Death, to eat of unlawful Meats*; *His old Acquaintance, that had the Charge of that wicked Feaſt, took him aſide, and beſought him to bring Fleſh of his own Proviſion, ſuch as was lawful for him to uſe*; *and make as if he did eat of the Fleſh taken from the Sacrifice commanded by the King.* But what ſays the Good Old Man to this deceitful way of eſcaping, or ſeeming to do in outward Shew and Pretence, what he durſt not and would not do in Reality and Truth? *It becometh not our Age*, ſaith he, *in any wiſe to diſſemble*; *whereby many young Perſons might think, that* Eleazar, *being fourſcore Years old and ten, were now gone to a ſtrange Religion*; *and ſo they, thro' mine hypocriſy and deſire to live a little time, ſhould be deceived by me*: Whereby, *tho' for the preſent I ſhould* get a little Reſpite *with Men, yet ſhould I not eſcape the Hand of the Almighty, neither alive nor dead*, 2 Macc. vi. 21, 22, 24, 25, 26. And of the ſame Judgment were the Fathers in the * *Council* of *Ancyra*, held before the *Firſt Council* of *Nice*; who, in the *Seventh Canon*, *puniſh thoſe that go to the Heathen Idolatrous Feaſts, in the uſual and appointed Places*; *thinking to clear themſelves, by carrying along with them their own Food, and there eating thereof only, not of the other which is polluted.*

* Concil. Ancyr. Can. 7. & Zon. in Can.

5. *It was condemned ſo, in like Caſes, in the Holy Scriptures. To withdraw from the Tables of Heathens*, was a Thing of ſettled and received Signification among the *Jews*; profeſſing their *Abhorrence*, or *Belief of the Unlawfulneſs of ſuch Intercourſe*. Now St. *Peter* had no ſuch Belief, knowing that in *Chriſtianity* God had made *Jews* and *Gentiles* both one: And therefore, when *Jews* were away, as at *Antioch*, he could go in to *Gentiles*, and eat with them. *Before* certain zealous *Jews* of *Jeruſalem came from James*, ſaith St. *Paul*, *he did eat with the Gentiles*, Gal. ii. 12. But when the *Jews* were come, he, who had not their Apprehenſion or Sentiments, would yet join in this external Profeſſion thereof; and withdrew himſelf, as they did, in Compliance, and for fear of offending them. *When they were come, he withdrew, and ſeparated himſelf*, as the *Jews* did; *fearing them which were of the Circumciſion.* Here was an Uſage of the Sign of Abhorrence, together with, and before them; but by one who did not abhor a *Gentile* Table, as this *withdrawing* ſignified in common *Jewiſh* Conſtruction, and in the Opinion of thoſe that withdrew with him. And what now ſays

says St. *Paul* to this Action? He declares, *That he was to be blamed for it*, Ver. 11. That it was *not upright walking*, Ver. 14. That it was Dissimulation; *The other Jews*, says he, *dissembled with him*; yea, *Barnabas also was carried away with their Dissimulation*, Ver. 13.

The *Feasting on Sacrifices in* Gentile *Temples*, was of received and settled Signification in those Days, and externally professed *the Worship of those Idols*: But when Refusal grew dangerous, several, whose Heart did not go along in the Worship, yet complied (for worldly Safety) in this outward Profession, and met at the Feast. These Persons, in their Minds, thought * *an Idol nothing*: And when they came to *feast in the Idols Temple*, their Heart was only to *feast*, not to *worship*; so that they were not Worshippers in Heart and Intention: But yet joining in this known Profession of Worship, they would be judged by their visible Professions, not invisible Intentions; and condemned as Worshippers. For they who are present, and join in these Feasts, saith the Apostle, *have Fellowship with Idols*, 1 Cor. x. 20, 21.

* 1 Cor. viii. 4. Acts x. 19.

6. And Lastly, *These false Appearances*, and *deceitful Seeming to do like others in an ill Thing*, when in a dangerous Time, that seems necessary to save our selves, was particularly declared against in the *Condemnation of the Libellatici*; against whose insincere Arts, the Good Fathers, and Holy Bishops, shewed so much honest Zeal and Christian Simplicity, at *Rome*, *Carthage*, and other Places, in the *Primitive Times*.

What the Persecutors required of the Poor Christians, was to *curse Christ*, and *sacrifice to Idols*. This tho' they could not bring themselves to do in reality; yet several who were over-timerous, fell to make Appearance as if they had done it, when in truth they had not, by deceitful Shifts and Artifices: That passing commonly for such as had sacrificed, they might, if Prisoners, get a present Release, and stop the Vulgar from informing against them, and bringing them into further Troubles. And this was, by † *wicked Libels*, *Certificates*, or *Tickets*, granted by the Magistrate for that Purpose.

† Per nefarios Libellos. *Ep. Cleri Rom. ap. Cyp. Ep.* 30.

Some, tho' they would not go and sacrifice openly, and in Sight of the *Heathens*, would yet subscribe a Profession that they were Worshippers of *Mars*, *Jupiter*, or other *Heathen Deities*; and offer, or send it themselves to the Magistrate, thereby to obtain his Discharge. And these, (*a*) say the *Clergy* of *Rome*, in their Epistle to St. *Cyprian*, *are as guilty, and to be censured as severely, as if they had indeed gone to the wicked Altars*; *because*, tho' falsly, *they professed and testified that they did go thither.*

Others, a little more tender, would not begin these *Libels*, and promote them themselves; but yet they would be willing to accept the Benefit thereof, if sent in to them either by the Favour of the Magistrate, or Procurement of their Friends. And these also they condemn, *having writ*, as they tell (*b*) *Cyprian*, *against those also that* accepta fecissent; that is, as (*c*) *Rigaltius* notes, *had accepted of such false Libels*, *when sent in to them. By which Acceptance*, adds he, *they did ratify what was contained therein: Which was*, *That on such a Day*, *such an one went into the* Capitol, *and burnt Incense to* Jupiter.

Some of these were concerned so far, as to *give Order for Procuring these Certificates* and *Discharges*; sending in sometimes a *Gentile* Friend, or Servant, to *sacrifice*, and *ejure Christ in their Place*. Which being accepted by an indulgent or corrupted Magistrate; they got a Certificate or Libel from him, in the other's Name, to protect him against Informers, or (if in Custody)

(*a*) Quo non minus, quam si ad nefarias aras accessissent, hoc ipso quod ipsum contestati fuerant, tenerentur. *Ap. Cypr. Ep.* 30. *Edit. Oxon.*

(*b*) Ibid. (*c*) Annot. in loc.

ſtody) to procure his Releaſe. But concerning theſe, (*d*) *he is not free from the Guilt*, ſay they, *that ordered the evil Thing to be committed.* (*e*) *Tho' he was not preſent in Perſon, when his Friend ſubſcribed for him; yet was his Ordering that Subſcription, tantamount to his Preſence at it. When the other did it for him*, ſaith (*f*) St. *Cyprian*, *he did therein profeſs to do it himſelf. That Libel is a Profeſſion of a Denier: It is a Chriſtian's Teſtimony, that he renounces his Chriſtianity.*

Others ſtuck at this Procurement. But yet, if either the Forwardneſs of a Friend, by Sacrificing for them, as I have hinted; or the Favour of a Fee'd and Corrupted Magiſtrate, would procure them ſuch a Libel and Certificate, without their Knowledge, or intermeddling in it; they would Conſent to take the Benefit thereof, and to have it publickly read, and *pleaded for their Diſcharge in Court.* But to theſe, ſays the forecited *Epiſtle*, (*g*) *Neither is he free from the Crime, tho' himſelf did not commit it, if he Conſent for his own Benefit, to have it pleaded in his Name, and Publickly read in Court.*

Thus early, did the Chriſtians Fears and Neceſſities put them upon feigned Shews, and inſincere Compliances with Ill Things; and making a falſe Shew of doing, what really they neither did nor durſt do. And thus were their Hypocritical Appearances, and Ungodly Evaſions, rebuked and cenſured by the Holy Zeal, and downright Honeſty and Simplicity of the Primitive Fathers. To appear to the World, *as obeying an unlawful Edict*, was equally ſcandalous to Religion in the Eyes of Men, as if really they had been Obedient to it. And therefore they rated ſuch external Seemers and Appearers, as real Obſervers. (*h*) *He that would ſeem*, ſay they, *to have ſatisfied any Edict, that enjoins a Thing againſt Religion; in that very Thing pays the Obedience to it, that he ſtudies to be thought Obedient.* When we are called to own a Truth, by openly refuſing what we hold a Sin to practiſe; (*i*) *He that ſeeks to make the Impoſer believe he doth what he is required, and falls to fallacious Tricks, and cozening Compliances in Excuſe, denies his Duty, as if he had done what he required him*; was their Judgment, as I noted before. And this muſt hold alike, in all Duties. For if any Thing is a real Wickedneſs; greater, or leſs, alters the Caſe betwixt it and any other, only as *to Degrees.* But, if ſuch *Falſe Seemings*, are really *partaking in Ill and Hypocritical Shews*, as appears from the preceeding Inſtances; we may no more partake, or act an Hypocritical Part, in a leſs, than we may in a greater Wickedneſs.

By all which, I think it ſufficiently appears, that all we can expect, in ſuch External Obſervances of *Significant Days*, or *other Things*, is to paſs for Hypocrites and Diſſemblers with God and Men; if we ſay we do not mean what ſuch Meeting doth, and as we thereby profeſs. Or, to be taken to do the Thing, which we in Heart condemn, from our having done that which is the outward Profeſſion of it. We do in Moral Eſtimate, what we do viſibly, and what we would be thought to do. So that how little ſoever the Heart goes along therewith, if we appear among the Practiſers of an Ill Thing, and do as they who are for it in outward Pro-

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(*d*) Non eſt immunis à ſcelere, qui ut fieret imperavit. *Ib.*

(*e*) Licet Præſentes cum fierent non affuiſſent, cùm præſentiam ſuam utique ut ſic ſcriberetur mandando feciſſent. *Ib. Ep.* 30.

(*f*) ——Feciſſe ſe dixit, quicquid alius faciendo commiſit —— Et illa Profeſſio Denegantis; Conteſtatio Chriſtiani, quod fuerat, abunentis. *Cyp. de Lapſis*, p. 113. *Ed. Ox.*

(*g*) Nec eſt alienus à Crimine, cujus Conſenſu, licet non à ſe admiſſum Crimen, tamen publicè legitur. *Ap. Cyp. Ep.* 30.

(*h*) Qui vult videri propoſitis adverſus Evangelium, vel Edictis, vel Legibus ſatisfeciſſe, hoc ipſo jam paruit, quod videri paruiſſe ſe voluit. *Ib.*

(*i*) Qui fallaces in excuſatione præſtigias, quærit, negavit. *Ib.*

feſſion

feſſion and Obſervance; we ſhall be cenſured among them, and being found in their Way, muſt expect to ſhare in their Condemnation.

I know 'tis ſaid by ſome, when they do not Anſwer the Signification of theſe Aſſemblies, that *they join in the Innocent Part of the Service there performed*, and *paſs over what comports not with their Conſciences*. Which Palliation and Excuſe for what is wrong, makes many Innocent and Well-meaning Minds, who would neglect no Opportunity of ſerving God, to reſort thither, for the ſake of all that is good and right in the Service, on ſuch Occaſions. But they conſider not, that the Things which they are afraid to promote, or join in, are ſignified and declared by the very Meeting; and not only by ſome particular Prayers which are put up there. And in coming to ſuch an Aſſembly, they profeſs to have what it means, by their Appearance, as well as by ſome Paſſages in the Prayers. The Edict which calls them thither, fixes a Signification, and tells them for what purpoſe. And their coming upon that Summons, is a Profeſſion of ſetting on that Purpoſe. Thus it would be thought in any Caſe, where Men are invited and called in by their Friends, to ſeek a Bleſſing from God, on ſome Conſpiracies, or hazardous Undertakings. Tho' then, there would be ſome good Confeſſions of Sin, and other ordinary Devotions, to fit them for more Prevalence, and to accompany thoſe Prayers which are more ſpecial for the Deſign: Yet muſt all who appear there on ſuch an Intimation, expect to be judged, both by God and Men, as Parties with them therein. And thus 'tis, as I have obſerved, in all the foregoing Inſtances; there is a Signification and Profeſſion, in the very Act or Obſervance it ſelf.

And this, I think, makes the Caſe of joining in theſe Aſſemblies, different, as to this Point, *viz.* of *profeſſing contrary to our Sentiments*; from that of *our joining in the Daily Service of the Church*; tho' that happen to have ſome Paſſages which we cannot in Conſcience join withal, if thoſe Paſſages are otherwiſe tolerable, on account of *their Unlawfulneſs*. For the Intent and Signification of our Meeting in the daily Devotions, is not to profeſs a determinate Approbation and Concurrence in theſe ſcrupled Paſſages; but for Devotion at large: We come to them, to do God Honour and Service, and to ſeek Supplies for all our own and others Neceſſities. So that our Preſence there, is to concur in the Religion of the Day, or Devotion in the juſt Latitude thereof. And it cannot be gathered, merely from our being there, or Preſence alone, that we are for theſe ſcrupled Paſſages; ſince, were we againſt them, we might ſtill be there for ſo many other Purpoſes; but from *ſome other External Sign*, or ſaying *Amen* to them ſtill as they come.

But now, as for theſe other Aſſemblies, the Thing ſtuck at, is ſignified not only by ſome particular Paſſages in the Form, but by the *whole Meeting*. And accordingly, our Concurrence therein is profeſſed, not only by our ſaying *Amen* at ſuch Paſſages, but by our Appearance at the Meeting. The Day it ſelf is inſtituted for that Deſign: It is the next or ultimate End of all that is then done, which, firſt or laſt, is for ſpeeding and carrying of it on.

Indeed, it highly concerns Men, to look to the Matter and End of their Prayers, that they be for good Things; and to ſet on none but good Deſigns. To pray for Ill ones, is to make our ſelves Parties to them, and to partake in Guilt and Puniſhment, wirh the Actors themſelves. *If any come, that bringeth not this Doctrine, bid him not God ſpeed*, ſaith St. *John*; *for he that biddeth him God ſpeed, is Partaker of his Evil Deeds*, 2 Joh. x. 11. Where we cannot with a ſafe Conſcience aſſiſt, we cannot Pray; for Succeſs is more from Providence, than from Human Means; and therefore Prayers are among the higheſt and moſt valuable Aſſiſtances. To lend Prayers to Ill Things, is not only to aſſiſt and partake in the Ill; but to

to prophane and pollute thoſe moſt Sacred Things, our Prayers themſelves, and turn them into the rankeſt Abominations. For any Ill, or forbidden Thing, is never ſo abominable to God and to all good Men, as when it is not only againſt God, but offer'd to him. When it creeps into our very Prayers, and ſtains and pollutes them, which ſhould be pure, as the God to whom they are offer'd, and purge away all our other Pollutions. Which is, as much as in us lies, not only to diſobey and provoke him, but to riſle God's own Holineſs, to tempt him to our Sins, to try if we can make him a Party to our Wickedneſs, and draw him in to be as deep in any unjuſt, ungodly, or otherwiſe forbidden Thing, as our ſelves; than which it is not eaſy to conceive what can be a greater Abomination. Prayers, are among the plaineſt and greateſt Expreſſions of Piety, when they are put up for good Things: But when they are preſſed to procure, or ſpeed on ill ones, they become themſelves a grand Impiety, the vileſt Proſtitution of the moſt Sacred Things, and ſo many horrible Prophanations.

But the Effect of all this, muſt only be to make Men conſider well the Lawfulneſs of the Things, or Ends, which they ſet on by their Prayers, their Days of Faſting, or Thankſgiving. If they are appointed only for what is good, they are an excellent Means of Succeſs, as well as Miniſtry of Religion. But if in any Caſe Men ſee they are preſſed to ill Purpoſes; there they muſt not pretend to comply with them, or meet at them. The very Meeting for Ends, for Things which they cannot pray for, or aſſiſt in, is but in the Preſence and Houſe of God, to mock both him and their Brethren; and ſhews not ſo much of Devotion, as of ſinful Fear, Hypocriſy, or Diſſimulation.

Thus, is it the Care of true *Chriſtian Simplicity*, not to *deceive, or tell a Lye in Actions*, more than by *Falſe Speeches and Expreſſions*. It will neither falſify in Words nor Practice. It is not for declaring and profeſſing that in Deeds, which we never think of in our Hearts: Being equally againſt that, whether it be Word or Action, which is equally deluding. *Deceit* is the Thing, which it ſeeks to ſhun; as St. *Paul* intimates, when he oppoſes *ſpeaking the Word of God as of Sincerity*; to *corrupting it*, or, as 'tis in the *Margin*, *dealing with it deceitfully*, 2 Cor. ii. 17. And as St. * *Chryſoſtom* notes, when he explains the Words, *not in Worldly Wiſdom*, which *Worldly Wiſdom* is there oppoſed to *Simplicity and Godly Sincerity*, by *not deceitfully*. *Chryſoſt. in* 2 Cor. 1. 12. And *Deceit*, may be brought about as effectually by Carriage, as by Words and Expreſſions, which therefore Simplicity takes care to prevent in both.

* Hom. 3. in 2 Ep. ad Cor. p. 557. Ed. Savil. τὸ τεσὴν ἐκ ἐν ἀπάτῃ.

I add, laſtly, upon this Point, as it will not ſtoop, either by Word or Deed, to utter Lyes it ſelf; ſo, neither will it make uſe of other Mens Falſhoods, or have the like done by them, for its Advantage. Under the ſharp Tryals, and preſſing Neceſſities of the Primitive Perſecutions, the *Libellatici* had got a Trick, as I obſerved, by bribing and corrupting the Officers of Courts, to *buy Certificates, of their having done Sacrifice to Idols*, when in Truth they had not. This was a very falſe and wicked Artifice, againſt the Practice of Truth, and the Spirit of Confeſſors'; ſhewing too little care of the Honour of God and Religion, or of their Brethrens Souls, and too much of their own Dangers. And accordingly, as I have ſhewn, fell under the juſt Cenſures of the Church, in the Primitive Times.

CHAP. VI. SECT. 2.

Of Chriſtian Simplicity and Sincerity.

2. A *Second* Thing, implied in that *Chriſtian Simplicity* which Spiritual Prudence enjoins, is *Singleneſs, without Double Dealings.* This is one Thing, which the Scripture notes by *Simplicity. Servants*, ſays St. *Paul*, *obey in all Things your Maſters in the Fleſh; not with Eye-ſervice, as Men-pleaſers; but* * *in Simplicity of Heart. i. e.* as our Tranſlation renders it, *in Singleneſs of Heart*; not having one Heart or Mind to your Work whilſt their Eye is over you, and another when 'tis off you, *Col.* iii. 22. And accordingly, *Craftineſs*, or *Worldly Wiſdom*, which is oppoſite to Simplicity, and made ſo by St. *Paul*, 2 Cor. i. 12. is ſometimes ſet off by *Duplicity.* † *This ſame Duplicity*, ſays St. *Gregory the Great*, ſpeaking *of the Wiſdom of this World*, which he makes the Oppoſite to the *Simplicity of the Juſt*, Job xii. 4. And *not walking in Craftineſs*, 2 Cor. iv. 2. St. ‖ *Chryſoſtom* explains by *being free from all Duplicity*, and really being ſuch as we ſeem to be.

* ἐν ἁπλότητι.

† Hæc eadem Duplicitas, &c. *Greg. Mag. Expoſ. Mor. l.* 10. *c.* 16. *in cap.* 12. Job.

‖ In loc. Homil. 8. in 2 *Cor. p.* 592. t. Savil. ἁπλόλιθινα ἔχ τες.

Truth is but one, and always the ſame; but Falſhood is Various and Multiform. And as there is this Singleneſs in Truth it ſelf; ſo ſhould there always be, in the Exhibitions or Appearances which we make thereof. Our inward Thoughts, and outward Appearance, betwixt which Moral Truth lies, muſt bear its Picture and Character, by having but one Stamp, or being all of a Piece. And this Simplicity ſecures; preventing any diſcrepancy between our Minds and Expreſſions, or our having two Faces, more than Truth it ſelf has. It allows us not to have one Thing in our Breaſts, and to make Shew of another to our Neighbour. To give out this for True at one Time; and, as that happens to ſerve our Turn, the contrary to be as True at another. This is not to be the ſame Man within and without; 'tis not to be one and the ſame To-morrow, which it was To-Day; but is the ſuſtaining of a twofold Perſon. Whereas Singleneſs excludes all Duplicity; it can be but one. And accordingly, Simplicity which lies in Maintenance of ſuch Singleneſs, muſt be and ſhew but one Thing, and always ſay and ſeem the ſame. In the Queſtion of True or Falſe, Good or Evil, it muſt not be Various, according to difference of Times and Places, and Favour or Diſlike, Deſire or Fear, help or obſtruct the ſame Thing, as a Truth or Error, Vice or Virtue, as it differently ſerves or hinders our Convenience. This is not to ſhew Simplicity, to be and appear one, and always the ſame, or of a ſingle Heart: But is plainly to act a double Part; yea, perhaps, innumerable Parts; ſuch a Man being like to change his Part, as oft as there is Occaſion for it.

This Singleneſs is much the ſame with *Unmixedneſs* or *Purity*, which is another Thing the Scripture means by *Simplicity.* Thus St. *Paul* warning the *Corinthians* againſt the *Falſe Apoſtles*, expreſſes his *Fear*, *leſt by them their Minds ſhould be corrupted from the Simplicity that is in Chriſt*, 2 Cor. xi. 3. The Corruption endeavour'd by the Falſe Apoſtles, was the bringing into Chriſtianity Foreign Tenets, ſome *Philoſophical* and *Heatheniſh*, ſome *Jewiſh* Opinions. And ſo, to preſerve *the Simplicity that is in Chriſt*, againſt this, is to preſerve the Purity and Unmixedneſs of the Genuine Chriſtian Doctrines. And this the Apoſtle did, that *having eſpouſed them to* him, *as one Husband, he might* be able *to preſent them as a chaſte Virgin to Chriſt*, v. 2. He had eſpouſed them to him, to learn of him alone,

as their ſole Maſter. And this Eſpouſal, as a chaſte Bride, they would keep inviolate, in admitting of no oppoſite Doctrines from a Foreign Hand, or going to learn of any other. Thus alſo, when he bids *him that giveth, to do it with Simplicity, i. e.* with pure and unmix'd Intention, merely for Charity, not for Self-End, or Vain-Glory, *Rom.* xii. 8. *Not doing it to win Glory, but relieve his poor Brother's Neceſſity,* as * *Theodoret* comments. Thus alſo is that of our Saviour, *If thine Eye be ſingle* or † *ſimple, thy whole Body ſhall be full of Light:* By the Singleneſs of the Eye, which guides and directs us, noting the Purity of Conſcience and Intentions, not mixed or corrupted by impure Affections, *Mat.* vi. 22. *Luk.* xi. 34. And St. *Peter*'s ‖ *ſincere milk of the Word* is the ſame unadulterate, or not having any Thing elſe mix'd with it, 1 *Pet.* ii. 2. Agreeable to this, is St. *Baſil*'s Explication, who to the Queſtion, *What is ſincere?* Anſwers, (*a*) *I account that to be ſincere, which is unmix'd, and perfectly purified from all that is contrary to it.* And that of *Guidas*, (*b*) *ſincere, is that which is pure, and unmix'd with any other.* And *Theophylact*, who on *Phil.* i. 10. expounds, *that ye may be ſincere* (*c*), by *that ye may receive no ſpurious Tenet under the pretext of Charity.*

* In loc.

† ἁπλᾶς.

‖ ἄδολον γάλα.

And this alſo is another Part of Simplicity, *to be pure from all Adulteration, or Mixture of the contrary.* 'Tis an Expreſſion of the ſingleneſs thereof, not to have one End in Truth, but another in Appearance; and not to pretend much Concern in a Thing to ſerve others, when really it is moſt to gratify and ſerve our ſelves. And ſo 'tis too, to preſerve our Thoughts and Affections clean, and not to ſuffer them to be undermined, or corrupted, by their Contraries. Nor to have our Love of God, for inſtance, adulterated by the intermixture of Worldly Love, which, in any Competition, will ſecretly draw us from his Service for this World's ſake. Nor our Fear of him twiſted with our Fear of Men; or our Love of our Neighbour, with Love of our ſelves, and ſeeking thereby our own Self-Ends; or our Deſigns of good Actions, with Deſigns of Vanity and Applauſe; or our Purſuits of Publick Good, with the Purſuit of Private Paſſions; or our Pretences for Religion, with Intentions for our ſelves. Under this mixture of ſuch oppoſite Paſſions and Intentions, we are not ſingle, and all of a Piece. And which is worſe, that fair ſide, which is uppermoſt, and openly given out, is weakeſt; and the contrary, which is mingled therewith, and lurks under it, when it comes to the Tryal, is like to prevail over it. This is having, as one Thing which appears, ſo another which appears not; and ſo, not being ſingle in what it ſhews, but divided or twofold.

Now, as for this Singleneſs, or Unmixedneſs of Simplicity, it excludes our being *of a double Heart or Mind*, of *a double Tongue*, or *of a double Practice.*

1. Firſt, *It excludes our being of a double Mind*, or *Heart.*

It allows not of a double Mind, or of a Duplicity of Thought, or Intention. We muſt not profeſs or ſeem, for inſtance, to think what we do not think; or to believe a Thing, whilſt we ſee no Reaſon to believe it, or much Cauſe to believe otherwiſe; or not to ſee what is made plain to us, becauſe it makes againſt us; or to be ignorant of what we very well know, becauſe we have no Mind to acquit our ſelves, or act according to our Knowledge. We muſt not put on an Appearance of Conſcience for

(*a*) Ἐιλικρινὲς λογίζομαι εἶ) τὸ ἄμιγες, ϗ ἄκρως κεκαθαρμένον ἀπὸ παντὸς ἐναντίυ. Baſil. in Reg. Brev. Interrog. 264. *p.* 716.

(*b*) Ἐιλικρινὲς, τὸ καθαρὸν ϗ ἀμιγὲς ἑτέρυ.

(*c*) Theoph, &c. *p.* 581. Ἵνα μηδὲν νόθον δόγμα.

or

or againſt any Way, when it has no Hold upon our Conſciences; and our Zeal, either for or againſt it, is not really on account of Conſcience, but of Profit and mere Human Affections; or pretend we ſcruple a diſguſtful Thing, only when we have no Mind to do it; or are ſatisfied in Conſcience of a profitable or pleaſing one, tho' we cannot act it without Regret, and till frequent curbing has made it ſilent, without our Conſcience flying in our Faces. We muſt not give out Intentions of what we never deſign, or pretend one Thing, whilſt we intend another; ſeem to be acted by Zeal for God or Religion, when 'tis all (or moſt) for ſenſual Paſſion, or ſecular Deſign; or for the Publick, when 'tis for ſome private End; or for the Love of Goodneſs, when 'tis for the Sake of Vanity, or the Love of Applauſe; or for Fear of God, when 'tis only for Fear of ſuffering; or to ſerve our Neighbour, when 'tis only to ſerve our ſelves of him. Theſe, and ſuch like, are not to preſerve a Simplicity, or Singleneſs of Thoughts and Intentions; but to have them of two Sorts, one within, and another without us: To be * *of two Souls*, as St. *James* ſpeaks, *Jam.* i. 8. Who calls upon ſuch *Double-minded* to *purify their Hearts*, or to change thoſe corrupt Mixtures, for Purity and Singleneſs of Thoughts and Intentions, *Ch.* iv. 8. And is contrary to that *Purity of Intention* which our *Saviour* and St. *Paul* require, when they enjoin us to have our *Eye* (or *Intention*) *ſingle*, and to *give with Simplicity*; *i. e.* a Deſign, not of *Vain-glory*, but of *Charity*, as I noted before.

* δίψυχον.

Yea, it forbids, as being thus of *Two Forms*, or double in our Thoughts and Intentions of any Thing, *at the ſame Time*; ſo, of appearing double and divided in our Thoughts and Intentions, about True or Falſe, Good and Evil, if taken at different Times. For Truth and Virtue are unchangable Things, and the ſame at all Times. What they are to-day, they will be to-morrow, and every Day; and not chop and change, as our Humour, Intereſt, or Convenience doth.

To preſerve this Singleneſs then, we muſt add Conſtancy to Truth, and be the ſame for it at all Times and Places. *Wo be to the Sinners*, ſays the *Son of Sirach*, (threatning the impatient and unbelieving Temporizers) *that go two ways*, Ecclus. ii. 12. If we ſee a Thing to be true when it makes for us, we muſt ſee it as true when it comes to make againſt us. If it is Matter of Conſcience when it advances, it muſt be Matter of Conſcience ſtill, when it afflicts or depreſſes us. If it was not plain whilſt we loſt by it, it muſt not preſently become plain when we are to profit by it: If it were not to be ſeen whilſt it ſerved others, it muſt not be more manifeſt and diſcernible to our Sight, when it comes to ſerve our ſelves. If it be our Intention to ſerve God; we muſt intend to ſerve him, when we are called to ſuffer for him, as well as when to reign by him. If to ſtick to the Rules of an Holy Religion, and to be the Lovers and Followers of any Virtue; then, when it is a loſing and perſecuted, as well as when it is a getting Virtue; when 'tis vulgarly decried, as well as when it is applauded and cried up. If to be juſt and charitable to our Brethren; then, when we have, as well as when we want the Opportunity of ſhewing forth our Juſtice and Charity: When thereby we only ſerve them, as well as when we ſerve our own Ends by ſerving theirs: When the World knows not, as well as when it knows what we do; and when it can only ſerve the Purpoſes of Charity and Juſtice, as well as when, together with them, it ſerves alſo the End of Credit and Popular Applauſe.

This Conſtancy in the ſame true Thoughts and good Purpoſes, is neceſſary to maintain and keep up this Singleneſs of our Minds, not only at ſome one, but at different Times, and under the ſeveral Changes and Turns of worldly Temptation and Convenience. Without this, when our Mind is ſingle at any time, and in the right, it would not be ſtable and ſted-

faſt therein; but on any Change of Humour, or Advantage, put on a different Form, and appear quite another Thing: Which is to have Two Minds, or Two Conſciences, Beliefs and Intentions, ſuited to Two different Times. And this *Inconſtancy*, and *Inſtability*, St. *James* particularly taxes in the *double-ſoul'd* Perſons: *A double-minded Man*, ſaith he, *is unſtable in all his ways*, Jam. i. 8.

Again; This *Singleneſs* allows not, as of a *double Mind*, againſt *Duplicity of Thought and Intention*; ſo neither of a *double Heart*, againſt *Duplicity of Will and Affection.* It never ſeems to be pleaſed with what is diſpleaſing to it; or to have a Good-will to a Thing, when it bears an ill Will againſt it; or to go willingly and by Choice in a Buſineſs, where it goes againſt its Will, and merely in Submiſſion. It doth not appear to love what it really hates, or to admire what inwardly it ſlights and contemns; to be thankful or glad of that, which truly gives it Sorrow, and is a Trouble to it; or to be ſorry and afflict it ſelf for a Thing, when really it rejoiceth at it; to deſire or pray for any Event, when its Heart is averſe thereto, and flies from it; or to hope for any Iſſue, which within it ſelf it fears; or to fear any, which in very deed it covets. It is no Part or Proof of this Singleneſs, to pretend we have given up our Wills to God's, when we will not reſt under his Will in any unpleaſing Caſe, but make our own Wills take place of his; or our Heart to God and Religion, when 'tis not ſo much to him, as to this World; nor is ty'd ſo faſt to the Duties of Religion, as to the worldly Conveniences and Advantages about Religion: Or, to pretend that we love God above this World, when our Hearts are ready to ſin againſt God, to ſave the Things of this World; or that our chief Care and Concern is for the Joys of Heaven, when we are ready to go out of any way that leads thither, to keep what we have here on Earth; or that our Heart is in the firſt place to keep Innocence, when it will chuſe rather to ſin than ſuffer, and is not ſo much for keeping innocent, as keeping ſafe. And theſe, and ſuch like, ſhew not a ſingle, but a double Heart: One in Pretence and Appearance, and another in Reality and Truth; one that is for God and a good Thing, and another that can be as much againſt them; which are quite oppoſite to Simplicity, and *Singleneſs of Heart.*

Or, if our Heart is truly affected to Good and Ill as it ſhews, and but one way at once; yet would it be a double Heart ſtill, if it is not conſtant in theſe Affections whilſt there is the ſame Cauſe, but double and divided, (now one way, and anon another) if taken *at different Times.* As it is when we love any virtuous Ways or Things whilſt they ſerve our Turn, and grow averſe to them as ſoon as that Turn is ſerved; ſet much by them whilſt they ſuit our Ends, but are ſet as much againſt them, when once they begin to oppoſe them: In a word, ſeem pleaſed or offended, love or hate, hope or fear, ſlight or admire, deſire or turn away from the ſame Things; being now all for them, and then all againſt them, according as they ſuit our uncertain Turns or Intereſts. When we do thus by any Truths, or Virtues, we have not one ſingle Affection for the Ways which we would be thought to approve; but are ſometimes on, and ſometimes off. Our Hearts are not at Unity with themſelves; nor true and conſtant to their own Motions: So that no Hold is to be taken of us; and Men know not where they will have, and where they will miſs of our Hearts. And this is not to ſhew Simplicity, but *Double-heartedneſs.* An Heart, as to love, ſo to hate the ſame Thing at different Times: That goes not all one way, but on different Turns, not of the Things, but of our own Convenience and Affairs, is contrarily affected towards them. An Heart in Shew, that is ſet on the Goodneſs, or Truth of the Things themſelves; but in Reality on our own Intereſts under that Cover, and

ſerving

ſerving of our ſelves by them: Which plainly is harbouring of a *double Heart*; and betrays us unavoidably into the *going two Ways*, threatned by the *Son* of *Sirach*; and into that *Inſtability*, which St. *James* condemns in the *double-minded*. Like as alſo the Scripture ſays of the *Men of Zebulon*, who *came over to David* without any hankering after, or Reſerves for the *Houſe of Saul*, that *they were not of a double Heart*, 1 Chron. xii. 33. or, as 'tis expreſſed *v.* 38. that *they came to him to Hebron, with a perfect Heart*. And this Duplicity, or *Diviſion of Heart* in any Duties, is oppoſite to that *Integrity of Heart* which God requires in his Service; telling us, that in the way of his Commandments, *we muſt love and ſerve him with all our Heart*, Deut. x. 12. Mar. xii. 30. and *walk before him with a perfect Heart*, 1 King. viii. 61. Iſa. xxxviii. 3.

2. *Secondly*, This *Singleneſs of Simplicity excludes our being of a double Tongue*, againſt *Duplicity of Talk and Expreſſion*. *Neither at any time uſed we flattering Words*, courting your Favour by ſpeaking pleaſing Things, more agreeable to your Humour or Neceſſities, than to our own Sentiments, ſays St. *Paul*; ſetting off his own *Simplicity* and ſincere Dealing among the *Theſſalonians*, 1 Theſſ. ii. 5. It is not for ſpeaking one Thing to a Man's Face, and another behind his Back; for talking one way in Publick, and the quite contrary in Private, or among thoſe who are of the ſame Judgment; for talking ſtill as the Company doth, owning all as right, and aſſenting to quite contrary Diſcourſes, as it falls in Company contrarily affected in the Matters diſcourſed of. It doth not ſpeak differently of the ſame Things, only as that differently happens beſt to ſuit our Purpoſes; as if there were nothing in the celebrated Names of True and Falſe, Good and Ill, but our Convenience. It doth not commend a Thing, for inſtance, when we are about to ſell it, and diſparage it when we come to buy it; or cry up a Thing as a Virtue when it ſerves our ſelves, and condemn it as a Vice when it ſerves others: Or give out the ſame Thing as mere Neceſſity, if done by us when we are over others, which we accuſed as malicious Infringement, and intolerable Uſurpation, when others did it whilſt they were over us. It will not magnify Moderation when we are down, and ſtand in need thereof; and ſpeak againſt it as loathſome Lukewarmneſs, and treacherous Neutrality, when we get up, and are in Place to ſhew it: Nor condemn juſtly all bloody, perſecuting, injurious, and deſpoiling Zeal in *Papiſts*; and yet not condemn, but juſtify our ſelves, when we feel our Spirits fermenting with the ſame Bitterneſs.

This, and ſuch like, is to have Two Tongues; one in our own Caſe, and another in our Neighbour's: One behind a Man's Back, and another before his Face: One in this Company, and another in that, as may beſt pleaſe each. Which is the *double Tongue*, againſt which (as I noted) St. *Paul* cautions the *Deacons*; who (eſpecially if of complying Natures) would be in danger to ſay one Thing to one, and another Thing to another, to pleaſe the different Affections of thoſe whom they talked withal, when employ'd (as they often were) to go *from Houſe to Houſe*, 1 Tim. iii. 8. And is alſo *the flattering Lip* in the *Pſalmiſt*, which ſaying that to one's Face which the Heart never thinks, and which it would be ready to gainſay in the next convenient Place, he calls *ſpeaking with a double Heart*, *Pſal.* xii. 2. It is to have one Tongue to the World, for Fear, to avoid Perſecutions, as the *Gnoſticks* had; and another in Truth, and privately towards God, or where they might profeſs their Sentiments in Religion without Hazard. Which *Double-dealing* of theirs St. *James* may not unlikely refer to, when he ſays, *A double-minded Man is unſtable in all his ways*, Jam. i. 8.

To this of a *Double Tongue*, I ſhall alſo refer, as *Speaking thus differently in different Speeches*, ſo likewiſe all *Double-Meaning*, or *Speaking doubtfully*

and deceitfully in the same Speech. Such are, All Speaking with *Mental Reservations*; when we only utter Part of our Meaning in Words, and secretly reserve the other Part still unutter'd in our Minds; which Part of the Speech reserved in our Minds, if added to what is expressed in Words, would make it quite a different Thing to what it sounds: And Use of *Equivocations*, which design to delude by a double Sense of some Words; or of *Ambiguities*, *i. e.* like double Meaning, by the doubtful and uncertain Construction of whole Sentences, which, without any Violence to Rules of Grammar, may be expounded quite different ways. And lastly, *All Craftiness*, and *Ways of Trepanning in Discourses*; either by talking in the Clouds, and casting a Mist of Words, to make a Thing unintelligibly obscure and dark, when we are afraid lest another should see and understand it; or, by *contrived Circumlocution* and *Round of Words*, laying Trains by degrees, to draw those we talk withal imperceptibly into wrong Apprehensions. For Men use to go about when they tell a Lye, and yet would be thought to speak a Truth. They stand off at a distance from the Point, and are not for answering plainly and directly to it. They break the Falshood to pieces, and cast forth a Multitude of Words, that in the Crowd something wrong may get in among others which are right, without being seen or suspected. So that what they could not put off by Wholesale, they retail out among other Ware, and vent by Piece-meal, without being discover'd by the abused Parties. Nay, perhaps, by these Arts they have cozen'd themselves first, and then their Neighbours. They may have hid, or lost the Falshood by this Means, and not know well in what Part of the Discourse to find it themselves: And thus the Lye, broken to pieces and slurr'd off, is easily swallow'd, and goes down without Regret; which, had they utter'd it plainly, would have almost choaked them, and bore too hard upon their Consciences.

Now all these ways, of *Mental Reservations*, *Equivocations*, *Ambiguities*, and *crafty Speeches and Discourses*; are using a *Double Tongue*. Their End is to abuse the Apprehensions and Belief of Men, by a deceitful Sign; against the Faith of Society, and the End of all Discourse and Conversation. For Words, are the Instrument of Faith and Confidence; and therefore should be so used, as that they may be relied on. But what St. *James* taxes in the *Double-Mind*, is equally true of this *Double Tongue*: As that is so unstable in all its Ways, so is this in *all its Meanings*, that they are not to be built upon, *Jam.* i. 8. They are the Instruments of *Hypocrisy*, or of Men's dissembling their own Thoughts; and of *Guile*, or of their beguiling and abusing other Mens: And we are *to lay aside all Guiles and Hypocrisies*, 1 Pet. ii. 1. To be, as our Lord testified *Nathanael* was, such *true Israelities*, *in whom is no guile*, Joh. i. 47. Or, as he himself was, of whom it was said, that *no guile was found in his Mouth*, 1 Pet. ii. 22. The Use they serve, and the End they propose, is not to inform, but to deceive others: So that they are the Ways and Expressions, not of a true, but of a deceitful Tongue. They carry with them, not a *single*, but a *double* Meaning: and so bear in them all the Force and Effect of a double Tongue, which speaks twice, and two contrary Things at one Time.

3. *Thirdly*, This *Singleness of Simplicity*, *excludes a double Practice*, against *Duplicity in Life and Carriage*. It will not allow us to be open Saints, and secret Sinners; to practise one Thing before God, and another before the World; to be one Thing at Church, and another in our own Closets. It will not permit us to *worship God*, and to *worship Baal*; to comply still with the Worship of the Place; tho' in Things of direct Repugnance betwixt themselves; going one Day with the *Gnosticks*, to the *Jewish Synagogues*, and the next to the *Heathen Temples*, and the Third to the *Christian Churches*. Or, to be for a Man in the Crowd, and against him in a trusty

a trusty Company; to profess we are for one, and yet act against him; or wish and act for him, when in private, or left to our selves, and yet turn over from him in the Eye of the World, and renounce him in Profession; to appear among those that meet to pray for a Thing at Church, which we cannot pray for, but, it may be, pray against when we are by our selves; to go among the Rejoicers in Publick, for what we mourn in Private; or among those that afflict themselves, and mourn Abroad, for what we rejoice at Home. It will not be for the Practice of Duty in the Sunshine, and against it in Persecution, as the *Gnosticks*, who, as St. *James* says, were *unstable in their ways*, sticking to *Christian Assemblies* in opportunities of Peace, and turning to those of *Jews* or *Gentiles*, in Fear of Persecutions. *Denying thus*, as the * Apostle says, *the Lord that bought them*, when they could not otherwise save themselves; tho' confessing him at other Times. It doth not use, when a Virtue is cried up, to be at the top of those who stickle for it; but when cried down, to hide its head among those that do not know it. To encourage and run up a Way, whilst it serves our selves; but to brow-beat and run it down, when it disserves us, or serves others. To set off the Obligation of Duty to Superiors, whilst they go our way, and are for us; but to be silent of them, or shake off Duty, when they go contrary: as if the Duties were not to go along with the Relations, but with our Interests and Fleshly Purposes. To be all Kindness, whilst we get by Men, or use them for our own Ends; but to cast them off, and set nothing by them, when we have served our selves of them.

* 2 Pet. ii. 1.

By all these, and such like Ways, instead of leading a Life uniform, and all of a Piece, we have two Lives, or a Life infinitely multiform and various, according to all the Variety and Turns of Convenience. Having one Life in time of Peace, and another in time of Persecution: One, when we come to get by a Duty; another, when we are call'd to lose by it: One Duty towards a Man, whilst he pleases us; but another, when he begins to displease us: One at Home; and another Abroad: One, when the Vogue is for a Way; and another, when 'tis against it: One, whilst we have some Turns to serve; and another, when those Turns are served.

Now this is not to lead single Lives, but double, or treble; nay, to change as oft as Humour, Accident, Ends, or Convenience doth. 'Tis to be true and constant, indeed, to our own Humour, or Interests; but to nothing else. It is not to be true to our own Professions and Pretences, to make our Lives true to themselves, or one part of them true to another. And as the Scripture calls them, *Lying* and *Deceitful Talkers*, who speak *with an Heart and an* * *Heart*, as the *Hebrew* Phrase is: So are they equally *Lying* and *Deceitful Workers*, who live, † *with a Life and a Life*, i. e. *are Double Livers*. It is quite contrary to Simplicity; *Eye-Service*, or having one Practice whilst the Master's Eye is over them, and another when it is off them, being directly contrary to *Service with Singleness of Heart*, as St. *Paul* notes in the Case of *Servants*, Eph. vi. 5, 6. 'Tis no Shew of *single*, but of *double Dealing*: The *instability in all his ways*, or this Change and Mutability of Life and Practice, being the Mark which St. *James* gives, of *a Double-minded Man*, Jam. i. 8. 'Tis to expose our selves to the *Woes* which belong to the *Sinner that goes two Ways*, as the *Son of Sirach* says, *Eccluſ.* ii. 12. And therefore this Duplicity of Life and Manners, must never find place in the Simplicity of Christians. But is that (*a*) *wicked Versatility of Manners, and Dexterity in accomodating it self to all Turns*, whereby the Great St. *Basil* sets off *that Evil Sort of Prudence*,

* Corde & Corde.
† Vita & Vita.

(*a*) Κακωτεχνία τεῦτο. Basil Mag. Concione 21. De Prospera & Adversa Fortuna. Et de Prudentia. *Tom.* 3. *p.* 582.

which

which is moſt quick at eſpying what is for its Worldly Profit, and ſerves its Ends upon the Simple and Well-meaning by Deceit.

3. A *Third* Thing implied in Chriſtian Simplicity, is *Openneſs in what it declares, or ought to profeſs, without Concealments, or cloſe Reſerves.* This is another Thing which the Scripture underſtands by, and calls for in this virtuous Simplicity. Thus St. *Paul* oppoſes the *Manifeſtation of the Truth*, to *handling of the Word of God deceitfully*, 2 Cor. iv. 2. By *Manifeſtation of the Truth*, is meant, ſetting it forth with Openneſs, which would not ſuffer it any longer to lye hid, but make it manifeſt and apparent to thoſe he had to deal with. Yea, ſuch Openneſs, as would *commend them to every Man's Conſcience in the ſight of God, i. e.* ſuch as every Man muſt needs know was ſufficient in his own Conſcience, which, altho' for Ends they may ſometimes deny in this World, yet their Conſcience muſt needs own and give Teſtimony to it, when they come to be poſed before God. Thus, when St. *Paul* alledges *the Teſtimony of his Conſcience*, for his having lived *in Simplicity and godly Sincerity*, 2 Cor. i. 12. St. *Chryſoſtom* on the Place explains it, (*a*) *by living with all Liberty, and having nothing cover'd or adumbrated. In Simplicity*, i. e. *without any Hypocriſy, or Cover*, ſays (*b*) *Photius.* Thus, one Thing, in the Deſcription of *the Simplicity of the Juſt* given by St. (*c*) *Gregory the Great*, is *to make its Speech or Expreſſion lay open its Meaning.* According to all which, *Cicero* thus expreſſes himſelf, (*d*) *a Simple and open Man, and a Simple and open Mind*, ſetting off Simplicity by *Openneſs.* And *Heſychius* explains the word * *Sincere*, by † *manifeſt* or *open*, as well as by ‖ *undeceitful.*

* εἰλικρινὲς.
† φανερὸν.
‖ ἄδολον.

By this *Openneſs*, we muſt not underſtand, an *Obligation to tell all a Man knows*, and to keep nothing Secret. We muſt not diſcloſe other Mens Secrets, when they are intruſted with us. And no Good Chriſtian will inform againſt a Good Man, or diſcover what he knows of him, to his Unrighteous Perſecutors. Nay, he will not tell all he knows, or publiſh the Vices of Ill Men, when it ſerves no End, either of their own Emendation, or giving others warning of them, but only to work their Shame and Prejudice. We are not to proclaim all the Good we know by our ſelves, which would be Vanity and Oſtentation. Nay, nor all the Ill, as our Faults or Imperfections; which would be the Way in Time, to be regardleſs of Cenſure, and throw off all Shame: And then, as the Scripture ſays, we ſhould only *declare*, or *publiſh our Sin like Sodom*, Iſa. iii. 9. We are not to make every one acquainted with our Buſineſs, or to divulge our own Projects and Deſigns, thereby to give them the Trouble of our Cares, or to provoke malevolent Cenſures and Oppoſitions; but only as we are led thereto, in way of Friendſhip and Confidence, or to ſeek Advice, or for Information of thoſe we are concern'd with, or other like reaſonable and prudent Inducements. In theſe, and a Number of other like Caſes, 'tis not the Part, either of a Good or Wiſe Man, to be open and divulge all he knows; but to hide many Things, and keep them Secret. 'Tis *a Fool*, ſays the *Wiſe Son of Sirach, that travails with a Word, as a Woman doth with a Child*, till it be brought forth. Whereas *Wiſe Men*, are for *letting many Things dye with them*; never fearing, as the other doth, leſt a word pent up in their Breaſt, *ſhould burſt them*, Eccluſ. xix, 10, 11, 12. And as it is a Virtue, to ſhew Openneſs of ſome Things; ſo it is a Virtue, to ſhew Taciturnity of others. There is *a Time to keep ſilence, as well as a Time to*

(*a*) Ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ πάσῃ, καὶ ἐδὲν ἔχοντες σκιερὸν. Homil. 3. in 2 Cor. *p.* 558. Ed. Savil. Oecumen.
(*b*) ἀνευ ὑποκρίσεως τινος καὶ ἐπικαλύμματος. In loc. ap. *p.* 599.
(*c*) Lib. 10. c. 16. Expoſ. Moral. in Job. c. 12. Genſum verbis aperire.
(*d*) Homo ſimplex & apertus, & aperta ſimplexq; mens.

speak, saith *the Preacher*, Eccles. iii. 7. Indeed, it is a Part of great Goodness, and Prudence, to know when to be silent, as well as when to speak; and to know, not only what can be said, but also what may be better omitted and left unsaid, in all Cases. So that to be open in every Thing a Man knows, and able to hold nothing; is not the Openness of Simplicity here mention'd, which is a virtuous Disposition.

But this is, *in what a Man is bound and ought to profess, there to be open.* Or, *where a Man pretends* or *undertakes to inform others*, and *open his own Thoughts*, there to deal openly and frankly with them. Where we either voluntarily undertake to declare our Minds, or have a just Call, and ought to profess them: He that would lay Claim to this Virtue, must not hide his Opinions or Practice, his Desires or Espousals, but appear what he is. He must not use Subtilty in putting off, or concealing his inward Sentiments, especially under any opposite Shews; but Openness in professing them. Truth is naked, and not afraid to appear so. It shuns not to come into the Light, when call'd to it: It seeks not then to hide it self, but is free to own it self. As it always is, what it seems; so is it ready to seem, what it is. And such in all Points, which we pretend to declare, or ought to profess, should we be too.

Near a-kin to this of Openness, is *Plainness, opposite to amusing, or misleading Dress, of what it professes.* It sets off Truth, as it is in it self, not daubing it over with made Colours. It seeks not to huddle it up in Intricacies, which would not lay it open, but hide it from Men's Understandings. It doth not put Things, or Actions, into any delusive, or fallacious Attire; which would serve only to make Men misapprehend them, and take them for other, than they are. It doth not amplify Things, to make them be thought larger; nor aggravate, which is to make them seem faultier; nor palliate, which would have them appear more Soft and Innocent; nor any way disguise them, which is to make them shew other than they are in Reality. For all these, and such like, are not Ways of Truth, but of Deception. They do not imprint on Men our own Apprehensions of Things, but Mistakes of them. They are not for making that plain to them, which we think; but that seem to them, which we think not; contrary to that Singleness, whereof I have already treated. Whereas Simplicity is for being the same, as has been observed, both within and without; in inward Sentiments, and in outward Manifestations. It seeks to be taken, only for what it is; and so never hides its own Shape, when call'd to make shew thereof; or assumes a borrowed one, in hopes it would better become it.

4. *Fourthly* and *Lastly*, A *Fourth* Thing implied in *Christian Simplicity*, and prescribed by Spiritual Prudence, is *Harmlessness*, or *Innocence*, opposite to all intending, or effecting Wrong, or Harm to any Person. Of all other sorts of Deceit, it is most opposite to * Malicious Deceit, or that which works Evil to other Men. It is a Simplicity in Good, without any Mixture of Evil in it. It leaves us a Liberty, in fitting Ways to defend our selves; and whilst it is without Sin, or Prejudice to Religion, to use all wise Methods of Caution and Wariness. But it takes from us offensive Weapons, as Anger, Envy, Peevishness, Revenge, Vexatiousness, all Violence and Injustice. It casts out all hurtful and injurious Passions, and Practices: and that at such Times as we are most tempted and provoked to them. For when you are *betrayed by Friends*, *persecuted by Enemies*, *and hated by all*, says our Lord, *Mat.* x. 17, 18, 21, 22. When you are *sent out as Lambs in the midst of ravenous Wolves*, adds he, pressing this Lesson of *Prudent Simplicity*, then be ye *as Innocent as Doves*, a Creature usually said to be without Gall or Bitterness, which should put it upon working or returning Mischief, *v.* 16. *He commands thee, to use the Simplicity*

* Dolus Malus.

plicity of the Dove, says St. * Chrysostom upon the Place, to restrain thee from seeking Revenge when injured, or drawing those that lay wait for thee, to Punishment. For all thy Prudence will stand thee in no stead, unless this Simplicity be added to it. Be ye as simple as Doves, to pardon Injuries † says another Ancient Comment; be as Serpents, to avoid Apprehension; but as Doves, not to bite when once ye are apprehended. And the same, as both Chrysostom and he note, is signified by their being sent out, among these Wolves, as Sheep; thereby requiring of them at such Times, as they say, ‖ the Mildness of those most patient Creatures. Thus, when St. Paul bids Servants to obey with Simplicity, or Singleness of Heart, Eph. vi. 5. Col. iii. 22. Theodoret understands him as making * Simplicity opposite to † Malignity and Improbity. And St. Chrysostom expounds the Simplicity and godly Sincerity, 2 Cor. i. 12. among other Things, by ‖ a Will void of all Mischievousness and Malignity.

* Hom. l. 34. in Mat.

† Incerti Authoris ap. Chrysostom. in Mat.

‖ Ovium mansuetudinem.

* ἁπλότητα.

† κακοηθεία.

‖ ἐν ἀπονηρῳ γνώμῃ.

Simplicity is to be a patient Virtue; and to imply, as the Patience of Preserving, so likewise the Patience of Suffering. It looks more at the Duty, than at the Danger, and is ready to take up the Cross, and to bear it after *Christ*, when it is call'd thereto. It notes Fixedness in Truth and Goodness, and must be accompanied with Fortitude or Fearlessness of Dangers, making Faith or Trust in God its Support, when it has nothing visible to trust to in this World. And as St. *Peter* did, still holding on *his Simplicity*, when he *had the Sentence of Death in himself*, and could have *no Trust* or Hope of *Deliverance in himself, but in God who raiseth up the Dead*, 2 Cor. i. 8, 9, 10, 12.

Such is the Virtue of *true Christian Simplicity*; noting *Veracity*, without doing, or speaking Lyes; *Singleness*, without all Counterfeit Shews or Double-Dealings; *Openness*, without studied Concealment; and *Plainness*, without artificial or misleading Dress, of what we undertake to declare, or ought to profess; and *Harmlessness* or Innocence, patiently suffering, and perseveringly sustaining what it receives from them, but not doing, or returning, the least Wrong or Violence to any Person. And all this is agreeable to St. *Chrysostom*'s Description of it, who explaining those Words of St. *Paul*, *in godly Sincerity*, 2 Cor. i. 12. sets it off thus, (*a*) *We have done nothing Fraudulent, nothing by Hypocrisy, or Simulation, or Flattery, or Assentation, nothing by Treachery, or Imposture, or other such like. But in all Liberty, in Simplicity, in Verity, in a Heart pure and free from all Mischievousness and Malignity, in a Mind void of all Deceit, having nothing cover'd up or shadowed over, nothing craftily varnish'd or rotten at Heart under a fair and promising Outside.*

Thus, is Simplicity, such plain and downright Honesty, as begets no wrong Belief of, or Expectation from us; nor fails those, which it doth beget. That, as it doth not speak any false Thing, so neither will it speak, nor act any delusive Thing; that makes no deceitful Reserves, nor seeks Shifts or Evasions, nor affects to hide what it ought to make manifest, or disguise what it doth set off. If this Virtue governs any Man, he will put on no Appearances of what he is not, nor make a shew of what he doth not intend, nor seem to say or do what he doth not mean, nor willingly deceive by a dark, or doubtful, or delusive Sign; nor seek to have any the worse by him, or mistaken in him, or to expect other, than what they are like to find from him.

(*a*) ὥστε δόλεως οὐχ ὑφέχειον, οὐκ εἰρωνείαν, οὐ κολακείαν, οὐκ ὀπτασίαν ἢ ἀπάτην, οὐκ ἄλλο τοιοῦτον οὐδέν· ἀλλ' ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ πάσῃ, ἐν ἁπλότητι, ἐν ἀληθείᾳ ἐν καθαρᾷ καὶ ἀπονήρῳ γνώμῃ, ἐν ἀδόλῳ διανοίᾳ, οὐδὲν ἔχοντες συνεσκιασμένον οὐδὲ ὑπεκλόν. Chrysost. in loc. Homil. 3. in 2 Ep. ad Cor. p. 558. Ed. Savil.

And

And this *Simplicity*, St. *Paul* calls *Godly Sincerity*, or * *the Sincerity of God*, 2 Cor. 1. 12. That is, ſuch a Simplicity as will paſs for Sincerity in the Sight of God. And ſuch a Simplicity, as is like the Simplicity of God himſelf: Who is moſt true, without the leaſt Falſhood in Word or Deed; Single, without Doubling and Crafty Winding; Open, without artificial Reſerves, Shifts, or Evaſions; Plain, without Diſguiſe; Harmleſs, in all he doth or ſays; without the leaſt Breach of down-right Honeſty, Innocence, and Truth, in every Word and Action. Such is the Simplicity of God himſelf. And when we take care to ſhew forth ours in the ſame Ways, our Simplicity is like God's, and bears his Image. And as the Scripture calls upon us, † *to be holy, as God is holy*; and ‖ *to be merciful, as our heavenly Father is merciful*: So is this way of Simplicity, *to be ſincere as God himſelf is ſincere*, which may very well, on that Account, be ſtiled *the Sincerity of God*.

* ἐν εἰλικρινείᾳ Θεοῦ.

† 1 Pet. i. 16.

‖ Luk. vi. 36.

The Ground and Reaſon of this Simplicity, is *the Preſervation of Equality*. *To do as we would be done by*, which, as our * Saviour ſays, *is the Law and the Prophets*, is the firſt Rule of Juſtice, and ſettles this Equality between all Perſons. This is *to love our Neighbours as our ſelves*; to let them ſtand on the ſame Bottom, and allow them, as being on the ſame Level, in all Intercourſe and Dealing, to expect the like from us, as we do from them. And *this Neighbour* is *every Man*, Wiſe or Fooliſh, Credulous or Suſpicious, Raſh or Wary, Rich or Poor, who muſt all ſtand upon the ſame Level, as to this Matter.

* Mat. vii. 10.

Now, ſince all Communication and Intercourſe lies in ſignifying our Minds to one another, by Words or Actions; in regard there muſt be this Equality kept up, in the mutual Communication of Minds, there is need of this Virtue of Simplicity, which will do it equally to all Perſons. *Faith* is the Foundation of all Society and Communication. And in this there muſt be Equality in the Ground it goes upon; every Man having the ſame Ground to believe another, that another has to believe him. And this can be nothing but Simplicity and Plain-dealing, which will equally ſecure the Faith of wiſe and unwiſe, ſubtle and ſimple, quick and ſlow Apprehenſions. This Simplicity is fit to inform all Underſtandings: But if we go off from this, inſtead of informing Mens Minds and Belief, we ſhall abuſe them: Or if the ſubtle and wary, by Suſpenſe, preſerve themſelves from being deceived, we ſhall abuſe and deceive others. 'Tis only Plain-dealing that can ſecure any, and give the ſame Security to all; that where all have an equal Right, they may alſo have an equal Benefit. So that in Communication we muſt uſe the ſame Plainneſs towards every Man, the young and old, the unverſed and experienced, the weak and ſtrong; ſeeking what is equal towards every one, and what is private and unequal towards none; if we would keep to the Rule of Juſtice, and do Equity, which ſpeaks the Obſervation of Equality to all thoſe whom we deal or converſe with.

This is implied in St. *Paul*'s Reaſon for *ſpeaking the Truth every Man with his Neighbour*, becauſe *we are Members one of another*, Eph. iv. 25. For tho' the Members be greater or leſs than another, in point of Perception, Importance and Honour; yet a more intelligent and diſcerning Member doth not take Liberty to deceive, and impoſe upon a leſs diſcerning, more than the other doth of impoſing upon it; but they are all equal and alike in true and Plain-dealing with each other. *The Eye*, as * St. *Chryſoſtom* notes upon thoſe Words, as alſo † *Theodorit*, and ‖ *Theophylact*, *when it ſees ſome Ill a coming, doth not deceive the Foot, but gives true Warning, that it may compoſe it ſelf to Flight. And if the Foot, by feeling, finds it is got on unſure Ground, it makes true Diſcovery, tho' the Eye ſaw it not. When the Smell has perceived the Quality of any Food, it doth not belye it to the Palate.*

* In loc. Hom. 14. in Epheſ.
† In loc.
‖ In loc.

late. *And when the Tongue has diſcovered a Taſte, it doth not miſrepreſent it to the Stomach.* And ſo all the other Members are as careful to repreſent Things right to their Fellow-Members, as their Fellows are to do the ſame to them: And one never ſeeks to deceive another, becauſe, being mutually Members, they muſt needs have Joint-Intereſts; and when one deceives, or hurts another, it is * *a common Damage*, as *Theodorit* ſays, and therein it damnifies and hurts it ſelf. So that the raſh and the wary, the wiſe and the fooliſh being equally Members; this muſt no more impoſe upon that, than the ſeeing Eye doth upon the unſeeing Foot. And in their Communication, the wiſe muſt be as far from ſeeking to deceive the unwary, as the unwary are from ſeeking to deceive them.

*Damnum commune.

This Simplicity ſhould be obſerved *in all Communications*, eſpecially among Chriſtians; whoſe Credit ſhould be ſo good, that their Word ſhould never be queſtioned, but *yea and nay* be all that need to paſs among them, as our Saviour ſays: Their Word always carrying their Meaning; and *their yea being yea, and their nay nay*; or they always doing as they ſay; which would make no need of *Swearing in their Communication*, Mat. v. 37. And were this Simplicity practiſed accordingly, none would ever need to queſtion them, becauſe none would ever be deceived by them. Faith would be ſecured by their Saying; and their Word might be ſafely built on. In their plain Words, Men would have their Senſe, and ſhould be ſure of ſuitable Performance.

But eſpecially it ſhould be obſerved in *Promiſes*, which make more Dependance, and are a higher Bond of Faith: And moſt of all in *Oaths*, which appeal, for the Conformity betwixt our Thoughts and Expreſſions, to the God of Truth and Simplicity it ſelf. No Man ſhould have his Faith abuſed, or be deceived by us in any Communication; but leaſt of all in theſe. Thus *God*'s *Promiſe* and his *Oath*, St. *Paul* calls *two immutable Things, by which it is impoſſible for God to lye*; *i. e.* to abuſe and delude the Faith, or to beget a wrong Belief or Expectation in any, *Heb.* vi. 18.

And it ſhould be obſerved in theſe Communications, *by all Perſons*, eſpecially by Men *Sacred in their Functions*, as *Biſhops* and *Prieſts*, who are as the * *Mouth of God*, and *God*'s *Ambaſſadors*; and *Magiſtrates*, who act in God's Place, and are alſo (as the Scripture ſays) † *God*'s *Miniſters*; and eſpecially in *Things* of *Power* and *Authority*, as *Laws* and *Edicts*. There ought to be the greateſt Simplicity and Plain-dealing in the Words and Ways of *Miniſters* and *Magiſtrates*; who would not only, as others, abuſe the Faith of their Brethren, but deſecrate their Station, and diſhonour that God of Simplicity and Truth, in whoſe Place they ſtand, by deceitful and deluſive Dealing. There ought alſo to be the ſame in the Expreſſions of Publick Laws; which muſt always be meant and expounded with Ingenuity and Plainneſs. For Laws are the Patrons, and the Guard of Faith and Innocence; and ſo muſt be Patterns of what they patronize, by their own Sincerity and Fairneſs. They muſt never teach us how to cozen, or enſnare others. They muſt never lie in Quirks and evaſive Senſes; which Deceitfulneſs of the Laws themſelves will ungird and proſtitute them, and only teach People how to cheat in their Obedience. It will cut off the Simplicity of Obedience, and call Subjects only to the Invention of Subtilties, to out-wit Laws inſtead of obſerving them. For Laws are not kept, but cozen'd and abuſed by evaſive Gloſſes. So that this Simplicity, as it muſt be moſt in Promiſes, chiefly when back'd by ſolemn Oaths; ſo more eſpecially, when theſe are made by Miniſters or Magiſtrates, who are Sacred Perſons; and moſt eſpecially, when they are made alſo in Obedience to Laws, and in Words preſcribed by the Laws themſelves.

* 2 Cor. v. 20.

† Rom. xiii. 4.

But

But now, contrary to all theſe Ways and Obligations of Simplicity, is the Way of *worldly Wiſdom.* It may ſometimes be for taking Things openly, and by bare-faced Violence, where it has Power enough ; but its ordinary Method is to practiſe more covertly, and its great Inſtrument is Craft and Deceit. When there is need thereof, it is not apt to ſtick at forging a downright Lie, and unpalliable Falſhoood, to bring its Ends about. But where it practiſes with more Shamefacedneſs, it will deceive as effectually, by ſeeming, but deceitful, Truths ; which are only ſeeming Truths, but real Falſhoods. Sometimes, to the end it may be miſtaken, it will hide it ſelf in a Miſt of Words : At others, it will play upon the Faith of Men, by Ambiguities of Words and Sentences ; expecting they will bite at one Meaning, whilſt it reſerves another to it ſelf. Or if it doth not fall upon them to deceive directly, it will lead them about craftily, by a Circle of Words or Circumlocutions ; intermixing ſecretly true and falſe, and laying Snares, till it has got them within the Compaſs of Deceit at laſt. It will be open, in ſo much as ſhall ſerve its Turn ; and artificially conceal what makes againſt it. It repreſents Things, not as they are in themſelves, but in ſuch Dreſs as beſt ſuits its own Purpoſe ; amplifying or detracting, palliating or diſguizing, not ſo as ſets off its own Thoughts, but its Convenience. Or if it is ſo nice as to boggle at the Abuſe of Words, it will more eaſily ſwallow a like Juggle and Deceit in Actions. It will give the outward Appearances, without inward Realities ; ſeem to be what it is not, and not to be what it is ; do in all Things like thoſe who profeſs what it thinks not, or who deny what it really believes. The outward Shews of its Belief or Expectations, Mind and Judgment ; of its Deſires or Affections, what pleaſes or diſlikes it ; are not the true Draught of its inward Sentiments, but only of its outward Intereſts. It pretends what it gets by, not what it really is, or believes ; and ſeeks it ſelf, not what it ſhews, in all its Pretences. Its Appearances are Hypocriſy ; its ſecret End ſtill Self-Deſign ; its Method, not Truth, but Deluſion ; not Harmleſsneſs to others, but preventing (tho' by any Loſs of theirs) all Harm, Diſſatisfaction, or Diſappointment to it ſelf.

So that inſtead of being true and ſingle, plain and open, innocent and undeſigning ; a worldly-wiſe Man is all Lies and Falſhood, Trick and Deceit, full of Turnings and Windings, Shifts and Evaſions, Miſts and falſe Colours, mere Shews and Pretences ; pretending and appearing one Thing, but being and intending another ; and never true to what he ſeems, further than that happens to run true to his own Self-Ends, and Carnal Convenience. He is not fix'd to any juſt and honeſt Principles ; but is for * *accommodating his Manners to ſerve Turns*, and for being *quick-ſighted at ſerving his own Advantage by Deceit*, as I noted from St. *Baſil.* By all which deceitful Shews, and falſe Seemings, beſides the Injury to Truth, he violates Charity and Juſtice ; oftentimes drawing Men in thereby to their Prejudice ; and abuſes Confidence, which (to an ingenuous Spirit) ſhould lay on one the higheſt Obligation, working their Harm by that very Faith and Truſt they repoſe in him ; and for the moſt part highly abuſes good Things alſo, and that virtuous Forwardneſs which well-meaning Men have to promote them ; whilſt, under a falſe Colour and Shew thereof, he ſteals away their Concurrence to his own unlawful Purpoſes, or ſordid Self-Deſigns.

* κακανβέχεια τῆ πρόνῳ.

CHAP. VII.

Of not discharging Relative Duties, for Ends of Religion, or of our own Ease.

THE other Instance which I mentioned, of *Doing Ill to bring about some Good desired*, is *throwing off Relative Duties*. And this is another Care of *Spiritual Prudence*, viz. in the

Second Place, That *in any Relations, when they grow burdensome to us, for ends, either of Religion, or of our own Ease, it doth not admit of any Discharge of Relative Duties.* God, both in Nature and Scripture, has required us, as to be just to all Men; so to be Grateful to our Benefactors, and Dutiful to our Superiors; to honour, obey, and keep subject, to our Parents, our Princes, and other Powers, whom he has placed over us.

2. And these Duties and Returns he calls for towards them, *whatever their Religion be, whether true or false.* Be they *Christians* or *Heathens*, *Jews* or *Mahometans*, *true Worshippers* or *Idolaters*; *Children* must honour and obey, support and succour their *Parents*, and *Wives* their *Husbands*, and *Servants* their *Masters*, and Subjects their Sovereigns. These are among those Things, which *Nature* it self *has writ in all Mens Hearts*, and wherein, as St. *Paul* says, *they that have not the* written *Law, are a Law unto themselves, their own Consciences bearing witness* to them, without the need of any further Revelation, *and their Thoughts accusing or excusing them*, according as they have kept or transgressed them, *Rom.* ii. 14, 15. So that if the Relatives were all Heathens; yet their natural Conscience, without the help of Scripture, would teach one to call for all this Duty, and another to shew and pay it; and accuse them, if they did it not.

Accordingly, when the Apostles went out to preach among Heathens, and to proselyte those whose Relations were Worshipers of false Gods, and set up unclean Spirits, or Devils, for Gods; they do not in the least exempt them from any Relative Duties towards such Idolaters; but require a greater Heartiness and Conscientiousness in the due Discharge thereof. *Children, obey your Parents in all Things, as what is well-pleasing to the Lord*, saith St. *Paul*, Col. iii. 20. And *Servants, obey in all Things your Masters according to the Flesh, doing all Things in Singleness of Heart, as to the Lord*, as *serving* therein *the Lord Christ*, vers. 22, 23, 24. *Wives, be in Subjection to your own Husbands*, says St. *Peter*, yea, to those *that obey not the Word*, but are *to be won by the Wives good Conversation, without the Word*, 1 Pet. iii. 1. *Honour the King*, says he again, and * *submit your selves to every Ordinance of Man for the Lord's sake, whether to the King as Supreme, or unto Governors, as sent by him*, Chap. ii. 13, 14, 17. *Ye must needs be subject*, yea, *every Soul, not only for Wrath, but Conscience sake*, says St. *Paul*, Rom. xiii. 1, 5. Whenas, at this Time, as is notorious, Kings and Sovereign Powers were Heathens.

* Tit. iii. 1.

Thus careful were they, not to seem in the least to set Men free from any Relative Duties and Obligations, towards their Heathen and Idolatrous Relations. And this with the more Exactness, to cut off from the *Heathen World*, (who knew well enough the Dueness and Necessity of these Things, and the Guilt of the contrary, without the Preaching of the Apostles,) all colour for aspersing Christianity, as overthrowing Justice and Morality; as pulling up Foundations of Nature, and setting Persons loose from

from the Obligations of their several Relations. Which would have been the greatest Scandal that could have been fixed upon Religion; and have made it to turn the Moral and Natural Obligation, as well as the Heathen Superstition of the World, upside down. *Teach Wives, to be obedient to their own Husbands, and to take care of their Children, that the Word of God be not blasphemed. And Servants, to be obedient, shewing all good Fidelity, that they may adorn the Doctrine of God our Saviour, in all things;* says St. *Paul*, Tit. iii. 4, 5, 9, 10. *Submit to every Ordinance of Man,* says St. *Peter, for so is the Will of God, that with well doing, ye may put to silence the Ignorance of foolish Men.* 1 Pet. ii. 13, 15.

Again,

2. He calls for these Relative Duties and Performances towards Men of all Religions, *whatever their Performances, on their Part, be towards us.* We must be dutiful Children to hard, improvident, or careless Parents; and faithful Servants, to threatning and unequal Masters; and obedient Wives, to bad Husbands; and good, and true Subjects, to ill administring and unrighteous Sovereigns.

Servants, be subject with all fear, not only to the Good and Gentle, but also to the froward, saith St. *Peter*; not only whilst you receive Right, but when, *for good Conscience towards God, you suffer wrongfully* at their Hands, 1 *Pet.* ii. 18, 19.

* *Pontius Pilate* was far from discharging the part of a good Governor to our Blessed Saviour, spilling his Blood only to satisfy *the Peoples Clamours, against the Conviction of his own Conscience.* But yet our Lord took care to approve himself a good Subject towards him, (as he had done before towards the *Chief Priests*, † forbidding his Servants to use the Sword against them in his own Defence;) *owning even at that Time, his Power to be from above,* Jo. xix. 11.

* Joh. xix. 4, 6, 15, 16.

† Jo. xviii. 11. Luk. xxii. 49, 50, 51.

Ananias the *High Priest*, did not sure perform on his part, when, *sitting to judge* Paul *by Law, he commanded him to be smitten contrary to the Law,* Acts xxiii. 2, 3. But yet, even under this Grievance, St. *Paul* confesses he ought him all the same Duty, which he should have owed to a more just Judge, and begs pardon for having *forgot himself*, and not spoken so reverently towards him upon that occasion, as *the Law required towards the Ruler of the People*, Verse 5.

Saul unquestionably was guilty of Male-Administration in an high Degree, and far from discharging towards *David*, his Duty of Protection: Yea, moreover, he was reprobated by God, or *rejected from being a King*, 1 Sam. xv. 23. But yet, for all that, *David* was still bound in Conscience, to perform his Duty of Subjection towards this unrighteous Sovereign: As he did, when he had the highest Temptation, and the most Providential Opportunities, to rid himself of him; owning him even for the *Lord's Anointed*, and saying, *Who can lift up a hand against him, and be guiltless?* 1 Sam. xxiv. 5, 6. And Ch. xxvi. 9.

Lastly, No Man will say, that the Emperors and Rulers in the Apostles Days, performed the Part of Good Governors; persecuting the true Religion, instead of protecting it; preying upon the Remains of *Roman* Liberties, instead of preserving them; and Ruling by Blood, Injustice and Oppression, instead of just and regular Administration. But yet, towards these *Non-Performers*, and Notorious Violaters of Princes Duties, the *Apostles* enjoin all the Subjects of the Empire, most punctually and conscientiously to discharge their Duties: *Putting them in Mind, to be subject to Principalities, and to obey Magistrates*, Tit. iii. 1. *Not only for Wrath, but for Conscience*, Rom. xiii. 5. *As the Will of God, and for the Lord's sake*, 1 Pet. ii. 13, 15. All which, God strictly exacted, and Good Men in all Times most conscientiously performed; not daring to shake off Subjection

jection, and rise up against God's Vicegerents, when they proved the most unjust Invaders of Religion and Rights, as they who list, may see (a) proved at large.

In all these Relations, each side must look to what concerns themselves. Their Duties are Mutual, but not Conditional: So that we may not break with them, tho' they break with us. The Breach of their Part, is ill in them. And therefore, since what is Ill in one, cannot be Good in another; the Breach of ours must needs be answerably Ill in us too. So that not to go along with them in an Ill Thing, or be condemned for Company, we must every one take care to discharge our own Duty, whether our Relatives make due Return of Duty, and discharge theirs towards us, or no.

Indeed, all the Laws of the *Second Table*, or the Duties of Justice, are absolute in Obligation, either to the Religion, or to the Good Performances, and Moral Qualities of Men. We must speak Truth, and keep Faith and Promises, especially when confirm'd by solemn Oaths, and deal justly, and where we have received Favours, remember them gratefully, especially in their need, and return them as we can, even towards the Persons, to Men of the worst Carriage, and of the worst Religions, Hereticks or Infidels. The *Jews* were for straightning the Exercise of Justice, Gratitude, and Kindness, not extending it to Men of an opposite and hated Religion, but confining the *Neighbour* mentioned in the Law, to a *Fellow Jew*, or one of their own Nation and Religion. But to cure this, our Lord instructs them, in the *Parable* of *the Man falling among Thieves*, that *the Jews must be Neighbours, even to the Samaritans*; bidding him that asked, *Who is my Neighbour?* After he had related, how Neighbourly the *Samaritan* dealt by the *Jew*, in Distress, *Go, and do thou likewise*, Luk. x. 29, 30, 37. *Honour thy Father and Mother, thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not commit Adultery, thou shalt not Steal, thou shalt not Covet, thou shalt not bear false Witness*; are Commandments, that oblige equally towards all Persons. We are no more at Liberty to break any of them, towards a *Pagan*, than towards a *Christian*; a *Papist*, than a *Protestant*; an Ill and Unjust, than towards a Good and Righteous Man. More particularly kind we ought to be to *the Houshold of Faith*, and those of our own way. But just, and true, and grateful, is what in common we are bound to be to all.

All this is plainly owned, and implied in that *Maxim*, which is confessed by all sober Persons, and expresly denied by none, but some *wild Enthusiasts*, viz. *That worldly Dominion is not founded in Grace.* Indeed, Grace confers Titles, and has its Claims; but those are in another Life, where all Possessions will be measured out, according to the Degrees of Mens Graces, and Religious Performances. But here, without any regard to the Graciousness of their Hearts or Carriage, this World's Properties are all to pass among Men, according to Human Rights and Titles. No Man can make out, that he has Right to another's Power or Property, by pleading that his Faith is more Orthodox, or his Life more Just and Holy; *i. e.* that he is more Gracious. Nor that the Legal Owner has forfeited his Right to them, by his Apostasy from Truth, or Holiness, or turning Graceless.

The Truth is, the World needs nothing more to make them sensible of the Iniquity of this, than to bring it home to their own Case. For if one Man may turn another out of his Legal Power and Property, on Pre-

(a) In a Discourse, Entituled, *Christianity a Doctrine of the Cross under unrighteous Rulers*: Or, *Passive Obedience under Invasion of Legal Rights and Liberties.*

ence that he has not the Grace to keep in the right way to the other World, nor to uſe and employ them well for the Good of this; what Change would this make among Proprietors, and how would it diſpoſſeſs the greateſt Part of the Inhabitants of the Earth? Yea, particularly of thoſe, who are moſt uneaſy, and caſt the moſt envious and malignant Eye at the Power and Property of others. So that it would quite throw out this Pretence, of *Diſcharging our ſelves of Relative Duties*, or *Diſſeiſing Relatives of their Legal Rights and Claims, becauſe of Hereſy, Non-Performance*, &c. *i. e. of Ungraciouſneſs*; if Men would but allow their Relatives and Rulers common Juſtice, (who, if any, ſure ſhould have Preference,) and do by them, as they would be willing to be dealt by themſelves. *Honour thy Father and Mother*; and, *Thou ſhalt not Steal*, are Precepts univerſal: Securing the Power and Properties of the Graceleſs, as much as of the Gracious. Juſt therefore we muſt be to Power and Property, whereſoever we meet it lodged by Law, whether in the good or bad. And thus juſt we ſhall be to the worſt and moſt ungracious Relatives, if we will allow them the common Benefit of God's Laws, as made for their Protection as well as ours; and grant them, to whom we owe not only Juſtice, but Reverence, the ſame Thing, which in common Right and Equality, we all claim for our ſelves.

From all this I obſerve, when Men ſtand in Relation to any Perſon, *we muſt diſtinguiſh what they do in diſcharge of Duty to him, as a Relation*; *and what they do in Favour of his Ways and Religion.* It is either a great Weakneſs, or a great Wickedneſs in Men, to ſuſpect all thoſe that are for ſhewing inviolate Duty to a Popiſh King, as being Favourers of the Popiſh Religion; and for paying all that is due to a King, when he breaks the Laws, as if they affected, and were for ſetting up a Power Arbitrary and Lawleſs. As if there could be no Duty to his Power and Perſon, without Inclination to his Way and Religion. What would theſe Perſons have ſaid to St. *Paul*, and the *Holy Apoſtles*, had they lived in thoſe Days? Would they have accuſed them, as ſecret Friends to Heatheniſm, and as having Heathen Gods, as now they are wont to ſay of others, that they *have a Pope in their Bellies*, becauſe they preach'd up a ſtrict and inviolate Subjection to the Emperors, and other Powers, for all they were Heathens? Or, that they were Enemies, and Betrayers of the *Roman* Liberties, and for making the Empire more abſolute than it was, becauſe thoſe Emperors were for graſping at the ſmall Remains of Liberty, and for being more and more Lawleſs? Their Duty, as I have ſhewn, they muſt perform to them, and do all that is juſt to ſuch an one, both as a Man, and as a King, in Duty to his Perſon and Relation: Tho' at the ſame Time, they bear the moſt unmoveable Averſeneſs and Oppoſition, ſtanding out to the laſt, in ſuch Ways, as their Duty to God and him allows them to make uſe of, againſt his Way and Religious Perſuaſion. 'Tis only in Conſcience of what he is, not in good Liking or Approbation of what he doth, that they pay theſe Things to ſuch a Perſon.

I note alſo, That in ſpeaking of theſe Duties, even in the Caſe of ſuch Perſons, we muſt not talk, as if we performed them, not for Principles of Conſcience, but only from Human Inducements. 'Tis the way of too many, God knows, to diſcourſe in theſe Things, as if the Hank theſe Duties have on us, towards ſuch unpleaſing Relatives, were not on our Conſcience but on our Convenience. Their Care and good Carriage, they will allow, as a Reaſon of our Duty and Obſervance; but their Faults and Failures, as a Reaſon alſo to juſtify ours. They inſiſt upon the Reaſons of Ingenuity in this Caſe, and ask, How one could expect more, that performed no more, or dealt no better? And look on the ripping up their

Rulers Non-performance, as a Reaſon to vindicate their own. All which is, as if God had required nothing in the Relation, but all we owed, were to the Carriage of the Perſon, 'Tis to act only by Principles of Intereſt, or at beſt of Ingenuity; but not out of Principle of Conſcience, which is the ſame when they go wrong and when they go right, or not from any Regard to God, or Senſe of Duty at all.

CHAP. VIII.

Of the Imprudence of purſuing our Ends by unlawful Means.

HAVING ſaid thus much of this *Firſt* Rule of Spiritual Wiſdom, *viz. Not doing Evil, that Good may come*, or not making uſe of any unlawful Ways, for the compaſſing our Ends or Deſires: Beſides what I have hitherto ſaid of *the Religion*, I will now add a little, in the laſt Place, of the Wiſdom of this Courſe, and ſhew *how prudent it is, never to take up with any Sin, in Purſuit of the moſt deſired Deſign.*

Prudent I mean, not only for the *next World*, but for the accompliſhment of our Deſigns here in *this World.* If Worldly Men would really be wiſe for Worldly Things, and take the Way that is beſt here at preſent; they muſt not ſin againſt God, to bring their Ends about; which, however promiſing it may ſeem to them, is not really the way to make, but to mar them.

The Reaſon of this is, becauſe the compaſſing of any Effects *depends more upon God and his Providence, than upon any Human Means.* The beſt and likelieſt Preparations can never bring them about, when he goes not along with them; and the loweſt and moſt unlikely, are ſure to do it, when he doth. Now the Way to have God with us, is *by truſting him, and keeping in his ways.*

If we dare rely on Providence, and truſt God, he will not fail thoſe that truſt him, but take the tendereſt Care of them, and ſhew himſelf remarkably in preſerving them, and ſpeeding their matters on. I mean thoſe matters, which, in conſiſtence with the Deſigns of his Providence, he ſees are fit to take Effect: And no Means or Methods can bring about any Things elſe. As there is no Friend or Deliverer like God; and no Comfort like Hope in him: So is there no Way to make an Intereſt with him, like confiding in him, and depending on him. *Thou wilt keep him in perfect Peace, whoſe Mind is ſtaid on thee, becauſe he truſteth in thee*, ſaith the *Prophet*, *Iſa.* xxvi. 3. But to miſtruſt God, is the way to diſoblige and loſe him, and, together with him, our own Proſperity and Succeſs too. As the *Jews*, who *would not believe the Lord their God*, and truſt him, when he gave them his Word to *bring them into the Land of Canaan*, Deut. i. 32. are put out of all hopes of coming thither, and bid *to turn, and take their Journey into the Wilderneſs*; and told, even in the height of their Warlike Preparation, when they *had girded on every Man his Weapons*, that if they would *go up* now, *and fight*, it ſhould be at their own Peril, for *he the Lord was not among them.* And accordingly, they were *chaſed* and *deſtroyed*, as many as did *preſumptuouſly* attempt it, *v.* 40, 41, 42, 43, 44. Thus it alſo fared with *the Lord*, who in the *great Famine at Samaria*, would not believe the ſudden Plenty which God promiſed,

and

and foretold by his Servant *Eliſha*: *Thou ſhalt ſee it with thine Eyes*, ſaid God to him, *but thou ſhalt not eat thereof*, 2 Kings vii. 2. which accordingly *fell out*, v. 17, 20. And with King *Aſa*, who, *on* Baaſha's *coming up againſt him, relied not on the Lord, but on the* Syrians; and *in his Diſeaſe ſought not to the Lord, but to the Phyſicians: Herein thou haſt done fooliſhly*, ſaith the Prophet; *therefore from henceforth thou ſhalt have Wars*, 2 Chron. xvi. 2, 3, 8, 9, 12.

And this Truſt muſt be, *by keeping in his own Ways*; which when they ſeem to have the leaſt of viſible Probabilities, have the moſt of Providence; and ſo, to thoſe who aſcribe moſt to Providence, muſt needs appear the ſureſt Way to Succeſs. *Wait on the Lord, and keep his Way, and he ſhall exalt thee to inherit the Land*, ſaith the *Pſalmiſt*, *Pſal.* xxxvii. 34. Tho' in this keeping to God's Ways, we ſhould have no viſible Preparations to truſt to; yet is Providence, the Ground of our Confidence, full of inviſible ones; which do abundantly more aſſure Deliverance, or Succeſs, than any others; and which are diſcernible to the Eye of Faith, tho' not to an Eye of Fleſh. Thus when *the City was compaſſed with Horſes and Chariots, and a mighty Hoſt of* Syrians, *ſent by the King of* Syria *to take* Eliſha; tho' he had no viſible Guard to reſiſt theſe Forces, yet had he a Wall of Fire of Providence, *the Mountain* (where he was) being *full of Horſes, and Chariots of Fire*, or Guards of Angels, *round about* Eliſha. So that when Human Eyes could ſee none to preſerve him, yet could he *ſay to his Servant, Fear them not, for they that be with us are more than they that be with them*, 2 Kings vi. 14, 15, 16, 17. And when the *great Lord in* Jehoram's *Court* thought the Plenty which was *propheſied* to be *in* Samaria *the next day to be impoſſible*, and that *unleſs God ſhould make Windows in Heaven* on purpoſe, it could never be brought to paſs; the End ſhew'd, that God can infinitely outwit us, and abſolutely ſurprize us with Iſſues; and that when there ſeems no Way to us, Providence has Ways enow, that never enter'd into our Thoughts. As the Event in that Caſe made appear; God raiſing the Siege in haſte, by filling the *Syrians* with Fear of mighty Succours come in to the King of *Iſrael*, on their *hearing in the Night a Noiſe of Horſes, and Chariots, and of a great Hoſt*, 2 Kings vii. 2, 6, 7.

But if, when there is no viſible Appearance of ſucceeding, or being ſafe otherwiſe, to ſave our ſelves we ſtep out of God's Ways, and inſtead of what is lawful, betake our ſelves to what ſeems expedient and ſerviceable; *in leaving the Way of Innocence, we are like alſo (when we leaſt ſuſpect it) to loſe the Way of Succeſs; and when we deſert God, God and Providence will deſert us. Order thy Way aright, and truſt in him*, ſays the wiſe Son of *Sirach*; but *go not aſide, leſt ye fail*, Ecclus. ii. 6, 7. We ſhall not only this way be unrelieved by the Bleſſing and Aſſiſtance, but broken and oppoſed (moſt commonly) by the juſt Judgment of Providence ſetting it ſelf againſt us. For *he diſappointeth the Devices of the Crafty, ſo that their Hands cannot perform their Enterprize. He taketh the Wiſe in their own Craftineſs*, making their Methods bring about what they ſtudied to avoid; *and the Counſel of the Froward is carried headlong. They meet with Darkneſs in the Day-time, and grope in the Noon-day, as in the Night*, Job v. 12, 13, 14.

God loves to defeat ſuch unlawful and irreligious Expedients, and to turn wicked Policy and ungodly Wiſdom into Fooliſhneſs: To make it hinder and obſtruct that very Good, which it was made uſe of to acquire; and to bring on us that very Evil, or Trouble, which thereby we ſeek to remove. *Who*, ſays the Prophet, *among us, ſhall* be able to *dwell with the devouring Fire* kindled by the King of *Aſſyria*, call'd *Everlaſting Burnings*; in regard they could ſee no Likelihood of any End of his Devaſtations? *He ſhall*, anſwers he, *that walks righteouſly, and ſpeaketh uprightly; that deſpiſeth the Gain of Oppreſſions, or handling of Bribes, and ſtops his Ears*

from hearing of Blood, (or bloody Counſellors) *and ſhuts his Eyes from ſeeing Evil.* By this Religious Stiffneſs, and ſtanding off from the Courſe of Wickedneſs in thoſe evil Times, inſtead of being more expoſed to them, (as you fancy) he ſhall be preſerved; as ſafe as he *who is ſet on high, and whoſe Place of Defence is the Munition of Rocks*, or a ſtrong Tower ſituate on inacceſſible Rocks, *where is neither want of Bread nor Water*, and ſo no Danger of being reduced (through Want of Proviſions) to ſurrender. But as for *the Sinners in Sion*, (or thoſe, ſays * *Grotius*, who, againſt their own Conſciences, were for changing their Principles and Religion, to procure Favour from the conquering *Aſſyrian*) *they are afraid, and Fearfulneſs hath ſurprized theſe Hypocrites*; the Accompliſhment of their Fears, inſtead of the Removal of them, being all they ſhould get by their Apoſtaſy and ungodly Diſſimulation, *Iſa.* xxxiii. 14, 15, 16.

* In loc.

Thus we find it has uſually been *with the Reſorters to forbidden and unlawful Ways, in conſtant Experience.* Their fancy'd Remedy has proved their real Snare, and what they took to cure a Fear, God ordinarily turned to accompliſh it.

Thus at *Babel*, the Preſumption and Pride of Men in building of *a lofty Tower, to make them a Name*, and to *prevent their Diſperſion*, Gen. xi. 4. God turns into a Blot upon their Name, and makes the very *Means of ſcattering them*, v. 7, 8, 9.

The *Brethren* of *Joſeph*, to prevent the verifying of *his Dreams*, *viz.* That they who were his *Elder Brothers* ſhould come at laſt to *worſhip him*, and *make their Obeiſance*, moſt wickedly *ſold him for a Bond-Slave to the* Midianite *Merchants*, who *brought him to the* Egyptians, Gen. xxxvii. 7, 9, 19, 28. But this unnatural and ungodly Expedient of preventing theſe Submiſſions, God over-rules for the very Method of bringing them about; when they came (in Time, and Courſe of Providence) to need the *Corn of Egypt*, and *Joſeph* to be *Governor of the Land*, and in ſole Power to diſpoſe thereof; and theſe ſame *Brethren came, and bowed down themſelves before him, with their Faces to the Earth*, Gen. xlii. 6, 10. and *Ch.* l. 18.

Zedekiah and the *Jews*, when (being brought in Subjection to the King of *Babylon*) they had all ſubmitted, *made a Covenant, and taken an Oath to him*; repenting afterwards of their Subjection, they *conſpire to rebel*, and break that Oath which both Prince and People had taken, in hopes that the *King* of *Egypt* would ſtand by them, *Ezek.* xvii. 12, 13, 14, 15. But theſe wicked Ways of Rebellion and Perjury, for the recovering invaded Liberty, inſtead of removing, as they promiſed themſelves, God declares ſhould both increaſe, and fix their Slavery and Miſery, *v.* 17, *ad* 22. Like as the *Rebelling for Laws and Liberties* againſt our *Martyr'd Sovereign*, turned, by God's juſt Judgment, to ſuch an Overthrow of Laws, and Loſs of Liberty, and Introduction of extreme Servitude, as, ſince they had the Charters of Laws and Liberties, had not before been brought upon this People.

The ſucceeding *Jews*, ſome Hundreds of Years afterwards, reſolved, by bloody and wicked Hands, to *cut off Chriſt*; for fear, *ſhould they let him alone*, and go on to be generally taken for *Chriſt the King*, that the *Romans* (jealous thereby of their Defection) *would come, and take away their Place and Nation*, Joh. xi. 48. And *'Tis expedient*, ſaid *Caiaphas*, *that one Man dye, rather than that a whole Nation ſhould periſh*, v. 50. But this horrible Way, or Expedient, of *preſerving the Nation*, and *keeping out* the *Romans*, God turns into the Way of *deſtroying their Nation*, and *calling of the* Romans *in.*

For the terrible Coming of the *Roman Armies*, firſt under *Veſpaſian*, and afterwards under his Son *Titus*, was a * Verification of the *Coming of Chriſt*, foretold *Mat.* xxiv. 3. And in that miſerable Deſtruction, or *taking away of*

* Vid. Dr. *Hammond* in loc.

their City and Nation, the Emperors owned the *Vengeance to be God's. The Hand of God is plainly with us*; *and the Famine, mutual Seditions, unexpected Fall of Walls on their side, without Help of our Engines, are so many Marks of the Wrath of God upon them*; says * *Titus* to his Soldiers. *It was plainly God, that helped us when we fought: It was God, that drew the* Jews *from these Strong-holds*; was again † *his Exclamation, when he took the City, and saw those Towers (from which no Force could have driven them) deserted by the* Jews. The Quarrel they acknowledged to be God's, and proclaimed themselves to be only *his Instruments*; (as *Attila* the *Hunn* afterwards stiled himself ‖ *God's Scourge* on the degenerate Christians) and thereupon would neither of them be called *Judaicus*, as ∴ *Dio* notes, but *refused the Honour of a Triumph*, for the Victory and *Overthrow of the* Jews. *The Soldiers burnt the Temple*, tho' against the *Desire* and *Edict of* Titus; *as moved by a Divine Impulse*, says † *Josephus*. And when the *Balistæ*, the *Shooting Engines*, at the Beginning of the Siege were brought up, and played upon them; * *The Son cometh*, was, by an over-ruling Providence, *the Word of Warning*, (as † he reports) or the common Notification *given by their Watchmen to the* Jews, *as oft as the Engines played*: So answering our Saviour Christ's Expression, who had usually threaten'd them with this Desolation, under the Phrase of ‖ *his Coming*, or of the ∴ *Coming of the Son of Man*. Which was thus verified upon these Wretches; who now found, when it was too late to prevent it, how the Cry and Quarrel of that Blood had brought in these over-powering *Romans*, which their Predecessors (yea, many among their own selves still living) had shed to keep them out.

* Ap. Joseph. de Bello, *l.* 7. *c.* 1.
† Ib. *c.* 16.
‖ Flagellum Dei.
∴ Dio Xyphylin. in Vespas.
† *L.* 7. *c.* 10. & *c.* 9.
* Filius venit.
† Ib. *l.* 6. *c.* 7.
‖ Mat. xxiv. 3. ∴ Mat. xvi. 27, 28.

In like sort, as our Ancestors, by rebelling against that Excellent Prince, *Charles* I. to *keep out Popery*, have brought upon us their Posterity all our late Fears of Popery, and those terrifying Attempts it so lately has, or still may make upon us. The cutting off that most Pious and Orthodox Prince, who would have carefully principled all his Children in the *Belief of Protestants*; and driving out the Royal Issue into *Popish* Countries, exposed with utmost Advantage to be practised upon by *Popish* Relations and Instructors; being the visible Cause of the King's Misperswasion, and turn'd by a just God, instead of yielding Relief, to be a direct and apparent Cause and Accomplisher of those Fears and Sorrows.

To prevent the Increase and Propagation of Christianity afterwards, *the* Jews *raised a great Persecution against the Church which was at* Jerusalem, *and scatter'd it abroad*, Acts viii. 1. But God turns this Scattering and Dispersing of the Members, which they had recourse to for the Overthrow and Abolition, into a farther Dissemination of the Faith; which they who were thus dispersed abroad took along with them, and *dispersed, Preaching the Word every where* as they came, *v.* 4.

The *Gnosticks*, in the Days of Persecution, struck in, and externally complied both with *Jews* and *Gentiles*, hoping thereby to save themselves. With the *Jews* they went along most wickedly, in *observing their Rites*, and in *persecuting* and *compelling the Orthodox Christians to observe them*; only to * get Favour with them, by seeming *zealous* for *Judaism*, and lest (as † St. *Paul* says) *they should suffer Persecution* from them *for the Cross of Christ*. And *with the Gentiles* they went to *Idol-Feasts* and *Sacrifices*; those whom St. *Paul* disputes against for *Feasting in Idol-Temples*, 1 Cor. viii. (as also *C.* x. 19, 20.) being the ‖ *Gnosticks*, as they loved to call themselves, or the great *Boasters of*, and *Pretenders to Knowledge*; as the Apostle sufficiently intimates, *V.* 1, 2, 10, 11. and it being one of the Doctrines of their Followers, as * *Eusebius* testifies from *Agrippa Castor*, *That they might lawfully eat of Idol-Sacrifices, and forswear the Faith in Time of Persecution.*

* Gal. v. 11.
† Gal. vi. 12.
‖ γνωστικοὶ.
* Eccl. Hist. *l.* 4. *c.* 7.

But

But theſe abominable Compliances, which they took up as the Way to ſave their Lives, God, in his juſt Providence, makes the Cauſe of their loſing of their Lives. For whilſt all the upright Orthodox, *by the Oracle and Admonition of God to ſome Holy Men, all with one Conſent timely left the City*, before it was begirt, as * *Euſebius* relates; *and ſeated themſelves at* Pella, *a City of* † Decapolis, *beyond* Jordan, and a more ſecure Place; theſe wicked Temporizers, perſiſting in their former Compliances, and coming to their laſt *Paſſover*, as others did, were there ſhut up together with them by *Titus*, and periſhed with the *Jews*. In which our Lord verified his own Rule in this Caſe; *Whoſoever will ſave his Life, i. e.* by ſinful Compliances, (as theſe Men did with *Jews* or *Gentiles*, in Rites and Perſecutions) *ſhall loſe it.* As on the contrary, *Whoſoever will loſe his Life*, or run the Hazard of loſing it, (when there is nothing but a Sin whereby to eſcape) *for my Sake, the ſame ſhall find*, or ‖ *ſave it*, Mat. xvi. 25. And to which St. *Peter* alſo may ſeem to have Reference, when in his *Second Epiſtle*, (writ very near this final Overthrow of their City and Nation, he tells the Chriſtians, (labouring under Perſecution, which the *Jews* violently ſet on) That *the Lord knows how to deliver the Godly*, or thoſe who in all their Dangers ſtick to their Duty, and truſt in Providence, *out of Temptations; and to reſerve the unjuſt*, or thoſe who by wicked Shifts ſeek to eſcape, *unto the Day of Judgment, to be puniſhed.* As it ſignally happen'd with theſe *Gnoſticks*, when *the Day of the Lord*, as the Scripture often calls it, came on the *Jews*, or by God's juſt Judgment they were all deſtroyed, 2 *Pet.* ii. 9.

* Hiſt. l. 3. c. 5.
† Vid. Dr. *Lightfoot.* Chorag. Dec. in S. Mar. c. 7. Sect. 4.
‖ Mat. viii. 35.

Indeed *this Preſervation of themſelves* in that common Overthrow, by *not craftily deſerting, but honeſtly adhering to their Duty*, is what * *Chriſt promiſed*; and what, as it drew on, the † *Apoſtles preſſed* for their Encouragement; and what the Poor *perſecuted Chriſtians* ‖ *believed*, and waited for. And accordingly, when the Time did come, which in *Mat.* xxiv. was preſignified, the Providence of God did moſt watchfully and wonderfully accompliſh and bring it about. *When the Abomination of Deſolation*, i. e. the *Roman* Armies, which make all Deſolate, called *abominable*, becauſe of their Heathen and Idolatrous Worſhip, *ſtands in* or about the *Holy Place*, viz. the *City of Jeruſalem*; or, as it is in St. *Luke*, *when Jeruſalem is compaſſed about with Armies*, as it was by *Ceſtius Gallus*; *then know*, ſays our Lord, *that the Deſtruction thereof is nigh, and let them which be in Judea flee to the Mountains*, or out of it, to ſome quiet and ſecure place, *Mat.* xxiv. 15, 16. *Luke* xxi. 20, 21. The Siege of *Ceſtius* gave the Alarm, according to this Prediction. And when he, *without any viſible Cauſe*, both *unexpectedly*, and moſt *unaccountably* and *unwiſely*, as * *Joſephus* notes, raiſed the Siege; that gave the upright Chriſtians Liberty and Opportunity, before its being begirt again, to draw themſelves off; and the Oracle of God to ſome Holy Men, made them all with one conſent to embrace it. So that when *Titus* at laſt came before it, at the Time of *the Paſſover*, when all the *Jews* and *Judaizers* from all Places were come up to the Feaſt; there were only unbelieving *Jews* and hypocritical *Judaizing Chriſtians*, to be ſhut up for the Slaughter; all the upright Orthodox, having, by the Care of a Gracious and an Indulgent God, made their Eſcape before.

* Mat. xxiv. 12, 13.
† Heb. x. 37. 2 Theſ. i. 7.
‖ 1 Pet. i. 5.
* De Bello, l. 2. c. 24.

In ſum, this way of preſerving thoſe by unforeſeen Providences, who would not ſeek, when there was no other viſible means, to preſerve themſelves by Sin; and of diſappointing thoſe, who, in diſtruſt of Providence, make unlawful Ways their Refuge, cauſing the wicked Remedies of their Fear, to prove the fatal Accompliſhers thereof; has ſtill been God's Courſe. *Look at the Generations of old, and ſee*, ſays the *Son of* Sirach, *did ever any truſt in the Lord, and was confounded? Or did any abide in his fear, and*

and was forſaken, or God leave thoſe that had not firſt left him? *Eccluſ.* ii. 10. And, on the other hand, *the fear of the Wicked*, ſays *Solomon*, or of him that betakes himſelf to wicked Ways, to keep off what he fears, *ſhall come upon him*, Prov. x. 24.

This, I grant, it doth not always, in the Iſſue of Things here; there being no Rule in theſe Matters, *viz.* the Orderings of Providence; but admits of ſome Exceptions, and wherein, for wiſe Reaſons, God may alter and change ſometimes. But thus it is in ordinary courſe; and 'tis not rare and extraordinary Contingences, but the ordinary Courſe of Events, that muſt ground our Hopes, and guide our Expectations of them. It uſually happens ſo, and is ſo common, that 'tis drawn into a Rule by the Spirit of God, and the carefulleſt Obſervers of Providence. Particularly by *Solomon*, in ſeveral places, who tells us, That *he* only, *who walketh uprightly, walketh ſurely*; *But that he, who perverteth his way, ſhall be known*, Prov. x. 9. That whilſt *the Integrity of the upright, guides and delivers them, perverſeneſs deſtroys the tranſgreſſors*; *and the wicked*, inſtead of ſtanding thereby, *ſhall fall by his own wickedneſs*; being not extricated, as they hoped, but *taken* and enſnared *in their own Naughtineſs*, Prov. xi. 3, 5, 6. That whilſt *Righteouſneſs*, tho' it may ſeem to endanger, and expoſe, yet really *keepeth him that is upright in the way*; *Wickedneſs*, on the contrary, for all it may ſeem to uphold, *overthrows the Sinner*, c. xiii. 6. *His own Wickedneſs ſhall take the wicked himſelf, and he ſhall be holden with the Cords of his Sins*, c. v. 22.

The great Pretence for Mens ſtretching to ſuch unlawful Expedients, is many Times *the Preſervation of their Children or Families*, of *Religion and the Church*, or *other Publick Ends*. And the Method of Providence, is to make them Fools in their ungodly Expedients, cauſing them to fall by their Wickedneſs; and at the ſame Time, in his own way, often ſecuring thoſe Innocent Perſons, or Holy Things, which they were afraid, and ſinn'd for. Thus it was in the Caſe of the *Iſraelites*, when God would have had them go into the *Land of Canaan*; they would not go, or truſt to his Power to carry them on, but were for *turning back again*, for fear, as of themſelves, ſo leaſt *their little ones ſhould become a Prey* to the Inhabitants, who were People of *very big Bodies*, and lived in Towns of *extraordinary Strength*, Deut. i. 27, 28, 32, 39. For this Offence, *God conſumed all theſe Men*, who had thus ſinfully Revolted in hopes of Preſervation, *by Travels in the Wilderneſs*, v. 35, 40. But as *for their little ones*, for whoſe ſakes they ſinn'd, *leſt they ſhould become a Prey to the Canaanites*, and *which in that day, having no knowledge between Good and Evil*, could not partake of their Fathers Offences, he declared he would, and ſo accordingly he did, *bring them into that good Land*, and *gave it to them for a Poſſeſſion*, Verſe 39.

Thus is all uſe of wicked Means, and unlawful Expedients, as a moſt wicked, ſo a moſt fooliſh Courſe. Since there is more done towards Succeſs, by Providence, than by viſible Preparations; there muſt needs be more Security thereof, by Faith in God, in ways of Innocency, than by any promiſing ways of Sinning for Expediency. To offer up our Sins, as Actors under his Providence, is not ſure the likely way to Succeſs, if Providence muſt give Succeſs. God is never like to bleſs what is ſought by ſuch Inſtruments, they are enough with him to mar any Deſign, which they meddle in. So that if we would not only keep a good Conſcience, or be wiſe for the next World, but proſper and ſpeed in any Deſigns in this World, either for God, or Religion; the Church or Kingdom; for our Selves, or our Friends, we ſhould never ſeek to ſucceed by the leaſt Sin. We muſt never make Lies our Refuge, or falſify by Word or Practice; nor make our ſelves better, or others, even our Enemies, worſe than they are. We muſt forge no

falſe

falſe Reaſons, nor brand any with unjuſt Names, or load them with Slanders. Nor in any wiſe break Faith, or pervert Juſtice, or oppreſs by Violence, no not even thoſe who ſought to oppreſs us; or get by Evil Arts, or wickedly keep what we have once unrighteouſly got; or break any other Commandment or Law of God, when ſuch Breach may be ſuggeſted, or ſeem to lie in our Way, as an uſeful Expedient. Whatever our Deſigns are, there is no ſuch Security of Succeſs, as a good Providence, nor any way to make ſo ſure of this, as by truſting God, and keeping in his Ways. This is a wiſer, and a more likely Courſe, even where it happens to have leſs of Human Appearance, than any others, by Ways of Wickedneſs: Where the Expediency ſhall not ſo much ſet on, as the Wickedneſs thereof, by engaging Providence againſt us, ſhall backen and defeat our Purpoſes.

Having thus largely diſcourſed upon this Branch of Spiritual Prudence, *viz. againſt purſuing our Ends, though never ſo fair and promiſing in themſelves, by wicked and unlawful Means:* For a Concluſion thereof, I ſhall only add one Caution, to keep Men from plunging themſelves therein; the rather, for that in this Point, all Men are ſo like to be put on Tryals, and meet with Temptations to tranſgreſs.

That Rule is, eſpecially in great and concerning Duties, *to beware of beginning a Breach in their Integrity, and ſtop at the firſt Entrance.* When once a Man gives way, by any conſiderable Act, to tranſgreſs the Bounds, and make any Advance in ſuch a Buſineſs, 'tis neither for him, nor for any one elſe, to ſay where he ſhall ſtop. By corruptly yielding to do one ſuch ungodly or unjuſt Thing, he is in the ready way to do another. From coming in to do what is bad, he ſteps into the next Diſpoſition to do what is worſe; 'till it come to that paſs, that there is no Stint or Meaſure to his Compliances, but his Temptations. *David* at firſt, thought only to *enjoy Bathſheba*: But having given way to go ſo far, he was willing, when new Neceſſity call'd, to hearken at that Time as he had done before, till, from committing *Adultery*, he was got in to commit Murder. St. *Peter* thought at firſt, only to diſſemble, and conceal his Relation to Chriſt. But when his own Curioſity, and Carnal Conſiderations, had carried him on to that, the Juſtice of God left him to *Satan*, and his own Heart, and Opportunites of Temptation which he himſelf had ſought, to be carried beyond it; not giving over, 'till he had been brought, firſt to *Deny*, and then with *bitter Execrations*, to *forſwear his Maſter*. Thus, when they would tempt God, by engaging themſelves in a wicked Thing, have the very beſt Men been given up, to go on from bad to worſe, till they ſtuck at no way of ſerving the new Neceſſities of their own creating.

Indeed, he that for his Intereſt, will either corrupt or force his own Conſcience, and yield to do one very ungodly or injurious Thing; is very like, if the ſame Intereſt require it, to go as far in doing another. Nay, he is in much greater probability and preparation to do the latter, than he was to do the former. For the beſt Guard againſt theſe Breaches, is the Virgin Niceneſs, and firſt Modeſties and Reluctances of Conſcience: Which being once violently rifled, or thrown out, the tempting Offer, or ſinful Neceſſity, the next Time meets with much leſs Oppoſition. Conſcience, that cry'd out loudly againſt it at the firſt, perhaps now, after much pains to corrupt it, is made blind, and ſees no Evil in it. Or however, having been once forcibly maſter'd and overpower'd, what was before a loud Cry, will afterwards dwindle into more ſilent and ſoft Grumblings, till God, either in Mercy or Judgment, is pleaſed to rouze and awaken it. And the *Spirit of God*, having ſuffered Violence, and been quite worſted in a long Conflict, withdraws himſelf, and goes off from them; being *grieved*, as

St. *Paul* ſays, *Eph.* iv. 30. or loſt and *taken away*, as *David* complains, *Pſal.* li. 10, 11. by Mens committing, or perſiſting, in any great Wickedneſs. And as he draws off, the buſy and watchful Adverſary comes on, and increaſes his Power over them; eſpecially, when they give up Duty and a good Conſcience, for worldly Gain; which makes God relinquiſh them, and leave them *to the God of this World*, which they thus ſhamefully prefer before him. As it happen'd to *Judas*, Luke xxii. 3, 4, 5. and *Ananias*, Acts v. 3. and as he tried to have compaſſed in our Lord himſelf, endeavouring by his Bait of *the Kingdoms of this World*, and *the Glory of them*, or his preferring Wealth and Power before his Maker, to have got him out of God's Protection, *Mat.* iv. 8, 9. And when by this means the Regret of a Man's own Conſcience is almoſt gone, and the Spirit of God is daily departing from him, and an Evil Spirit coming in its room; he muſt needs be in worſe Condition, and more incapable than he was at firſt to maintain his Station.

Beſides, in wicked Things, the more a Man yields and complies, the more he needs to do ſo. New Steps and Tranſgreſſions bring with them new Neceſſities, and one ill act is a Snare and Argument to another. When once they have begun, and are got in, they dare not look back, but are too apt to think they muſt go on, and do any Thing further, that comes under the Notion and Appearance of being neceſſary; ſometimes to hide, as in *David*; or to indemnify, or, perhaps, to maintain and juſtify, what has been once ill done. Having loſt the true Baläſt of Integrity and Innocence, they float now, as the Gale of outward Neceſſity and Convenience drives. Not to mention, laſtly, that many Times one great Breach, eſpecially repeated Breaches, too commonly (God knows,) tempt Men to caſt off all Thoughts of Repentance, and to take deſperate Counſels. Thinking with themſelves, that whatever they are put upon next, it can be no worſe with them, than it is already. And reſolving thenceforward, not to be ſcrupulous about Right and Wrong, nor ſtick at any thing which comes upon them in the way they are engaged in; and that they will not forego the Purchaſe and Profit of the Guilt already contracted, for want of contracting a little more.

If any Perſon then is ſincerely deſirous to ſecure Integrity, and a clear Conſcience; by all means let him keep his Hands free from the Firſt of all Impious or Unrighteous Actions or Undertakings. To keep at a Diſtance, and be no ways entangled or engaged therein, is one of his beſt Guards and Securities. There is a ſtrange Faſcination and Entanglement in ſeveral Sins, and they make Men ſo forſaken of God, and ſubject to the *Devil to* * *be led Captive by him at his Will*, that they, who are once engaged therein, ſeldom recover themſelves. Thus, of accompanying with the *Adultereſs*, or *Lewd Woman*, *Solomon* obſerves, *That none that go in unto her, return again*, Prov. ii. 17. And *of Rebellion*, *Samuel* ſays, that a *'tis like the Sin of Witchcraft:* True in this Senſe, among others, that 'tis a bewitching Evil, and commonly keeps thoſe cloſe whom it has once got in, like an inchanted Circle, 1 *Sam.* xv. 23. And ſo it may be ſaid of other Sins, that they entangle like Snares, and detain like Charms and Enchantments. If once a Man is got in at all, a very wicked and unrighteous Affair is like a Whirl-pool, which will keep thoſe it has once caught within its Sphere, and ſtill draw them in more and more.

* 2 Tim. ii. 26.

But if he has already ſtept aſide, and fallen therein, the next Care muſt be, to cheriſh and make the moſt of his Relentings, if he has any; or, to Repent of his Wickedneſs without delay, and turn back again. Or, if his Fall was firſt occaſioned, and ſtill continued by an Error and Miſtake in Judgment, and he unlawfully engaged therein, as thinking it without Blame thro' Miſperſuaſion; tho' he is not ſo happy as to ſecure the

Innocence and Integrity of his Actions, let him however make out, and ſhew forth the Sincerity of his good Intention; and not go further in an ill Thing, than his own Principle and Miſperſuaſion, which is all he has to offer in Excuſe, or pretend in Juſtification, can warrant him. 'Tis a plain ſign of Hypocriſy, and argues a want of Sincere and Honeſt Diſpoſition, if, upon new Turns of Neceſſities, Men ſhall ſtill ſtart new Pretences. If they let go that which they gave out as their Ground, and profeſſed to proceed upon before; and ſeek out a fitter, when, on ſome new Tryal and Emergence, the former Plaiſter proves not broad enough to cover the preſent Sore. This is not to bring Mens Actions to their Principles, as all muſt do, that would make any pretence to Virtue and Juſtice: But, as need is, ſtill to ſtudy new Principles, to juſtify their preſent Actions, and ſerve their preſent Neceſſities. Whereof Intereſt and Fleſhly Convenience, is the real Cauſe; and Principles of Honeſty and Conſcienee, with ſuch Men, are only the aſſumed Shews, and falſe Colours.

CHAP. IX.

Of Partaking in the Sins of others.

3. A *Second* Rule, which I ſhall note under this Branch of Spiritual Prudence, *about Means and Methods*, is, That as *it doth not allow us to commit any Sins our ſelves for the gaining of our Ends, ſo neither to partake in the Sins of others.*

There is a Partnerſhip and Society in Sin, and ſeveral Men may bear their Part, and have a ſhare in the ſame Evil Action. One as Executing, another as Ordering and Directing, Perſuading or Enticing to it; a Third, by miniſtring Helps and Succours; a Fourth, by approving or commending afterwards, by Juſtification and Defence thereof. All theſe, ſome as Principals, ſome as Acceſſaries, have a Hand in the Sin, and are accountable for the ſame, both before God and Men.

Now Spiritual Wiſdom, knowing how offenſive it is to God in all its Complices, and how fatal both to the Actors and Partakers, is not for going Shares in any Wickedneſs. It is ready to partake in the Ill that is ſuffer'd, which ſhews Charity and Compaſſion; but never in the Ill that is acted by other Men. The Good they do, it would be glad, by any Help or Encouragement before, or Approbation and Eſpouſal after, in ſome ſort to make its own. But as for the Evil, in regard both to God and our ſelves, it can have no more to do with it, than to declare againſt it, or to pity and admoniſh him that doth it. *Have no Fellowſhip with them*, ſays the Apoſtle, or no † *joint Share and Communication, in the Works of Darkneſs, but rather reprove them*, Eph. v. 11. And as for *thoſe Things that call down the Wrath of God, be not ye partakers of them*, Verſe 6, 7. And like to this, is St. *John*'s warning *to the Elect Lady and her Children*, againſt the *Bringers of Damnable Doctrines*, when they meet them on ſuch Errands, not ſo much as by a *Salutation* or encouraging Countenance, *to be partaker of his Evil Deeds*, 2 Joh. x. 11. And that of St. *Paul* to *Timothy*, *to keep himſelf pure, and not to be partaker of other Mens-Sins*, 1 Tim. 5. 22. *Come out of her my People*, ſaith God to his Church for this purpoſe, *that ye be not partakers of her Sins, and receive not of her Plagues*, Rev. xviii. 4.

† σωγκοινωνεῖτε.

But

But in the Rules of Worldly Wiſdom, this is otherwiſe. For tho' it has no Kindneſs or Stomach to the Sin; yet 'tis Prudence in its Account, either in Reality or Appearance, to take Part with the Times: And ſo, if any Way of Wickedneſs comes back'd and driven on by Authority, or by the Heat and Fury of the Populace, ſuch Men will take their Part therein, as Ungodly Temporizers. Or, if the Wickedneſs comes to them, dreſt up in Self-Intereſt, and Secular Advantage; tho' they would not take Part with the Sin, yet they are for taking Part of the Profit, and ſo countenance, encourage, or aſſiſt the Way for the ſake of that; thinking in the mean time, whilſt they come in thus for the Profits, to lay the Guilt at other Mens Doors, and leave it to be anſwer'd for by the Principals and Actors themſelves. Thus, inſtead of getting out of the Way, and keeping off from any Ungodly or Unrighteous Courſe, as Religion we ſee requires, their Study is to come as near to it as they can. And tho' they cannot ſwallow it in the groſs, and openly and directly act therein; yet to fetch a Compaſs, and give it all the By-Favours, and ſecret Stroakings that come in their Way, by covert Participation.

'Tis not without Grief of Heart, and true Chriſtian Compaſſion, that I have obſerved, how many of the more hopeful and well-diſpoſed Minds have ſplit upon this Rock; and, as I think, criminally partook in thoſe Things, which themſelves have freely condemned; ſalving all in the mean while to their own Conſciences, becauſe they kept their Hands free from being the direct and principal Actors. But if what they did, made them Acceſſaries and Partakers, and the Partakers are involved in Guilt and Puniſhment with the Principals and Actors in any irreligious and unrighteous Buſineſs; what are they the better for this? If thereby they burden their own Souls, and make them anſwerable and puniſhable for the Offence; 'tis but cold Comfort, if the Puniſhment doth come at all, to diſtinguiſh upon what Account it comes; whether for our having done the Thing our ſelves, or for making our ſelves Parties with them who did it, when it was done by others. I think it would be an acceptable Service to God, and true Charity to all Perſons who are at any time concern'd herein, to awaken their Conſciences in this Point, by ſetting down the chief and moſt uſual Ways of partaking in thoſe Sins, whereof others are the main Actors. And this I ſhall endeavour to do for them; that being aware thereof, neither the Bait and Proſpect of worldly Advantages, nor Temporizing and Obſequiouſneſs to any Command of Princes, or Popular Heat and Vulgar Cries for an ill Thing, may ever carry them to ſhare in other Men's Guilt, and partake in that which not only the Law of God, but their own Conſciences do condemn.

Beſides the immediate Actors who perform the Execution thereof, theſe following are all Partakers in any impious or unrighteous Thing, againſt either God or Men, and ſhare the Guilt among them:

1. *Firſt*, He ſhares in the Guilt, * *who orders and commands it*; which is the Guilt of Superiors, as of a Magiſtrate, Maſter, or Parent. The Commanders of an Evil Thing, are not only Parties, but Authors of the Wickedneſs which they enjoin: Not only their own Motion lies at their Doors, as proceeding from the Naughtineſs of their own Hearts, but alſo the Wickedneſs of others. For their Subjects move not of themſelves; nay, if they make Conſcience of what they do, they muſt firſt force both their Inclinations and their Conſciences; but only in Dread of their Power and Command, or merely in Obedience: And therefore to them doth the Juſtice of God more eminently and eſpecially charge ſuch Actions. As, *The* * *Slaying of the Eighty five Prieſts*, to *Saul*, who commanded others to do it: And *the Murder* of *Uriah*, to † *David*; and of *Naboth*, to ‖ *Ahab*

* Qui jubet.

* 1 Sam. xxii. 17, 18.
† 2 Sam. xi. 15. & xii. 9.
‖ 1 Kings xxi. 8, 9, 10. & *v.* 19, 23, 24.

hab and *Jezabel*; because, *by their Letters*, they had required and given Order for them.

But this Guilt of Superiors is then most flaming and consummate, when shewn not only in *Personal Mandates*, but in establishing wicked Constitutions, or publickly decreeing, and requiring from all their Subjects, any impious, unrighteous, or otherwise unlawful Things; so propagating Ungodliness, and Death of all good Conscience, among all their Subjects, who have not the Piety or Spirit to stand out against their sinful Injunctions. *Woe unto them that decree unrighteous Decrees*, says God, *Isa.* x. 1. Upon them lies not only the Load of their own personal Guilt, but also the Guilt of all their Subjects, in such Actions: Whose Criminal Compliance and Obsequiousness, tho' it fall upon themselves, yet doth not rest there, but rebounds back from each to their unrighteous Rulers; since it was only in Regard to them, and in Fear of their Power and Displeasure, that they became guilty. So that in them who were at the Head of the wicked Act, and would force all the rest (yea, tho' against their own Mind and Conscience) to transgress therein, doth the Guilt of each Offender concenter and unite. As the Guilt of *all Israel*, in following *Jeroboam's Calves, and unrighteous Worship*, did in * *him*; who, as the Scripture says, † *made Israel to sin thereby*, and set up, and by Law enforced that *impious* and *idolatrous* Worship.

* 1 Kings xii. 30, 31. & xiii. 33, 34.

† 1 Kings xv. 30. & 2 Kings x. 29.

So that in truth, the greater the Numbers are that comply with such Decrees, and perform their unconscionable and unlawful Injunctions, the more have such Imposers of Wickedness to throw Guilt upon their Heads, and to heap up Vengeance for them and their Posterities. And their only true and real Friends, tho' here they are persecuted as their worst Enemies, are they who honestly and religiously stand out, and stick true and firm to the Truths or Laws of God against them. For whilst all others, against the Great Day of Audit, are placing new Debts to their Score, and inflaming the final Reckoning, these spare them: And, by preserving their own Uprightness, hinder more Guilt and Condemnation from being set to their Account; who, without any Addition from them, are like, God knows, from the Compliances of others, (their seeming Friends therein, but real Destroyers) to have infinitely more than ever they will be able to bear, or account for.

2. *Secondly*, He partakes in the Guilt, *who, when he is in Place and Station for it, doth not* * *duly shew himself, to stop and prevent it.*

* Qui non Prohibet.

1. Sometimes *Men have the Power in their own Hands*, as *Eli* had (both as a Magistrate and Parent, over his Sons) either to cure and redress, or exemplarily to punish their shameful Doings: And if they neglect to use this Power, for Restraint or Punishment, they partake in their Sins, which such Impunity has encouraged. Thus God † charges *Eli* with his *Sons Wickedness*, and punishes him for it, as well as them: And tells the Magistrates, who *any ways connive* at him *that gives his Seed to* Moloch, and do *not punish him*; that he *will set his Face* not only *against that Man, but against his Family*, or the *People of his Place*: The word *Family* sometimes (as *Jer.* viii. 3. *Mic.* ii. 3.) signifying the same as *People*; the People of a Place anciently being reckon'd to some *One Family*, as if they had all sprung from it: As *Gen.* x. 2, 3, 4, 5, &c. * *Against his Helpers, or Abetters*, as 'tis render'd in the *Chaldee Paraphrase*; i. e. *Against themselves, who, by not punishing, may be said to confirm the ungodly in his Impiety*; as *Grotius* there notes: *And all that go a whoring after*, or, as the *Septuagint*, † *consent to him*; as, by conniving and not punishing, they were interpreted to do, *Lev.* xx. 4, 5. And St. *Paul* blames the *Pastors* at *Corinth*, as coming in for a Share of Guilt with *the incestuous Person*, because *they had*

† 1 Sam. ii. 29, 30. & iii. 13.

* Contra Auxiliatores, vel Obfirmatores ejus.

* ὁμοφρονεῖτε.

not

not mourned to have him taken away; *i. e.* proceeded to Excommunication; which, in those Days, used to be with Mourning and Lamentation, as at Funerals, 1 *Cor.* v. 1, 2, 6. Such also was the Case of *Gallio*, the *Deputy of Achaia*; who, when he saw to keep the Peace, and do Justice, suffer'd *Sosthenes* to be *beaten*, even *before the Judgment Seat*, by a Popular Outrage, *and cared for none of those Things*; as the Text says, *Acts* xviii. 12, 17. When Rulers can look on, and see ill Things done, without exerting the Power which they are intrusted with to curb and restrain them; or give Liberty and Connivance, as *Gallio* did; nay, perhaps, Encouragement to Rabbles to act their Outrage and unjust Violence, either for punishing, or curbing those whom they would willingly see brought down; by not giving check to these Wickednesses, they make them their own, and become answerable to God for them.

2. Sometimes, as when 'tis lodged in a certain Number or Body of Men, *they are only Sharers in Power, and to act in Concurrence with others, by common Consent and Opinion.* And each one partakes here in any unlawful Thing that passes among them, unless he openly interpose and protest against it, or visibly manifest his Dissent from it. For what is decreed or done at such Meetings, is all by their Authority, and *in all their Names.* And when the Debate comes, whether any particular Thing shall pass as their Act or no; they sit there to speak their Minds. And if they gainsay it not, it goes as if it were their Mind; and by such Silence it comes to Effect; and they give as much Authority thereto, as if they had expresly consented. If an unrighteous Thing is proposed, and waits for their Consent; if they suffer it to pass on without their Denial; it appears they were either for promoting, or permitting it. They did not prohibit it when they could, and when they were put thereupon: And * *not to prohibit an ill Thing when they might, and when they ought, is tantamount to their enjoining it*, says the Rule: *By not prohibiting, they authorize it: Their not gainsaying it*, in Moral Estimate, *is their consenting to it.* They are rated to do there, what they do visibly: And if then they do not visibly disclaim and cast out such an unlawful Thing, they visibly approve or give way to it. † *He that is not against us, is on our Part*, holds true in this Case. That is, when a Thing is sought to be carry'd by any Helps, he by this Saying is got over to its Side, who, when he might, will not hinder or oppose it.

* Qui non prohibet, quando potest, ac debet, jubet.

† Mar. ix. 40.

Accordingly, when any such Thing passes, the Construction is as having *every one's Consent*, if *none gainsays it.* Thus it is said of *the Company*, or *College* and *Council of Priests*, whose Share was so great in the *Jewish Judicatories*, that they *murder'd with one Shoulder*, or *Consent*: Because, if any of them had any Dislike, or Inclinations to Justice in any Person's Case, he kept them to himself, and, for Ends, gave way to what Injustice the rest decreed, not openly dissenting from it, *Hos.* vi. 9. And therefore *Joseph* of *Arimathea*, that *good and just Counsellor*, as the Scripture stiles him, when he was against the Judgment of the rest of the Council in the Cause of *Christ*, shewed them that he did not partake therein, by his open Dissent from it. *He had not consented to the Council and Deed of them*, saith St. *Luke*, but had given his Opinion and Voice against it; openly owning afterwards the Innocence of that just Person, and *going in to beg the Body of* Pilate, *Luk.* xxiii. 50, 51, 52. 'Tis not then for Men in such Stations, thro' Timorousness or Politick Considerations, to conceal themselves, when unrighteous or unconscionable Things are going on. Their Connivance and Permission, who are in Place, and under Obligation of Prohibiting, brings Guilt upon them; and by not forbidding and opposing, they partake in the Evils which are done.

3. Some-

3. Sometimes again, tho' they are in no Place of Power, to coerce and reſtrain; yet *they are in Place of Teachers and Monitors, to admoniſh and give warning.* This is the Caſe of *Miniſters*, who from this are ſtyled *Watchmen*, Ezek. xxxiii. 7. and c. iii. 17. *Watching for your Souls, as they that muſt give an Account*, as St. *Paul* ſpeaks, *Heb.* xiii. 17. Their Care and Calling, is to keep out Sin, or to reform it; ſo that if others Sin thro' their Neglect or Fault, they are more eſpecially accountable for it.

They are more particularly Guilty of the Sins of thoſe committed to them, when their People either fall into any impious, or unrighteous Way or Thing, or continue therein:

1. Firſt, *For want of their giving them warning. Thou ſhalt hear the word at my Mouth, and warn them from me*, ſays God to the *Watchman*, Ezek. iii. 17. and *c.* xxxiii. 7. They muſt not take the Word of their Preaching, from any Appearance of Human Advantages, or Serviceableneſs of any Way to ſecular Purpoſes, from its being ſet on by the Arm of Authority, the Heat of People, and Cry of the Times; which is not to hear it from *God's Mouth*, but from Carnal Suggeſtions. But if it is a Breach of the Mind, or Will of God; however deſirable a Way may ſeem to them on thoſe Worldly Accounts, yet as becomes his Miniſters, they muſt ſpeak his Word, not the World's, and in his Name declare againſt it. And if any periſh at ſuch Times, for want of *their giving them warning*, God declares that he will *exact his Blood at their Hands. When I lay a Stumbling-Block*, or an Opportunity and Temptation to fall from any Righteous Way, *before a Righteous Man; if he turn from his Righteouſneſs, and commit Iniquity, becauſe thou haſt not given him warning, his Blood will I require at thy Hand*, Ezek. iii. 20. Or, when *a wicked Man*, who is already plunged in Sin and Death, doth continue therein, for that *thou bloweſt not the Trumpet, and giveſt him not warning, nor ſpeakeſt to warn the wicked from his wicked Way, to ſave his Life; his Blood will I require at thine Hand*, v. 18. *and* c. xxxiii. 6, 8.

The Miniſter's Work is to ſave Souls alive, by the *Miniſtry of the Word.* And if any Souls die, for want of the Word, their Death is owing to a want in his Miniſtration: And he is guilty of *the blood of Souls*, by *not ſpeaking the Word*, or by being ſilent. His giving warning, is neceſſary, as God ſays in *Ezekiel*, as to ſave his Peoples, ſo *to deliver his own Soul*, c. iii. 19. and c. xxxiii. 9. And St. *Paul* ſays, *they muſt keep back nothing that is profitable for them*, Acts xx. 20. but *declare to them the whole counſel of God*, that they *may be pure from the blood of all Men*, v. 26, 27. But of all other Times, it is not for them to hold their Tongues, when Danger and Temptation comes. Then their Flocks need moſt of all to have, and take warning; and therefore then are they more eſpecially bound to give it. When thoſe Ways of Death are recommended to them, the Word is moſt neceſſary to keep them alive; and therefore then eſpecially the Miniſters thereof are to adminiſter it. *When the Watchman ſeeth the Sword a coming*, then is he at his Peril, ſaith God, *to blow the Trumpet, and warn the People of it*, Ezek. xxxiii. 6. *When he ſeeth the Wolf coming, i. e.* any Terror or Wolfiſh Cruelty, to force on an Ill Thing; *then* is his Time to call out *to the Sheep*, and by the greater Fears of Religion, to *Guard* them the beſt he can againſt it; as we learn from our Lord, *Joh.* x. 11, 12.

2. *Secondly, Through their miſleading them*, if they do not only fail to warn them from an ill Way, but go before them therein. The *Shepherd* is to *lead out his ſheep, and go before them*; and *they* are *to follow him*, as our Lord ſays, *Joh.* x. 4. And their going wrong, muſt therefore be more eſpecially chargeable on him who leads them wrong; or the ſtraying

of the Flocks, imputed to the ſtraying of the Guides. Eſpecially when they lead them wrong in the *Miniſtries of their Function*, and in the very Houſe of God ſend up for themſelves and their Congregations ſuch an Offering, as, inſtead of honouring God, ſhall *prophane* him. This God mightily reſented among the *Jews*. *Both Prophet and Prieſt are prophane, yea, in my houſe have I found their wickedneſs, ſaith the Lord. Therefore thus ſaith the Lord, concerning the Prophets, Behold, I will feed them with wormwood, and make them drink the water of gall: for from the Prophets of Jeruſalem is prophaneneſs gone forth into all the Land*, Jer. xxiii. 11, 15. Theſe Ways, if their People follow, and are led by them, turn even their Piety into Prophaneneſs. Or, if they ſee through them, and diſcern the Pollution, *it makes the Lord's People to tranſgreſs*, or as the *Septuagint* render it, * *it makes them refrain* or *forbear God's Service*; yea, *to abhor the Offering of the Lord*; which God took ſo heinouſly at *Eli's Sons*, and ſets down as a ſpecial Aggravation of their Wickedneſs, 1 *Sam.* ii. 17, 24.

* τὸ μὴ δουλεύειν λαὸν θεῷ.

And thus it is, when the *Miniſters of God* ſhall go before the People, in an *Idolatrous* or *Superſtitious Worſhip*. Or in *Proſtituting* and *Prophaning* of *Prayers* and *Praiſes*, to *immoral Uſes*, (Immorality and Injuſtice being as certainly abominable to God in Worſhip, as Superſtition is;) applying all the Solemnities of Prayer and Thankſgiving, to the countenancing and carrying on of wicked and unrighteous Things. As the *Jews*, who, whilſt they were going on in the greateſt Immoralities, as *Theft*, *Murder*, *Perjury*, &c. would in the midſt thereof recommend themſelves and their Ways to God, *in his own Houſe*, (ſo prophaning the moſt ſacred Services of Religion, to credit and ſet off their Wickedneſs,) *and ſay, we are deliver'd to do*, or, as the *Syriac*, *Deliver us, O Lord, whilſt we are doing all theſe Abominations*. By which prophane Uſage, *his Houſe*, as he ſays, *was become a den of Robbers*, or a Place to protect, to ſhew forth, and carry on Injuſtice, *in their Eyes*, Jer. vii. 9, 10, 11. Or, when they go before them, in horribly perverting the *Solemnities of Repentance*, their Faſtings and Humiliations, not to cure, but to carry on their Unrighteouſneſs. As the Lord complained of the *Jews*, *who faſted for* unjuſt *ſtrife and debate, and to ſmite, not* in a righteous Cauſe, but *with the fiſt of wickedneſs: not with intent to let the oppreſſed go free, and to break every yoak*, (or *depraved judgment* and *ſentence*, as the *Chaldee*;) *nor to looſe the bands of wickedneſs, i. e.* tied on by the *Congregation of wicked Judges, in fraud of the Innocent*, as from the *Chaldee*, *Grotius* notes; but to bind thoſe bands ſtill faſter on, *Iſa.* lviii. 4, 6. Or, laſtly, when they ſhall lead them on in *groſs Hypocriſy* and *Diſſimulation*, uttering thoſe Deſires or Affections to God in Words, which they neither have themſelves, nor would have others to have in their Hearts: which may come under *the ſending forth Hypocriſy through the Land*, or groſs Diſſimulation and plain mockery of God, that, according to the *rendring of the Margin*, is ſo ſeverely threatned, *Jer.* xxiii. 15. When the Miniſters of God, who, in Prayers and Devotions, are the Mouths of the People, ſhall by theſe, or any other Ways, put ill Things into their Mouths, and lead them on, not in a pure, but in a polluted and prophane Service, or otherwiſe, in any wicked, or unrighteous Thing; they are accountable for their Followers, as well as for themſelves; and muſt expect to ſhare in their Peoples Unrighteouſneſs or Impiety, as well as to bear the Burthen of their own.

3. *Thirdly*, *Through Falſe Doctrine*, when they teach them to † *take Darkneſs for Light*, and preach Peace where they ſhould denounce Judgments; and ſo, either at firſt Seduce, or afterwards Strengthen and Confirm them in any Ungodly or Unrighteous Thing. This is like to be the Conſequence of the former. For, if once the Guides go before the People in an unlawful Thing, their Practice will be headed by a Doctrine, to

† Iſa. v. 20.

call in others, and to juſtify and bear out both what their People and themſelves have done. And thus to teach Men to Sin, is to be guilty of their Sins with a Witneſs. *He that ſhall break the leaſt of theſe Commandments, and ſhall teach Men ſo, ſhall be called the leaſt in the Kingdom of Heaven*, Mat. v. 19. And thus it is, when the *Miniſters of Chriſt* inſtruct and hearten on their Followers, to do any Thing contrary to Right and Juſtice, to Chriſtian Simplicity, Truth, and Faithfulneſs, to their Promiſes or Oaths, to the Duties which they owe God, or to God's Vicegerents, or to any Commandment, reſpecting either God, our Neighbour, or our ſelves.

This teaching others to go againſt the Obligation of any of God's Laws, is commonly by diſtinguiſhing away a Duty, ſo to ſhorten and abridge it, that it ſhall not reach us. Or to blanch and varniſh over our own Actions with Palliations, or fair Pleas and Pretences of Excuſe; that they may not be thought to oppoſe or infringe it. This pains in making ſuch Fig-leaf Covers for Moral Nakedneſs, and ſtarting plauſible Palliations for foul Practices, God taxes as *Daubing* in the *falſe Prophets*. *One*, that is the People, *built a Wall*, ſays he, *viz.* of ill Manners; *and lo! others, i. e.* the *falſe Prophets* whom he there accuſes, *daubed it with untempered Mortar, i. e.* palliated or blanch'd it over with fair Colours and Pretences, that *thro' theſe*, as *Grotius* notes, *Men might not ſee the filthineſs of their Vices*, Ezek. xiii. 10.

Such was their Pretence, who bore the *Jews* in hand, that the *ſecuring of Religion*, or of *God's Temple and Service*, would defend and warrant them in any Acts of Immorality and Unrighteouſneſs. *The Temple of the Lord, the Temple of the Lord*, was what they had to oppoſe, as a ſufficient Defenſative againſt all Denunciations of Judgments for *perverſion of Juſtice*; and which therefore God tells them were *lying Words*, and would fail thoſe that relied on them, *Jer.* vii. 4, 8. And when there was nothing but Bribery and Corruption, *the Heads judging for Reward, and the Prieſts teaching for Hire, and the Prophets divining for Money*; yet would *they ſay, none Evil can come upon* us, and that *leaning on the Lord, becauſe the Lord is amongſt us*, Micah iii. 11. And this *Grotius* conceives was the Salvo of thoſe *falſe Prophets of Jeruſalem*, who ſo *ſtrengthened the Hands of Evil-Doers, that none returned from his Wickedneſs*; *viz.* as he explains it, *by flattering them in their Vices, and promiſing Things proſperous, becauſe of the Temple, and the Houſe of David*, Jer. xxiii. 14. Theſe Salvo's and Palliations, they would ſtill ſtart anew, as any came to need them in the way which they were engaged in, and would fit them to every ones Caſe. Which God, in *Ezekiel*, calls *making Kercheifs*, or *Vails, for every Stature, i. e.* as he comments, *fair Pretences to cover the Sins both of great and ſmall*, Ezek. xiii. 18. And theſe baſe Flatteries, to pleaſe and bolſter up Sinners, St. *Paul* abſolutely diſclaims thro' the *whole courſe of his Miniſtry*. *Neither at any time uſed we flattering Words*, courting Favour by ſpeaking pleaſing Things, or ſuiting our Preaching and Doctrines to the Humours or Neceſſities of Men, like the temporizing *Gnoſticks*, 1 Theſſ. ii. 5.

Theſe Palliations and Pretences they would ſtill change, as they were put to it by new Neceſſities. Or, go off from one, when it was ſore preſſed, or ſeem'd more weak, to another that could promiſe to help them better out, and was thought able to bear up that Wicked or Unrighteous Act which they ſought to defend by it. And accordingly, of the *Falſe Prophets*, the Spirit of God obſerves, that they *cauſed his People to Err, as by their Lyes*, ſo *by their Lightneſs*. Still ſhifting Principles and Pretences, as ſerving Turns and Neceſſities did enforce; *thinking* and ſaying, *now*

now this thing, and anon that, very unconstantly, as *Vatablus* explains it, *Jer.* xxiii. 32.

And by such Salvo's and deceitful Pretences, shifted as oft as their Necessities or new Trials would require it, they bolsterd up Sinners in their Sins, and made their Consciences be at Ease in the way of their Unrighteousness. This God stiles *sewing Pillows under the Elbows*, it being a Way to make their Sins soft and easy, whereupon to settle and rest themselves; and for which he denounces *Wo* against *the false Propheteſſes*, *Ezek.* xiii. 18. Or, at other Times, *speaking Peace to them*, to whom *no Peace*, but Terror and Indignation doth belong. As the *false Prophets* did, against whom God declares, that *his Hand should be upon them*; and that *they should not be in the Assembly of his People*, or Place of Teaching any more; *nor their Names stand in the Roll of* Israel; nor *they ever return into their Country again*, as others should at the End of the Captivity: *Because, even Because, they have seduced my People, * saying Peace, and there was no Peace*, Ezek. xiii. 9, 10. * *Jer.* xxiii. 17.

Now, when the *Ministers of Christ*, and Guides of Souls, shall not only by Neglect of warning contribute to the Peoples Sin; but shall moreover come themselves at any Time to lead them on by Example and Doctrine, and speak Peace to them therein; it makes a Deplorable State, and must needs make a sad Reckoning. For,

1. This must needs draw the People by Troops into Unrighteous Ways; and prevent their Return from them. Especially, if it happen that they have a great Appearance of present Ease and Interest in this World, to draw them on; as well as the Authority and Doctrine of their Guides, to justify them therein. So that by this means they will be answerable for the Sinning, and Sinful Persisting of their People and Followers; which will lie not only at the Peoples, but also at their Teachers Doors. Thus God charges those Prophets, who, by starting Salvo's for Unrighteous Actions, or † *Daubing for Sinners*, or ‖ *Sewing Pillows*, had made them hope for Life in those Ways; that *they had strengthned the hands of the wicked, that he should not return from his wicked way*, Ezek. xiii. 22. † *V.* 10. ‖ *V.* 18. And this again he lays to the Charge of the *Prophets of* Jerusalem, that *by their Lyes and Adulteries*, or Adulterations and Falsifications of their Duty in these Points by such Salvo's, they had *strengthned the hands of Evil doers, that none doth return from his wickedness*. Which he cries out of as *an horrible Thing*, and for which he says, *they are all of them* as abominable *to him as Sodom*, Jer. xxiii. 14. *Whereas had they*, in the Day of Tryal, stood firm, *and had caused his People to hear his words*; *then they should have turned them from their evil way, and from the evil of their doings*, v. 22.

2. And by drawing them into Sin, and detaining them therein, it throws them into Death and Destruction; which lays *their Blood*, as the Scripture says, at the *Watchmens* Doors. For whether it be with, or without warning, that the People come into the Ways of Death; 'tis Death still, which is at the End thereof. *The same wicked Man shall die in his Iniquity*, though *thou givest no warning*, saith God, *Ezek.* iii. 18. *he shall dye in his Sin*, v. 20. *and* c. xxxiii. 8. Though the *False Prophets*, deceived them, as *Jeremiah* * suggested to God in their Excuse; yet shall *the People fall into ruin, and I will pour their wickedness upon them*, Jer. xiv. 16. *When the Blind are led by the Blind*, saith our Saviour, or a Blind People by Blind Guides, *both shall fall into the Ditch*, Mat. xv. 14. The People at such Times are generally misled by False Guides, because they wish for such, and will hear no others. The Providence of God leaves them not utterly destitute of Faithful Monitors, but they turn a Deaf Ear to them. They * *V.* 13.

are bent upon Wicked and Unrighteous Ways, and love to be flatter'd and bolster'd up therein: yea, too oft, God knows, are ready to bite and devour any that shall freely and faithfully reprehend them. And this makes their Guides to lean to flattering Doctrines; to do, and say, what will Please, not what should Profit. So that here is a Circle in Sin: They first lead, or drive their Guides, and then are led by them. And if they will be thus misled into Destructive Courses, it is at their own Peril. They are misled into Death, as well as into Dangers: Their being misled will burthen and condemn their Leaders; but will not clear and excuse themselves.

3. It casts, as the People, so the Guides and Ministers themselves, into daily and new Trains of Sin. The way of Virtue and Uprightness is uniform, and always the same: but there is nothing but Variety without End, in Folly and Wandering. When once Men give Way to make False Steps; after they have made one, they will soon be called upon to make another, and never know when to give over. It is in *ill Ways*, as it is in *ill Reasonings*, there is a Nearness and Connexion among them: And once grant one *wicked Method*, which is a *Moral Absurdity*, and, according to the Rule, † *infinite more will follow it.* Thus God tells the *False Prophets, who strengthen the Hands of the Evil-Doers*, by their unrighteous Shifts and Salvo's, that, having got thus upon an ill Bottom, and *in Unrighteous Ways, their Way should be unto them as Slippery Ways*, wherein they would not be able to hold their Feet; and that also *in the Darkness*, where they would not have Light enough to see where they might make the surest Step; and after all, that in this Way *they should be driven on.* And numerous must their Falls be, who are posted on from Thing to Thing, and all in a Way, wherein they have no Light, and most unsure Footing, *Jer.* xxiii. 12.

† *Dato uno absurdo, infinita sequentur.*

4. It also entraps and punishes them in these Sins. By taking these False Ways, they do not usually escape, but meet their Fears; and, instead of getting from, they run into Troubles and Calamities. Their False Ways, and Flattering Hopes, and Talk of Deliverance from threatned Evils, God turns into real Overthrow by them. Thus, of *those Prophets*, who would promise Deliverance by their own False Ways, and fancied Grounds, to a People that did not put away, but hold fast their Unrighteousness, and Perversions of Justice, *and say, the Sword and Famine shall not be in this Land; by Sword and Famine, shall those Prophets be consumed*, saith God, *Jer.* xiv. 15. And to those *False Prophets*, whose Study lay in excusing and blanching over Sins, by unsound Pretences and Palliations, or *Daubing the Wall with untempered Mortar*, as 'tis call'd in *Ezekiel*, God declares, that *the Wall shall fall, and that they shall be consumed in the midst thereof*, Ezek. xiii. 14. Their Ways are *Slippery*, and *Dark Ways*, as we heard from the Prophet *Jeremy*, and when *driven on, they shall fall therein, and have Evil brought upon them*, Jer. xxiii. 12.

5. It will bring them to Shame, at the Discovery of the Rottenness and Unsoundness of their Principles. Their *daubing* is liken'd to *untemper'd Mortar*, which, for want of Straw, or good Tempering, cannot stick long together. It will first or last be broke to pieces by God, who sets himself against it, to disgrace and overthrow it. Though it strengthen it self never so much, in Names and Numbers; and though Men should still fall off, and the Way of Righteousness be forsaken of all its Friends, and greatest visible Supporters; yet will God never desert that Way, though Man doth; and when some forsake it, he will not want an Instrument, but raise up others to defend it. No Combinations of Men shall ever make Falshood to be Truth, or Wrong to be Right. Nor, as he told the *Jewish Daubers*, will he allow them long to appear so, before he wash off the Paint, and break down the Wall, and discover the Foundation of it. *Say*

unto

unto them that daub it with untemper'd Mortar, ſaith he, *that it ſhall fall: There ſhall be an overflowing Shower* to waſh it away; *and Hail-ſtones* ſhall beat it down, *and a ſtormy Wind ſhall rent it*, Ezek. xiii. 11. *I will rent it with a ſtormy Wind, in my Fury*, ſaith he again, *v.* 13. *I will break down the Wall that ye have daubed*, v. 14. *I will accompliſh my Fury upon the Wall, and upon them that daubed it with untemper'd Mortar: To wit, the Prophets of* Iſrael, who thus plaiſter'd over a Wall of wicked Ways, with a Daubing of untemper'd, or unſound *Salvo's* and Pretences, *v.* 15, 16. *Repeating it thus often*, as * *Calvin* notes, *becauſe the People were ſo ſtrangely bewitched with theſe fair Covers and Palliations.* Theſe Principles, as he continues to add, ſhall be loſt and buried: *I will ſay unto you, the Wall is no more, nor they that daubed it*, v. 15. They ſhall be laid ſo bare, ſo openly detected, and univerſally condemned, as to turn into a Reproach and By-word. *When the Wall is fallen, ſhall it not be ſaid unto you, Where is the Daubing wherewith ye have daubed it?* Ver. 12. * Ad v. 14.

6. *Laſtly*, To compleat the ſad Conſequences of ſuch Falls in the Guides of Souls, as they are thus full of Guilt, ſo are they (on the other ſide) of all others the moſt empty of Hopes and Appearances of Cure. The *Miniſters of Chriſt* are the *Reformers of Manners*; like the *Salt*, as our † Lord compares them, ſaying, *Ye are the Salt of the Earth*, which is to ſeaſon all other Things, and keep out Putrefaction and Rottenneſs. If the People ſin then, the Guides are ſet to ſeaſon and amend them. But when the Guides themſelves are fallen, to lead others on, and teach them unrighteous Ways; what ſo likely Means is there left for their new Seaſoning and Reformation? *If the Salt have loſt its Savour, wherewith ſhall it be ſalted? It is thenceforth good for nothing*, (there being no Uſe for inſipid Salt) *but is to be caſt out, and trodden under foot of Men*; was the Saying of our Lord, *Mat.* v. 13. *Have Salt in your ſelves*, therefore, is well added in St. *Mark*; ſince when the Savour is once loſt, it is ſo hard to reſtore it, *Mark* ix. 50. † Mat. v. 13.

By theſe Things it may appear, how the *Guides of Souls*, who are in Place of Warning and Inſtructing, and *Magiſtrates*, or Men in Power who are in Authority of Puniſhing or Reſtraining, may partake of other Mens Sins by *not prohibiting*.

3. *Thirdly*, He partakes in the Guilt, who acts in Subordination under an Higher Power, or * *miniſters in an unlawful Buſineſs.* * Qui miniſtrat.

The *Roman* Law was more favourable to Perſons under Command, imputing the Action not to the Inferior, who was but as the Inſtrument, but to the Superior, who required, and was the Author of it. To that Purpoſe are theſe Rules of Law. (*a*) *He is not eſteem'd to will, who acts only out of Obedience to the Command of his Father, or his Lord.* (*b*) *He doth the Damage, who commands it to be done; but he is in no Fault, who is under the Neceſſity of obeying.* Particularly as to *Servants*; they were ſo much under their Maſters Power and Command, as not to be accounted *a ſeparate Head in Law*; nor was an Action to be commenced either by them, or againſt them. (*c*) *With a Servant no Action is to be commenced.* (*d*) And *in thoſe Things which are not outragious for Wickedneſs, Servants*

(*a*) Velle non creditur, qui obſequitur Imperio Patris, vel Domini. *Reg. Juris* 4. *ex* Ulpiano, *ad calcem* Juſt. *Inſtit. p.* 219.

(*b*) Is Damnum dat, qui jubet dare; ejus vero nulla Culpa eſt, cui parere neceſſe ſit. *Reg. Jur.* 169. *è* Paulo. Ib. *p.* 236.

(*c*) Cum Servo nulla Actio eſt. *Reg. Jur.* 107. *è* Gaio. Ib. *p.* 230.

(*d*) Ad ea quæ non habent atrocitatem facinoris, vel ſceleris, ignoſcitur Servis, ſi vel Dominis, vel his qui vice Dominorum ſunt, (veluti Tutoribus,) obtemperaverint. *Reg. Jur.* 157. *ex* Ulpiano. Ib. *p.* 23.

are pardon'd for doing them, if it was only in Obedience to their Lords, or to those who are in Legal Place of Lords, as Tutors.

But as to the Account of Conscience and Religion, *Christ* tells his Followers, that they must be no Man's Servant in a forbidden Thing: For *he that is call'd, being another Man's Servant*, is call'd to be *the Lord's Freeman*, and must be at Liberty to serve him. Being *bought with a Price, they must not be the Servants of Men*, 1 Cor. vii. 22, 23. Among *those that are baptized into Christ, there is no Difference of bond or free*; but the same Rule of Living, and Way to Heaven for both, *Gal.* iii. 27, 28. *Col.* iii. 10, 11. So that the Pretence of being under Authority, and acting in Subordination, must never carry any Christian against any of his Lord's Precepts. If it is an unlawful Thing; as a *Christian*, or as *Christ's* Servant, he cannot minister therein. And if, notwithstanding the Voice of his Heavenly Lord to the contrary, in regard to an Earthly Lord, he will yield to minister and act in it; he dips his Hands in the Guilt thereof, and is answerable for it. *Wo to them*, saith God, not only *that decree unrighteous Decrees*, as Judges and Rulers; but also to them that *write Grievousness*; or, as the Margin, *to the Writers that write Grievousness, i. e.* the *Scribes*, who write down and promulge *what* Injustice the other *have prescribed*, Isa. x. 1. Thus *the Captains of Fifties and their Companies*, who would go upon the impious Errand of apprehending the *Lord's Prophet*, were guilty, and *punish'd accordingly*, as well as he that sent them, 2 *Kings* i. 9, 10, 11, 12. And one Thing, among others of higher Nature, whereby the Scripture expresses *Judas's* partaking with the *Jews* in that Wickedness, is his being *Guide to them that took Jesus*, Acts i. 16.

* Can. 71. Accordingly, the *Apostolical* * *Canons punish Christians for performing Ministerial Services*, as *carrying Oyl, and lighting the Lamps in the* Gentile *Temples, or* Jewish *Synagogues*. And *on the Invasion of the* Goths, and other *Barbarians*, who till'd those Parts of the Empire with Spoils and Murders, the *Canons* of St. *Gregory Thaumaturgus* (confirmed by the *Sixth General* † *Council*) censure those Christians, who, tho' under their Power as their Captives taken by them before, would yield to *come along with the* Barbarians *in these Incursions, to* ‖ *shew them the Ways, or Houses, which the others were ignorant of.*

† Concil. in Trullo Can 6.

‖ Καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἐνταῦθα ἢ ἐκεῖθεν ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑῴας ἢ ἑσπέρας τοῖς ἐπιβαίνουσι. S. Greg. Thaumat. Can. 7.

4. *Fourthly*, He is a Sharer in the Guilt, who not only ministers under another as an Inferior, (whereof before) but *as an Equal, or Complice, helps it forward.* He that will freely furnish out Necessaries, or do his Part to bring it about, or any way help another to sin, therein sins with him.

Thus it is,

When they will *put their Forces* or *Furniture to his*, as *to a common Stock*, by a Joint-Supply to accomplish and bring it about. *Cast in thy Lot with us; let us all have one Purse*; was the Voice of those, who invited others to come in for a Share in their Wickedness, *Prov.* i. 14.

When they are to be Partakers in, and have *a Dividend of the Profit. The Receiver*, as we use to say, *is as bad as the Thief.* And *when thou sawest a Thief, thou consentedst with him*; or, by accepting a proffer'd Share of his Gettings, camest in to be a Consenter, or Complice in his Wickedness, *Psal.* l. 18.

When they are Partners with them in *their Counsels, Cares, and Studies*, to bring their Wickedness to Effect. Thus in the *Psalmist* it follows, *And hast been Partaker with the Adulterers*; one intrusted with their Counsels, and laying thy Head together with theirs, for the Accomplishment of their Lusts. This is being of their Club, and coming in to the Confederacy and Counsel of the wicked; which is the way not only to partake in the

the Ill they do, but to loſe all Remains of Virtue and Goodneſs, and come in Time to be as bad as they. If Deſigners of Ill ſhall form themſelves in Bodies, and meet to conſult and carry on their ungodly and unrighteous Ways, it is high Time for all that would keep innocent, to ſtand off, and look to themſelves. The Warning of *Jacob* is the beſt Advice that can be given in this Caſe. *O! my Soul, Come not thou into their Secret; and unto their Aſſembly, mine Honour be not thou united*, Gen. xlix. 6. Such Complices may have their ſeveral Poſts in acting; but being all privy to the Thing, and acting in their reſpective Stations to help it on, they are all as one Man in the Sin. *Paul* was a Principal in the Death of *Stephen*, tho' his Part was not to throw a Stone, but to *keep the Raiment of thoſe that ſlew him*, Acts xxii. 20. Being all engaged in the ſame Cauſe, tho' ſome may have a different Task therein; *As his Part is that goeth down to the Battel, ſo ſhall his Part be that tarrieth by the Stuff*, ſaith *David*; *they ſhall part alike*, 1 Sam. xxx. 24. And agreeable to this is the *Seventy firſt Canon* of St. *Baſil* to *Amphilochius*, *decreeing equal Puniſhment to thoſe that are* * *Conſcious or Complices, as to the* † *Actors and Effectors of any Wickedneſs.*

* συνεργοῦσι.
† ἐργάτης.

When they *perſuade to it*: For to perſuade an ill Thing, is to bear a Part in it. As *Eve* did *Adam*, to *eat of the forbidden Fruit*; who was taxed not only for her own, but for his Sin, and for being *firſt in the Tranſgreſſion*, *Gen.* iii. 16, 17. and 1 *Tim.* ii. 12, 14. And as *Jezabel* was, for the *Wickedneſs* of *Ahab*, becauſe *ſhe ſtirred him up to it*, 1 Kings xxi. 25. And if by Importunities they urge and weary thoſe to do a wicked or unjuſt Thing, who are timorous, or backward and unwilling to do it of themſelves; they ſhew more Malice, and come in to partake higher, and to be deeper in Guilt than the very Actors. So our Saviour ſpeaks, in the Caſe between the *Jews* and *Pilate*; they urging and importuning him to crucify our Lord, againſt his own Deſire and Judgment. *He that delivered me unto thee*, ſaith he, *hath the greater Sin*, John xix. 11. And ſo 'tis in the unjuſt Clamours of the Populace, (whether greater or leſſer Vulgar) when at any time they ſeek to terrify and over-awe Magiſtrates and Judges, and, under the Name of demanding Juſtice, call for the greateſt Iniquity and unjuſt Violence; which brings all the innocent Blood that is thereby ſhed, upon their own Heads.

When they *furniſh out Proviſions for it*: As ſtill to ſet on ſtrong Drink before thoſe, who (as they plainly ſee) deſign to be intemperate; or lend a Sword to one, whom they perceive intending to commit Murder therewith; or bring a Man a burning Coal, wherewith to fire the Temple; or willingly to furniſh out, and equip a Perſon any other ways, for a wicked and unrighteous Buſineſs. This Adminiſtring of Furniture and Proviſion for an unlawful Act, is to partake in it. For thoſe are a neceſſary Help, without which the Actor (as wanting Matter to ſin withal) would not be able to fulfil his Luſt, and ſo will readily own himſelf beholden to them for it. * *Make no Proviſion for the Fleſh, to fulfil the Luſts thereof*, is a Rule to keep clear of Sin, either in our ſelves, or others: The Law requiring us to *love our Neighbour as we do our ſelves*; and no more to ſet on Sin, or help out an unlawful Deed in their Caſe, than in our own.

* Rom. xiii. 4.

When they *expreſs good Wiſhes*, and *pray for Succeſs to it*. For ſince Events depend moſt on Providence, Prayers to God are among the higheſt Aſſiſtances: And a Man cannot ſhew a more real Concern and Eſpouſal of any Act, than by endeavouring the beſt he can to engage God for it. *He that bids him God ſpeed, is Partaker of his evil Deeds*, ſays St. *John*, 2 John xi.

When they *go out lovingly to meet and welcome them*, or *friendly harbour and receive thoſe in their Houſes*, who are going upon ungodly or unrigh-

unrighteous Errands. This ſhews their Heart goes along, and that they are ready to further them, as it falls in their Way, and to take part with them. Thus, *Jehonadab's Heart being right with Jehu's, is ſet off by his coming to meet him*, 2 Kings x. 15. And, *Receive not the bringer of falſe Doctrine into your Houſes*, ſaith St. *John*, when he cautions againſt *Partaking in his Evil-Deeds*, 2 Joh. x. 11. And thus, on the *Canon of St. Baſil, equalizing the Complices or Conſcious, to the Actors of a wicked Buſineſs*, * *Balſamon* notes, that *he who hides and harbours a Thief, is a Thief* in the account of the *Civil Law*. And thoſe, who were ſtudious to conceal and ſhelter the Man who had offer'd *his ſeed to Moloch*, or *to hide their Eyes from* diſcovering *him*, the Law taxes as *going a whoring after him*, or, as the *Septuagint*, † *conſenting and thinking the ſame with him*, Lev. xx. 4, 5.

* Ad Can. 71. S. Baſil ad Amphiloch.

† ὁμονοοῦντας αὐτῷ.

5. *Fifthly*, he partakes in the Guilt, *who is pleaſed with an ill Thing*, or ‖ *Applauds* and *Defends* it, or him that doth it. For this ſhews ſuch a Man's Heart is a Party, tho' his Hand was not; and that he wants only Opportunity and Temptation to do the like. And by approving afterwards, he confirms him that did the Deed; and encourages him to perſiſt therein, or to go on. Nay, ſuch come in oftentimes, not only as Partakers, but by way of Aggravation, as being worſe than the Principals and Actors: Theſe engaging themſelves therein without the others Temptations, which may plead ſome Infirmity; and that argues them to have more Malice, and to be more fully bent on the Wickedneſs. So in the Rank of Sinners, theſe are ſet higher by St. *Paul: Not only do the ſame, but have Pleaſure in thoſe that do them*, Rom. i. 32.

‖ Qui approbat.

Such are,

He that *inwardly delights*, and *takes Complacence* in a wicked or unrighteous Act: Which is to take Part thereof, in *Will and Affection*. And this is one Thing, whereby the Scripture expreſſes *Saul*'s Partaking in St. *Stephen*'s *Murder: And Saul was* * *approving* and *well pleaſed* with it, or *conſenting to his Death*, Acts viii. 1. It is what the *Apoſtle* ſo ſeverely cenſures in the *Romans*, that what Ill they did not act themſelves, they were glad of, and had Complacence in, when they ſaw or heard it done by others. *Not only do the ſame, but take Pleaſure in thoſe that do them*, Rom. i. 32. *'Tis the ſame Thing*, ſays (*a*) *Cicero*, *Whether a Man Wills before to have a Thing done, or Rejoices in it when it is done.* The Will in both is the ſame: And if he doth not will it before the Fact, that was only as not being informed thereof, or asked the Queſtion, whether he would or no.

* συνευδοκῶν.

He that *Praiſes* it. (*b*) *He is as guilty that applauds, as he that perſuades to it*, ſays *Cicero*. Nay, he comes in deeper than a meer Actor, and turns Factor for it. For to praiſe, is both to juſtify and take part with him that did it; and to recommend and take part beforehand with any other who ſhall do it, it ſets off the Wickedneſs, not only as an Innocent, but as a Worthy and Honourable Thing: So to make the Offender, inſtead of turning Penitent, to grow Proud thereof; and to draw in others, (Men being naturally covetous of Honour) to do the ſame. And he, who looking on one ſide, will Praiſe the Evil, looking on the other, will be as ready to Vilify and Expoſe the contrary Good. So that ſuch Commenders and Extollers of unlawful Acts, in the Degrees of Guilt, may bid fair for the top of *David*'s Scale, *viz. Sit down in the Seat of the ſcornful*, Pſal. i. 1. And thus a Commender partakes, not only when he ſignalizes himſelf, and is particular in Praiſes, but if he ſtrikes in with the common

(*a*) Quid refert, utrum voluerim fieri, an gaudeam Factum? *Phil.* 2.
(*b*) Quid intereſt inter Suaſorem facti, & probatorem. *Cic. Ib.*

Cry,

Cry, and bears a part in the popular Voice, when it is unjuſtly loud, to cry up Ill, or to cry down any Virtuous and Good Things. *Had we been in the days of our Fathers*, ſay *the Scribes and Phariſees, we would not have been partakers with them in the Blood of the Prophets*; *viz.* By joining in the general Cry and Clamours for their Blood, or Applauſes of thoſe that ſhed it, *Mat.* xxiii. 30. And St. *Paul* gives it as one Inſtance of his *partaking in the Death of the Saints*, that, when they were put to death, he concurred in the *Popular Acclamations*, and bore his Part in the Common Cry, or *gave his Voice againſt them*, Acts xxvi. 10. Thus eaſily and unwarily may raſh, or timorous and complying Perſons, in hot and violent Times, plunge themſelves in Guilt, by applauding, as the Number doth, and ſpeaking well, as others about them do, of any Impious or Unjuſt Ways or Acts, which thoſe Times ſhall happen to be fond of.

Next to him that thus *Praiſes* and *Extols*, I add him that *Juſtifies* and *Defends* it. Such Men will maintain it, if not as meriting Praiſes, yet, however, as Innocent and Blameleſs. To become thus a Pleader and Advocate for any Wicked or Unjuſt Act, is highly to take the part thereof. It has many Partakers, on account of good will and inferior Aſſiſtance, among thoſe who cannot pretend to be the Patrons and Defenders of it. He that will undertake to defend, is no whit inferior to him that commits a Fault; nay, in great Reſpects beyond him. In as much, as he that commits it, may be carried on againſt his Mind, by Temptation and Infirmity of Paſſion; but he who defends it, is for it in Mind and Judgment.

Next to this, he partakes, who, though he doth not come openly and fully to defend it, yet *viſibly Countenances* and *Approves it*. So far as he joins his Will and Carriage, his Opinion and Suffrage to the Offenders, ſo far he partakes in the Offence. Every Expreſſion of Approbation, in Proportion to its Degree, puts him into the Evil-doer's Cauſe, and makes it his own.

Now, ſuch Countenance and Approbation it is, when they are kind and friendly, as I noted, in *Saluting*, *Entertaining* or *going out to meet him*, as he goes about the Evil Thing. Do not *ſalute*, or *bid him God ſpeed*, nor *receive him into your Houſes, that ye partake not with the bringer of falſe Doctrine*, was the Rule given by St. *John*.

When they *look on in the Act, without any ſhew of Horror and Diſlike*, and as Men pleaſed and delighted with it. This is to ſhew Favour to an ill Thing, which is to partake with it. Accordingly St. *Paul* gives this as one Inſtance of his being *a Party to the Death of St. Stephen*, that *he was ſtanding by*, or looking on with liking, as one *Conſenting* to them, Acts xxii. 20. And therefore he directs us, when we are preſent thereat, to manifeſt Diſlike, or *Reprove them in a Work of Darkneſs, that we may have no fellowſhip with it*, Eph. v. 11. And thus the *Fathers* taught the Chriſtians, about communicating with the Sins of the *Heathen Shows* or *Spectacles*. *We think it no great difference*, ſays * *Athenagoras*, *whether a Man be a pleaſed Spectator, or an Author of the Murther. Whilſt willingly, and with Approbation they behold them, they act over all the Things that are done, by ſeeing, and aſſenting to them*, ſays St. † *Salvian*.

When they would *put on the outward Dreſs*, and appear like him that doth it. This is in appearance to partake with the Sin, though in Heart they are againſt it. And accordingly, to the World they appear as Actors therein, and are reputed as Parties to it. They go halting indeed, and it may be are not what they ſeem. But though they do not admit the whole, they take part therein: The outward Shew and Form, though not the inward Sentiment and Approbation. This is to do what *Elihu* juſtly reprehended as an ill Thing, but unjuſtly faſten'd upon *Job*, *to go in Company*

* Legat. pro. Chriſt. *p.* 38.

† De Gubernat. Dei, *l.* 6. *p.* 191. Ed. *Ox.*

Company with the Workers of Iniquity, and walk with wicked Men; or to borrow their Shape, and say and do, shew and seem, as if a Man were one of them, *Job* xxxiv. 8. Thus did the *Judaizing Gnosticks*, who, to avoid Persecution, *said they were Jews, and seemed zealous for Moses*; but inwardly *were not, nor kept the Law*, (as St. || *Paul* also notes,) *Rev.* ii. 9. Thus also, as I formerly observed, were the *Libellatici* of the *Primitive Church*; who, though in Truth they had done no such Thing, yet sought *to be number'd, and pass among those who had done Sacrifice to Idols.* But besides the Insincerity hereof, which I have shew'd above, this is plainly to take Part with those ungodly Ways, giving them the visible Part and Appearance, whilst the Invisible is reserved to God. It is halting between two Opinions, as if God, who in *point of Worship* declares himself *a jealous God*, would in that Worship admit Error and Wickedness to go halves with him and be his Partners, carrying away the outward, whilst he doth the inward Service.

|| Gal. vi. 12, 13.

Lastly, He shares in the Guilt, who, tho' he doth not inwardly approve, nor praise it to others, yet *deceitfully compliments the Actor* of an Impious or Unrighteous Thing, and *flatteringly applauds it to himself.* This carries with it the Guilt of praising an Evil Thing, which it doth to the Guilty Person; and aggravates it with Falshood and Dissimulation, speaking there. in contrary to their own Opinion. It flatters the Offender in his Evil Way, which is to harden him in his Sin, and bar all Thoughts of Repentance or Restitution, and make him not only ready, but ambitious to repeat the same again upon the next Temptation. And this is to partake in one Sin, and to prepare him for more, laying before him new Snares, both of Sin and Danger. *A Man that flatters his Neighbour, spreads a Net for his Feet*, saith *Solomon*, Prov. xxix. 5. *A flattering Mouth*, says he again, *worketh ruin*, Prov. xxvi. 28. So that such a caressing and extolling Flatterer, comes in, and partakes, as a Cause, both of his Sin and Fall.

6. To all these Ways of *Partaking in the Sins of others*, may be added, lastly, the contributing thereto, by *the Scandal of our Falls, or ill Examples.* All ill Examples are but too powerful in promoting ill Things. Good Examples are not so successful in kindling Virtue, as bad ones are in propagating Vice. The main Reason is, because Wickedness is more agreeable to corrupt Nature and Inclination; and Virtue and Holiness are cross to it. An ill Example leads them to follow Nature, but a good one to over-rule and subdue it. So they readily follow one, because it calls them only to please themselves; and are more hardly wrought on by the other, as calling them to Self-Denials. Which is the true Cause, why the Devil and his Servants have so many more Followers in this World, than God and his Saints: He and his Instruments inviting them still to Ways that pursue their Fleshly Lusts and Passions, but the other to curb and restrain them.

Now the State of Mankind being thus, and corrupt Nature like Tinder, most ill Examples, that are all as so many Sparks of Fire, will be apt to catch one or other. But then they are most unhappily influential, when ill Things are committed by Parents and Magistrates, or by Men in Power and Authority over others. For then, besides their Conduciveness to Ends and Inclinations on other Accounts, they are taken up, as the Way to have an Air of Greatness, or to gain Favour, and recommend themselves; or to be like those, whom Nature has made dear, or whom Honour has rendred great and glorious in our Eyes. Or, when they are acted by Persons of Note and Eminence, for Wisdom and Goodness. For then they come, as having lost their Illness, on a Presumption that no Ill could come from such

Actors. Nay, if they are Pillars of Truth and Piety, in Deference to their Judgments, Numbers of good Minds are apt to diſtruſt their own, and call in Queſtion even the plain Voice of Conſcience, and the clear Senſe of Good and Evil, Right and Wrong. So that ſuch Mens Falls never go alone, but ſtrengthen the Wicked in their Evil Way, and ſhock the Strong in the Way of Truth, and turn the Weak out thereof: Yea, they put a Reproach into the Mouths of its Adverſaries, and make the Way of Truth and Righteouſneſs to be Evil ſpoken of. All which, to their own, adds the Sins or Falls of many others. And this muſt accumulate Guilt, and inflame Reckonings. *He that by his Sin*, draws others, not only to ſin after him, but *to blaſpheme, muſt needs precipitate others as well as himſelf into Deſtruction; and ſo will be guilty, and anſwerable for as many as he has drawn into Guilt with him*, * ſays *Salvian*.

* De Gubernat. *l.* 4. *p.* 144.

Thus, by all theſe fore-mentioned Ways, to omit others, may Men *make themſelves guilty of others Sins*. Though they are not Actors in an Impious or Unrighteous Thing, yet if they enjoin it; or if, being in Power, they do not uſe their Power to prevent and puniſh it; or, in Things that go by Conſent, if they do not expreſly refuſe their Conſent when 'tis asked; or if they are Miniſters, if they neglect to warn againſt it, or miſlead their People, and go before them therein, or invent Salvo's, and unſound Palliations, to defend and bolſter them up in the ſame. If when they are in Service or ſubordinate Office, they miniſter in an Unlawful Buſineſs, or help it forward, as Complices in Studies or Counſels, as perſuading to it, or furniſhing out Proviſions for it, or praying for the Succeſs thereof. If they approve of it when 'tis acted, being inwardly delighted therewith, or appearing to praiſe it, or defend it, or viſibly to countenance the Actors going about it, or ſtand by, and look on with Delight whilſt 'tis a doing. Or if, when really they diſlike the Fact, they yet appear to the World like one that doth it, or deceitfully Compliment and Flatter the Wicked Actors thereof. Or, laſtly, if by the Scandal of their ill Examples, they draw others into Guilt, as well as themſelves. By all theſe Ways, may Men, who act not the Guilty and Unrighteous Things themſelves, draw other Mens Guilt upon their own Heads. And 'tis the Part of Spiritual Prudence, when they keep out from the Execution of any Wickedneſs, in the direct Act, to take care, moreover, that it do not reach them in the Rebound, and that they do not, by any of the foreſaid Ways, partake in their Crime who are engaged therein.

CHAP. X.

Of Reliance on Providence; and of the Benefit Religion makes by outward Sufferings.

FROM what I have before ſaid, of *the Folly*, as well as Wickedneſs of the *Firſt* Rule of Worldly Prudence *about Means and Method*, viz. *Doing Evil that Good may come:* I ſhall proceed now briefly, to note further on that Point,

3*dly*, A *Third* Rule of Spiritual Wiſdom in purſuit of its Ends, and that is, *Faith in Providence*; or, *in compaſſing any Effects, to look more to Providence,*

vidence, than to Human Appearances. The great Virtue and Excellence of Religion, as well as the moſt general and conſtant Exerciſe and Employment of the Life of Man, is *Faith in God.* This Faith, is a *Faith in Providence*, ſo far as concerns us in all the Things of this Life. Our Faith alſo reſpects Futurities, and what God has promiſed beyond this World, in another Life. But all that God doth accompliſh, and the Government thereof in this World, is the *Adminiſtration of Providence.* And all our Regard to God in Earthly Affairs, ſeeing his Hand in them, and expecting from him their deſired Iſſues, is the *Faith in Providence.* This is that which ſpiritualizes this World, and turns all Things that affect us here, into Religion. And this therefore is the Life of all truly Good and Religious Men. Through the whole Courſe of this World, they *walk in Faith*; and this Faith is in God's Providence, which they ever look up to, and rely or build moſt on, in all Things. Contrary to the Way of the World, who, as though they walked without God in it, look not in every Thing to *the Living Creatures*, i. e. *Angels* repreſented in that *Viſion*, with *the Face of Living Creatures, ſtanding by the Wheels*, or Courſe of Worldly Things, to govern their Motions, as *Ezekiel* ſays, *c.* i. 15, 16, 19, 20, 21; *and* c. x. 9, 16, 17. Or to the over-ruling influence of Inviſible Providence, managed by the Miniſtry of Angels, which has the leading Hand, and gives the laſt and ruling ſtroke to all that happens. But only to what is Viſible before their Eyes, or to Human Preparations and Appearances.

And expecting more from Providence, than from Worldly Appearances, they never ſeek to compaſs any Ends, as I have ſhew'd, by unlawful Ways, which will loſe them more in the Help of Providence, than it will get them in that of Human Preparations. Nor deſpair of his Protection, or promiſed Succeſs, in Gods own Ways. Nay, their Truſt in Providence here, they account as one of the beſt Means, being that which will moſt engage Providence. *The Lord will help them, and ſave them from the wicked*, that are always plotting to deſtroy them, *becauſe they put their truſt in him*, ſaith the *Pſalmiſt*, *Pſ.* xxxvii. 40. They truſt it to the laſt, when there is nothing viſible to back it, nor any Thing elſe to truſt to. When *the People with David ſpake of ſtoning him, on the burning of Ziklag, and he was greatly diſtreſſed*, then *did David encourage himſelf in the Lord his God*, 1 Sam. xxx. 1, 6. *Our bones are ſcattered at the Graves Mouth*, as Chips are *when one cutteth or cleaveth Wood upon the Earth*, ſays he on another Occaſion; *but mine Eyes are unto thee, O Lord; in thee is my Truſt, to keep me from the Snares laid for me*, Pſal. cxli. 7, 8, 9. *When my Soul fainted within me*, at what Time he was in the *Whale's Belly, I remember the Lord*, ſaith *Jonah*, Jonah ii. 7. *We were preſſed above Meaſure, and had the Sentence of Death in our ſelves*, ſays the *Apoſtle*, *that we ſhould not truſt in our ſelves, but in God who raiſeth the Dead, who delivered us, and doth deliver*, 2 Cor. i. 8, 9, 10. This proves the Sincerity of our Truſt in God, when we have no Reſerves of Human Grounds. It ſhews the Commendableneſs and Degrees thereof, when we dare throw our ſelves wholly on God's Care and Kindneſs. And this is that, whereby Good Men ſignalize themſelves. They are *Abraham*'s *Children*, by being Followers of *Abraham*'s *Faith*, Gal. iii. 7. It is their beſt Armour and Defence, which they never put off, even in the hotteſt Perſecutions. *Lo! Here*, ſaith St. *John*, after the ſeemingly moſt helpleſs States, and hardeſt Tryals, *is the Patience and Faith of the Saints*, Rev. xiii. 10. And we are *to be Followers of them, who thro' Faith and Patience, inherit the Promiſes*, Heb. vi. 12.

But contrary to this, is the Way of *Worldly Wiſdom.* When it has little or no Human Preparations or Worldly Appearances, it is, as if it had

nothing to depend upon; and gives any Things up, even thoſe which God has promiſed, and for which he is moſt concern'd, as deſperate. What would have become (ſay worldly Men) of us, or of our Holy Religion, if this and that unlawful Courſe had not been taken? What would have become of them? Had they kept to their Duty when they went beyond it, That would have become of Religion, or of any good Thing, which God pleaſes. And after all their Breach of Duty to preſerve them, That muſt ſtill become of them which God pleaſes. So that this (in Caſe of unlawful Expedients) can only be the Saying of thoſe, who have no Eye at Providence in theſe Matters; or that do not rely on God, or put their Truſt in him, but in viſible Preparations and Appearances. When they enquire, *What would become?* and ask about Events; I would ask them again, Whether Events are our Buſineſs, or God's? And if they are under his Care, it is only to diſtruſt God, and to ask him what will become of his Charge; not us, what will become of ours? As if he were not able to do his own Buſineſs, without the Help of our Sins; or to bring to paſs what concerns him in his Ways, without our breaking what is commanded, and concerns us both in his way and ours.

A *Fourth* and laſt Rule which I ſhall note of Chriſtian Prudence, about the Means whereby its Ends are to be attained, is, *The Uſefulneſs of Sufferings*, or *ſeeing how it may highly compaſs the Ends of Chriſtianity* by Perſecutions.

This indeed is a Paradox to this World, who cannot think of growing richer by their Loſſes; or that the Sufferings of Men can ever be brought into the Account of their Succeſſes and Advantages. But this is a very certain and great Truth in Religion, which ſerves its Ends by Suffering as well as by Thriving, and looks upon Perſecutions with other Eyes than this World doth.

Spiritual Prudence (that is wiſe for the Advancement of our Duty, and the Improvement of our Spirits) ſees many ſingular Advantages, which Perſecution affords for theſe: So that it never thinks it ſelf out of its way, but in the high and beaten Road to what it aims at, when it is call'd to ſuffer. It is out of the way of worldly Peace and Enjoyments; (and thoſe are the Things which Perſecution takes from us) but in a very good way of practiſing a Number of moſt acceptable and honourable Duties, and making Spiritual Improvements. For,

1. Perſecutions are the *beſt* and *trueſt Proof of the Sincerity of our Affection to Religion*, or of our *Love to Chriſt*. It ſhews plainly, that we ſet him above this World; and are thereby, as he ſays, *worthy of him*, when we are ready to part with any Thing of this World for his Sake. And therefore Perſecutions are call'd *Trials of our Faith*, in the Scriptures: Nay, the *fiery Trial*, which will ſeparate the pure Metal from the Droſs, and prove ſound and right Chriſtians as it proves pure and right Metals; ſuch another way of trying *Chriſt*'s faithful Servants, as Fire is of trying Silver, or Gold it ſelf. And this, tho' to a worldly Mind (as depriving it of worldly Enjoyments) it appears a heavy Affliction, to a Chriſtian Spirit, is of great Account. For what ſo valuable to it, as to prove it ſelf one of *Chriſt*'s faithful Servants; the Approbation whereof it ſets more by, than by all that is dear and deſirable to it in this Life? What ſo pleaſing to a Soul bent on Heaven, as to have given ſuch a clear Proof of its preferring Heaven before Earth; of its being ſo ſet on Things above, as, for their Sakes, to overlook and deſpiſe all beneath; of its having *ſuffered with Chriſt*, which the Apoſtle gives as a Pledge to all good Souls that *they ſhall reign with him*?

2. It calls us to *the Exerciſe of many Duties of Religion*, yea, ſuch as are *the very Height and Perfection thereof*, which we have no ſuch Op-

portunity to exercise at a quiet Time. For now, when Suffering comes, we are put upon shewing how far we are set above the World, and how able to contemn it, being call'd to part therewith: Yea, we are much prepared thereby, and disposed so to do; nothing being more effectual to cure our Fondness for this World, than worldly Sufferings. We are call'd to manifest how *Heavenly-minded* we are, when our Minds have nothing but Heaven to influence and bear them up, and to carry them to quit what is most dear to them here on Earth. How resign'd to the Will of God; when that Will of his is so hard to Flesh and Blood: How patient, when we have heavy Sufferings to try our Patience. How strong our Faith is of unseen Things, when, in Assurance thereof, we must forego all we see here; or of God's Grace and present Assistances, when, in Expectation of them, we are going out to encounter the greatest Trials and Difficulties. How we can *take up the Cross*, and bear it after Christ, when the Cross is laid in our way, and we are call'd out to suffer for *Christ*, or for *Righteousness sake*. And lastly, How under all this we can heartily thank God, and forgive and love our Enemies, and pray for our Persecutors, even whilst they are exasperating our Spirits by all the provoking Arts of spiteful and injurious Usage. Not to mention how, instead of rebating, it is found to add Spirit to good Mens pious Resolution, and a Stedfastness and Complacency therein. And indeed, brave Minds are not in so much Danger of being threaten'd and forc'd, as flatter'd and caress'd out of their Integrity; suffering that Shipwreck of a good Conscience many times by the Smiles, which they never could be made to do by the Frowns of Princes.

Now Contempt of the World, and Heavenly-mindedness, and Faith, and Patience, and taking up the Cross, and Loving and Forgiving Enemies and cruel Persecutors, and such Religious Bravery and Gallantry of Spirit in God's Cause, as no Menaces and Inflictions can shake, much less vanquish, are among the most raised and elevated Virtues in all our Religion. And therefore Spiritual Prudence, which rates the Beneficialness of Things as they promote the greatest Virtues, or carry them on to the greatest Improvements, must needs see and acknowledge, how directly and advantagiously it is pursuing its own Ends, tho' it be quite out of the way of worldly Ends, when it is called out to do Honour to God and Religion, and to advance it self by the Exercise of these, and many other noble Virtues, in Persecution.

3. It calls us to *do Benefit to others by our Sufferings*: For our Sufferings for *Christ*, and in a Christian manner, or with a truly Christian Spirit, in the Manifestation of the Virtues before-mentioned, will help *their Faith*. It will beget Faith in some, and confirm it in others; there being a *Witness* or *Testimony in the Blood*, and an Evidence in the Sufferings of Martyrs and Confessors, to make Proselytes; as the Scripture declares, and they experienced in the Primitive Church. It will also help *their Practice*. For the Sight of such Sufferings in us, will call them with great Power and Force to Perseverance in their Duty, when it comes under Trials: It will awaken those that are lapsed, and help to stop those that are wavering and about to fall from it, and confirm and settle others in what they have received, and embolden them in professing of it; animating them to a like suffering for it, as they see we do. *Many of the Brethren in the Lord waxing confident, by* Example of *my* Constancy in *Bonds*, says St. *Paul*, *are* thereby become *much more bold to speak the Word without Fear*, Phil. i. 14. It makes one known to another; and in Time of Distress, it is a great Heartning and Encouragement to see the Number with us; as well as a good Confirmation of our Judgment, and Guide of our Practice, to see the same Truths resolutely owned by others, especially by some whom we have Cause to esteem better

better and wiſer than our ſelves. And accordingly, St. *Paul* calls us to ſhew Stedfaſtneſs at ſuch Times for theſe Purpoſes: *Let us hold faſt the Profeſſion of our Faith without wavering*; *and not forſake the aſſembling of our ſelves together*, ſays he to the *Hebrews* in perſecuting Times; *conſidering one another, to provoke unto Love and to good Works*, Heb. x. 23, 24, 25. *If we be afflicted, and the Sufferings of Chriſt abound in us*, ſays he to the *Corinthians*, *it is for your Conſolation and Salvation*; *which is effectual* among you *in the enduring of the ſame Sufferings which we alſo ſuffer*, 2 *Cor.* i. 5, 6. This free and ſtedfaſt Practice of ſuffering Duties, and reſolute Suffering for them before others, is the way to call upon and exhort them to edify and build them up in the like Practice, according to the Rule of Scripture, which requires us to * *edify one another.*

* Rom. xiv. 19. & 1 Cor. xiv. 26.

Whereas, on the contrary, our denying theſe Duties, or ſhrinking from the Sufferings threatned in Perſecutions, (eſpecially in Perſons of Reputation and Influence) is apt to give mighty *Scandal*, or *Occaſion of Falling*. It ſhocks the ſtrong, and turns the weak out of the way, which otherwiſe they are inclined to walk in; and has a mighty Effect on moſt, who are glad of the Pretence of having ſuch Examples to follow, and of any colourable Ground to go that way. It encourages thoſe who have err'd, and pricks others forward, and hardens thoſe that are reſolved; weakning the Hearts of thoſe who ſtick to their Duty, and heartning thoſe who revolt from it, and *ſtrengthning the Hands of the wicked*, and of the Perſecutors thereof, againſt which God makes ſuch Complaint, *Ezek.* xiii. 22.

So that the Way of Chriſtian and reſolute Suffering in Perſecutions, is a moſt Charitable and Edifying Courſe. It doth Honour to Virtue and Religion, as I formerly noted, when they are moſt exploded, and when they are ſoreſt preſs'd, and have feweſt to ſtand by them. It recals ſome Deſerters, and eſtabliſhes other wavering Profeſſors; and animates and ſtrengthens all its Followers, even at that Time when it has the moſt need of them. And all this, tho' it be out of the way of the World, is in the way of Religion; it never goes on more proſperouſly with its Ends, than at ſuch Times.

4. And being on all theſe Accounts the Way to improve and perfect our Virtue, it muſt anſwerably be the Way to *heighten and conſummate our Reward.* There are Great and Glorious Prerogatives in the Recompence of *Martyrs* and *Confeſſors.* St. *John* * notes an extraordinary Preference, and Privilege of higheſt Value, *to thoſe who were beheaded for the Witneſs of Jeſus, and for the Word of God*; (*Beheading* being the (*a*) *uſual Death of Martyrs* in thoſe Days; the more cruel Ways of Killing, and Exquiſiteneſs of Torture, not being commonly uſed upon them till afterwards) and *had not worſhipped the Beaſt, nor his Image, nor had received his Mark upon their Hands or Foreheads*; *i. e.* had ſtood out couragiouſly under the ſoreſt Trials, as brave Confeſſors, againſt all contrary and unchriſtian Practices. Be the Trials never ſo great for *Chriſt*'s, or for Righteouſneſs Sake, *I reckon*, ſaith St. *Paul*, *that the Sufferings of this preſent time are not worthy to be compared with the Glory that ſhall be revealed in us*, Rom. viii. 18. The more we endure for him, the more we ſhall receive from him. (*b*) *The harder the Sufferings, the higher the Recompences*, ſays *Tertullian.* Theſe Sufferings for Chriſt are call'd the *Remains*, or *what is behind of the Sufferings of Chriſt*, Col. i. 24. and *the Marks of the Lord Jeſus*, Gal. vi. 17. And the more conformable his Servants are to the Likeneſs of his Suffer-

* Rev. xx. 4, 5.

(*a*) Nunc à Præſide Mauritaniæ, vexatur hoc Nomen, ſed gladio tenus; ſicut & à Primordio Mandatum eſt animadverti in hujuſmodi. *Tertul. ad Scap.* c. 4.

(*b*) Majora Certamina, majora ſequuntur Præmia. *Tert. ad Scap.* c. 4.

ings,

ings, the more in Proportion, ſhall they be conformed to the Likeneſs of his Glories. Anſwerable to *our Suffering*, ſhall be *our Reigning with him*, 2 Tim. ii. 12. *If ſo be that we ſuffer with him, we ſhall be alſo glorified together*, Rom. viii. 17. The Surpluſage of their Glory and Bliſs, ſhall be ſo much the earlier, and greater than the Bliſs of others; as to render theſe Sufferings, the moſt valuable Bleſſings to all truly good Men, and a Cauſe of higheſt Joy and Thankfulneſs. *Rejoice then, and leap for joy; rejoice, and be exceeding glad*, ſays our Saviour, *for great is your reward in Heaven*, Luke vii. 22, 23. Mat. v. 12. *Rejoice, in as much as ye are made partakers of Chriſt's Sufferings*, ſays St. *Peter*; *that when his Glory ſhall be revealed, ye may* partake anſwerably in that too, and *be glad alſo with exceeding Joy*, 1 Pet. iv. 13.

Such as theſe are the Benefits which Virtue and Religion have by Perſecutions. And accordingly, ſuch is the Eſtimate which Chriſtian Prudence makes of them. It dreads them not, as Hindrances; but when call'd by God thereto, looks upon them with a willing and chearful Eye, as fitting Means to ſet on, and moſt proper and advantageous to bring about its own Purpoſes. And the Reaſons why, at ſuch Times Men are ſo much againſt Suffering, is becauſe they look not upon them with Spiritual, but with Carnal Worldly Eyes.

I do not ſeek by this, to make Men fond of Sufferings, or put themſelves upon them before they need to ſuffer, without waiting God's Leiſure. Such raſh and haſty Zeal there was, which produced ill Effects in ſome Confeſſors of the Primitive Church; and which thereupon it ceaſed to countenance, and fell *Canonically* to cenſure and repreſs; forbidding Men to run to ſuffer before God call'd them, or to give the Judges unneceſſary Provocation. But when God ſends Sufferings, as he doth, when there is no keeping of them off, without acting againſt the Rules, Intereſt, or Honour of Religion; I ſay their Maſter and mine is not for having us afraid to ſuffer; or capable of being forced out of our Principles or Duty, to avoid it. Nay, he would be glad to ſee us willing and chearful under the approach, as well as conſtant and reſolute under the preſſure thereof; looking on Perſecutions, as what will do no final Hutt, but do both him and our ſelves the moſt and beſt Service.

For on this Point I would have it obſerved, that *Chriſtianity is a Paſſive Religion, or a Doctrine of the Croſs*. It is a Profeſſion to expect, and to bear Sufferings. Its Author was a Crucified Saviour. He was a Man of Sorrows, and a moſt abſolute Pattern of Patience. And the ſharp Tryals thereof, though they begun in the Head, were not to end there, but to deſcend down to the Members, whom God, in ſuch Meaſure as he ſees fit, *fore-ordains* or *predeſtinates to be conformed to the Image of his Son, viz.* in the Conformity of Suffering, which is the Argument there treated of, *Rom.* viii. 29. A Share of theſe, is left for his Church and Followers; which St. *Paul* calls *the* * *Remainders*, or *what is behind of the Sufferings of Chriſt*, Col. i. 24. Accordingly he † *foretells Sorrows* for his Diſciples, and calls them to bear, and prepare for them. Paſſive Times are what he preſignifies to us; and Paſſive Duties which we are to diſcharge under them, make up a conſiderable part of his Precepts. *If any Man will come after me*, ſays he, *he muſt deny himſelf, and take up his Croſs, and follow me*, Mat. xvi. 24. *Through many Tribulations*, ſay his Apoſtles, *we muſt enter into the Kingdom of God*, Acts xiv. 22. Yea, *all that will live godly in Chriſt Jeſus, ſhall ſuffer Perſecution*, ſaith St. *Paul*, 2 Tim. iii. 12. So that Sufferings and Perſecutions muſt never ſeem ſtrange Things among Chriſtians.

* ὑστερήματα.

† Mat. x. 17, 18, 21, 22, 34, 35, 36. & Joh. xvi. 33.

Indeed, ſometimes through the Goodneſs and Indulgence of God, we have a long Enjoyment of quiet and encouraging Times; and ſo actual Suf-

ferings are greater Strangers to us. But it never is a Stranger to our Profeſſion and Principles; being one of Religion's chief Buſineſſes. And the beſt Souls, and moſt Religious Men, are gone to Heaven that Way, bearing the Croſs before they got the Crown, and ſuffering for *Chriſt* e're they were taken to Reign with him. So went the *Ancient Prophets* and *Worthies*, *ſome ſtopping the Mouths of Lyons, others quenching the violence of Fire; ſome having Tryal of cruel Mockings and Scourgings; yea, moreover, of Bonds and Impriſonments; others wandring about in Sheep-Skins and Goat-Skins, being deſtitute, afflicted, tormented; ſome being ſtoned, others ſawn aſunder, others ſlain with the Sword; others tortured, and not accepting Deliverance*, when proffer'd them *upon their Apoſtacy, that they might obtain a better Reſurrection*, as St. *Paul* ſays, *Heb.* xi. 33, 34, 35, 36, 37. So went alſo, not only *our Bleſſed Lord himſelf*, but his Apoſtles, and the beſt Souls and Saints of the Suffering Ages; who are ſet off as much by their Patience, as by any thing elſe. *I John your Brother and Companion in Tribulation, and in the Kingdom and Patience of Jeſus Chriſt*, ſays St. *John to the Seven Churches*, Rev. i. 9. And as they followed *Chriſt*, ſo muſt we be ready upon Occaſion to follow them; our Calling being, as St. *Paul* notes, *to be Followers of them, who through Faith and Patience inherit the Promiſes*, Heb. vi. 12.

And *profeſſing thus a Paſſive Religion, we ſhould all have Paſſive Spirits.* The *Spirit of Suffering* or *Patience*, is one of our moſt neceſſary Qualifications. The Goſpel which we profeſs, is call'd, as ſometimes the *Word of Faith*; ſo at others, *the Word of Patience. Thou haſt kept the Word of my Patience*, ſaith *Chriſt to the Angel of the Church of Philadelphia*, Rev. iii. 10. And accordingly, the Profeſſors of this Goſpel muſt be ſignaliz'd, and remarkably eminent, as for *the Spirit of Faith*, ſo for *the Spirit of Patience. Your Companion*, ſaith St. *John* of himſelf, *in the Patience of Jeſus*, Rev. i. 9. And *we are Followers of thoſe, who got the Promiſes through Faith and Patience*, as St. *Paul* ſays. And *here*, ſays the *Spirit*, calling on *every one that has an Ear* to attend, *is the Patience and Faith of the Saints*, Rev. xiii. 9, 10. The Scars on his Body, which were the Tryals of his Patience, St. *Paul* calls *the Marks of the Lord Jeſus*, Gal. vi. 17. And the Miſeries and Dangers which he every where underwent for him, he terms *bearing about in his Body the Dying of the Lord Jeſus*, 2 Cor. iv. 10. So that Sufferings for Righteouſneſs, are the Livery and Badge which muſt be wore by his Retainers.

For ingenerating this, I ſhall briefly note ſome *Rules* of Spiritual Prudence.

1. The *Firſt* is, *For Chriſtians to be above this World.* There is no Expectation that any Man ſhould ſuffer much for *Chriſt*, 'till this Foundation is firſt laid. A Man tied to this World, will not give up Worldly Intereſts for a good Conſcience; but, will either violently burſt through all the Ties and Remonſtrances of Conſcience; or artificially blind the Eyes, and corrupt the Senſe thereof, and by ſtudied Salvo's, and nice Diſtinctions, impoſe upon himſelf, 'till he has brought over his Conſcience to his Worldly Convenience. *Whoſoever will be a Friend of the World* in ſuch Caſes, as the Scripture ſays, muſt needs *be the Enemy of God*, Jam. iv. 4. *You cannot ſerve both God and Mammon*, ſaith our Saviour, *Mat.* vi. 24. *If we will be his Diſciples*, he tells us, that we muſt be ready *to leave Houſes and Lands, Fathers and Mothers*, Luk. xiv. 26. Mark x. 29. Till our Hearts ſit looſe to them, they are not like in Tryals to ſtick faſt to him. Theſe ſeem hard Sayings, but they ſhould not ſeem ſtrange among Chriſtians, who have renounced the World at their *Baptiſm*, when they were firſt Liſted under *Jeſus Chriſt*, and profeſs to be Men of another World, not of this. The Sayings are moſt reaſonable in themſelves, and

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eaſy to ſuch diſpoſed Hearers; and fall hard only on Worldly Minds, who have a ſtronger Impreſſion of ſeen than of unſeen Things; and are more influenced by preſent Advantages, than by the Hopes of Religion, and Faith of Eternal Happineſs.

2. Subſervient to this, is another Rule, of *mortifying and not pleaſing our Appetites.* Worldly Loſſes, are like to fall hard on thoſe, who ſeek to live in Eaſe and Pleaſure, and ſtudy Worldly Enjoyments. To accuſtom and indulge our ſelves in theſe, doth mightily corrupt the Mind, and ties it down to Worldly Things. So that a Voluptuous and Luxurious Age, and a Courſe of Eaſe and Fulneſs, is not like to furniſh out many Confeſſors. And therefore Religion, which calls us to ſuffer, diſpoſes us thereto by Mortifications, and bringing down the Body; and Self-Denials, not Self-Pleaſings. If we would prepare our ſelves for *good Soldiers of Jeſus Chriſt*, in trying Days, it muſt be, as St. *Paul* tells *Timothy, by enduring hardneſs*, 2 Tim. ii. 2, 3. *He that ſtriveth*, as the Apoſtle ſays, in reference to the *Heathen Games, is temperate in all Things*; ſuch Perſons always preparing themſelves by a *preſcribed courſe of ſtrict Labours and Abſtinence*, both *from Wine and Pleaſures.* For which purpoſe, adds he, I my ſelf *keep under my Body, and bring it into ſubjection*, 1 Cor. ix. 25, 27. And accordingly, this was the *Method of the Holy Martyrs*, in the Days of Perſecution, to prepare themſelves for Sufferings; not by *Self-ſatisfactions*, but * *by contgruous exerciſe of ſtricter Abſtinence*, or by Auſterities, and afflicting of the Fleſh, as † *Euſebius* ſays of *young Apphian.* This Courſe of *Abſtinences* and *Self-Denials*, will give us Power over our ſelves, when we cannot have it over outward Things; and then our Satisfactions do not ſtand to their Courteſy. We affect, not to have what we like, but always to like what we have, and what God is pleaſed to allot, which is the true Chriſtian Spirit. And he who is of that Mind, is both ſecure againſt Diſcontent, and above the Reach and Power of this World.

* σωφρονικώτερον ἀσκήσεως.

† De Mart. Paleſt. c. 4. p. 323.

3. As a further Help, after we have thus pared off the Pleaſures, it will be a ſerviceable piece of Wiſdom to this Purpoſe, *by a virtuous Frugality and Providence, to prevent Straits and Neceſſities of this World.* Worldly Loſſes can never ſeize us at more Diſadvantage, than when we have before unwarily run our ſelves into Worldly Neceſſities, which render us as the more unprovided to bear, ſo the more loth to fall under them. And therefore it is, as a great Point of Wiſdom at all Times, ſo eſpecially a Preparation for Sufferings, for all good Chriſtians carefully to live within the compaſs of their Fortunes. Not to ſpend upon Hopes and Expectancies, or live upon Things before they come to poſſeſs them, or to live to the utmoſt of their Incomes, which will be the ready way to go beyond them; or, by any Extravagance and ſuperfluous Expences, throw themſelves into Debts and Worldly Difficulties; which muſt needs make the Voice of Worldly Loſſes, of parting with Lands, or Livelyhoods, more unwelcome, and a greater Tryal, even to an honeſt and well-diſpoſed Mind.

Theſe Suffering Spirits thus prepared, are now, God knows, much out of Vogue amongſt us. Chriſtians were once moſt eminent and diſtinguiſhable by Paſſive Virtues, and as a ſuffering Generation. But now, a ſoft and delicate Spirit is come in Place thereof, and the Generality had rather Sin than Suffer, and inſtead of chearfully taking up the Croſs, and bearing it themſelves, are for any way that will tranſfer it, and lay it with Triumph upon their Perſecutors; and are all for being known, not as a Suffering, but as a Secularly Thriving ſort of Men. This is a ſad Caſe, and lamentable Conſequences it produces. For this want of Paſſive Spirits, and abhorrence of the Croſs, is the Root of all the Ill, and the true Cauſe of all the foregoing wicked Devices, and Ungodly Rules of the Wiſdom of the Fleſh; and that, which in trying Times, makes our Carriage ſo unlike that

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of our Saviour *Chriſt*, and of the Primitive Chriſtians. But as the Power of Chriſtianity revives, this ſuffering Spirit will be retrieved among Chriſtians. And they who profeſs a *Doctrine of the Croſs*, will have *Spirits to bear* and *take up Croſſes*, whenſoever they lie in the Way of Religion, or of a Righteous Cauſe.

But now, moſt oppoſite to this, is the *Wiſdom of this World*. To be wiſe for this World, is to be ſo wiſe, as to keep it. And not to ſuffer the Loſs of the Good Things thereof, ſo long as any Compliance can avoid loſing. The Wiſdom of the Fleſh can believe no Good in Fleſhly Sufferings, but only in Fleſhly Enjoyments. And therefore on any Occaſion, it is ready to give up a Good Conſcience for Carnal Eaſe; to comply in what is required, tho' very unrighteous, to ſave it ſelf; and to break any Duty, even what it holds faſteſt, and has profeſſed higheſt, rather than, as the Phraſe of ſome at ſuch Times is, to be undone for it.

CHAP. XI.

Of Spiritual Prudence, chuſing Seaſons, and tempering to Circumſtances.

HAving hitherto inſiſted on Chriſtian Prudence, as it lies *in ſeeing and following Right Ends of Religion, and purſuing them only by fit and Chriſtian Ways*: I proceed now to ſhew in the

2. Place, Another Part of this Prudence in *Execution thereof*, viz. *in taking for theſe Purſuits, the moſt Advantageous Seaſons, in tempering them to Circumſtances, and in ſhewing Caution to prevent Harm thereby, or ill Conſequences*: All theſe Parts of Care about Right Executions, as well as the former about Right Ends and Ways, are likewiſe neceſſary Requiſites of Prudence, which is not only for doing a Good Thing, but for doing it Well and Wiſely. And Chriſtianity is for Ruling this Part of Prudence by the Laws of *Chriſt*, and lays on us ſundry Reſtraints, which, in this Matter, are eaſily and ordinarily broke through by the Worldly Wiſe.

1. *Firſt*, In the Execution of our Purpoſes, by the Ways aforeſaid *Chriſtian Prudence is for taking the moſt Advantageous Seaſons.*

To every Thing, and to every Purpoſe, as the Wiſe Man ſays, *there is a Seaſon*, Eccleſ. iii. 1. And every Thing is both moſt eaſy to effect, and moſt beneficial and beautiful when it is effected, in its Seaſon. *He hath made every thing beautiful in its Time*, Eccleſ. iii. 11. And *a word fitly ſpoken*, or in its Seaſon, *is like Apples of Gold in Pictures of Silver*, ſays *Solomon*, Prov. xxv. 11. 'Tis the Work of Prudence to ſee theſe Seaſons, or to diſcern Opportunities and take them. A Fool ſtill ſlips his Opportunities, and ſees them not; but *a wiſe Man's Heart diſcerns both Time and Judgment*, Eccleſ. viii. 5. *His Eyes*, ſays he again, *are in his Head*, to look before him, and round about, or to eſpy both what to do, and when, *Eccleſ.* ii. 14. And this is one Part of that *Circumſpection*, or *walking circumſpectly*, which the Scripture calls upon us to uſe, that we may appear to act, *not as Fools, but as Wiſe*, Eph. v. 15. For that *Circumſpection*, or looking about us, is, as for the moſt commodious Ways, ſo for the fitteſt Times and beſt Opportunities, of performing Actions, or bringing about any Buſineſs. And as the Prudence of Worldly Men is ſhewn in taking their

beſt Opportunities, for the Things of this Life: So muſt the Prudence of Chriſtians be ſhewn in a commodious Timeing, and watching the moſt Advantageous Seaſons, for what they do in Care of their Souls, and in Service or Honour of *Chriſt Jeſus.*

But here Care muſt be taken, *in determining what are Good Seaſons for Religious Actions,* either Profeſſions of ſome Points of Faith, or Practice of ſome Duties. Of this there is the more Danger, becauſe Religion ſays one Thing, and Fleſh and Blood ſays another in this Matter. So that when Spiritual Prudence, which minds Religion, ſays one Time is a Good Seaſon for ſuch a Profeſſion or Practice; Worldly Prudence, which minds outward Eaſe, will often cry, they are moſt unſeaſonable. But Chriſtian Prudence muſt not take its Seaſons from the Serviceableneſs of any Duty to Worldly Purpoſes, but to its own Ends.

To prevent our ſetting aſide any Duty as *out of Seaſon,* at the Suggeſtion of Carnal Wiſdom, when, indeed, we have an obliging Call and Seaſon to diſcharge them, I ſhall note theſe Things following.

1. *Firſt,* In determining the Seaſonableneſs or Unſeaſonableneſs, of profeſſing any neceſſary Truths of *Chriſt,* or practiſing any Chriſtian Duties; we muſt not ſay, *there is no Seaſon for ſuch Practice or Profeſſion, when there is Hazard in them.* This, indeed, is the way of Worldly Wiſdom, which thinks Suffering in this World to be ſeaſonable at no Time, and ſo accounts perſecuted Suffering Duties, to be ever out of Seaſon. To call for the Fruits of Righteouſneſs or Morality, when 'tis Loſs of Power, or of Place, of Goods, or, it may be, of Life it ſelf, to produce them; it looks upon, as a moſt unreaſonable and unskilful miſ-timeing of Things: As bad, as to come to the Trees to gather Fruit in the Spring, e're 'tis put forth; or in the Depth of Winter, when both Fruit and Leaves are fallen off long before. The only Seaſon it owns of doing them, is when it is like to do it ſelf no Worldly Hurt thereby; but when they bring Suffering, it cries out, This is no Time to talk of them.

But this is to rate the Seaſons for Spiritual Duties, not by Ends of Virtue and Religion, or the Advancement and Honour thereof, which are Spiritual Conſiderations; but only by preſent Intereſt and Security, which are Worldly Motives, and lye ever cloſeſt to a Worldly Mind. It is to make the Duties of our Religion not to be Duties at all Times. As if the Truths thereof were not to be profeſſed, or the Laws practiſed, when we are called to ſuffer; but only when in Worldly Account we are like to get, or at leaſt, to ſave by them. But theſe Men never conſider, that Chriſtianity, as I obſerved before, is a *Doctrine of the Croſs,* or a Suffering Religion; all the Truths whereof were publiſhed, and its Duties preſcribed, not for a Thriving, but for a Suffering Time. Inſtead of excepting them, it was calculated for Days of Perſecution; ſince in ſuch it enter'd and begun, in ſuch it got footing, and daily maintained and enlarged what it had got among Men. All its Duties look for their Reward in another World; and ſo muſt be duly obſerved, when they draw after them the greateſt Dangers or Loſſes in this World. Perſecution, tho' tis no good Seaſon for getting or keeping any Worldly Goods, by Diſcharge of Duties; yet is as good as any, nay, better than others, for getting Heaven thereby. Though 'tis no Seaſon to ſerve Fleſh and Blood, 'tis the propereſt Seaſon to ſerve Truth and Virtue; which are then moſt eſpecially to be defended by us, when others attack them; and to be own'd by their ſtedfaſt Friends, when their Enemies explode, and their own Dependants are ready to deſert them. And theſe being the Ends of Spiritual Prudence, inſtead of eſteeming Perſecutions, which conduce ſo much thereto, as unſeaſonable for Chriſtian Duties, it accounts them, as I have before ſhewn, the moſt obliging and advantageous Seaſons.

2. *Secondly*, We muſt not ſay there is no Seaſon for Chriſtian Duties, *when there is no worldly Appearance of doing good by diſcharging them.* This is uſually taken up by worldly Wiſdom, when any neceſſary Truth or Virtue is born down with a Torrent. They ſay, it is in vain for the Servants and Profeſſors thereof to practiſe or appear for it; which would be only to oppoſe their ſingle ſelves againſt an Hoſt, and to endeavour by their own Strength to ſtem a Tide, when the Courſe thereof is moſt violent, and drives away all before it. This, they think, is only to deſtroy themſelves, without doing their Duty any good; which, however it may be pitiable as well intended, yet (ſay they) is not commendable, as being a Service altogether miſ-timed and moſt imprudent.

But here Men ſhould conſider, that their Obligation to profeſs the neceſſary Truths, or perform the Laws of God as they are call'd to them, is not only for their Serviceableneſs as an Expedient, but for their own Sakes. In free and diſcretionary Things, indeed, Men are to look to the Uſefulneſs, and to go according to the Probability of doing good therewith. But in the neceſſary Truths and Laws of Chriſtianity, which are bounden Duty towards God, there Duty its ſelf is their End; and they have enough to engage them to any Act, without looking further, if they do their Duty therein. They are not left here to Prudence, or to do it or let it alone as they ſee Cauſe; but are bound in Conſcience to do the Thing; and if thereby they are like to do no more, yet is the keeping of the Commandment it ſelf, or the doing of their Duty, a ſufficient Purpoſe.

Beſides, when Men are doing their Duty, tho' there is little Appearance of any Effect on others, yet will it be like to do more Good among them than they are apt to think, or are aware of. For when they have diſcharged their Part by doing of their Duty, God will manage it as to Events, and make it turn to more Uſe (for the Ends of Religion and his own Glory) than they ever dream'd of. It is then out of their Hands and Care, and in the Hands of Providence; which will thereby ſtop ſome from being Ill, and others (who are Ill already) from going on without Check and Remorſe, and growing worſe. Truth and Goodneſs, tho' ordinarily driven out thence by Prejudice, Intereſt, and vile Affections, are moſt natural and near akin to all our Souls, and ſo have a ſecret Hank upon us, and a hidden Friend that lurks in all our Boſoms. And this the Providence and Spirit of God ſtrikes upon, by our Profeſſion or Practice thereof before their Eyes; operating thereby on ſome at this Time, and on others at that; on ſome more, on others leſs, according to his own good Pleaſure, and their Prediſpoſitions: So working much good, and many bleſſed Effects that paſs betwixt himſelf and them, whilſt we are inſenſible of any, and think of nothing leſs. Our free Practice and Profeſſion, at ſuch Times as he requires and calls for them, (but worldly Men ſay, we ſhall do no good with them) he uſes to encourage and ſtrengthen the Hands of the ſtrong, to eſtabliſh the wavering, to call back the ſtray'd Sheep, and to lift up thoſe that fall; to work Remorſe in its Deſerters, and Fear and Faintneſs in its Perſecutors; to retrieve a Truth, or Duty, when to Human Eyes 'tis almoſt loſt; and to beget anew a Reſpect and Reverence for it, when it was all in Diſgrace, and ſeemingly quite exploded. The Practice of a right good Thing, tho' but by a very few, will quickly draw in more. (*a*) *Tho' only Ten among us ſhould appear for doing a Duty*, ſays St. *Chryſoſtom*, *yet would theſe Ten quickly be made Twenty, thoſe Twenty*

(*a*) Καὶ δὲ Δέκα ἐν ἡμῖν κατορθώσωσι μόνον, &c. Chryſ. Orat. 441. Statuarum 6. Quod utilis ſit Principum Timor. *Ed. Av. Tom.* 6. p. 509.

Fifty, that Fifty an Hundred, that Hundred a Thouſand, and that Thouſand the whole City. And as by lighting up of Ten Candles, a Man may eaſily fill all the whole Houſe with Light; ſo alſo in the Spiritual Good Deeds, if only Ten of us do our Duty, we ſhall kindle one entire Flame thro' the City, yielding Light to them, and bringing Security to us. For the Nature of Flame it ſelf, when fallen on combuſtible Matter, is not ſo ſure to kindle ſtill, and ſeize the Wood that lies next to it; as the Zeal of Virtue fallen into a few Souls, is, by going on, and ſtill inflaming more, to fill the whole City.

Thus doth God, when we put it into his Conduct, do great Good, and accompliſh great Effects, by our Diſcharge of our Duty, when we thought nothing could be hoped from thence. Thus in all Times he has done, and daily ſtill doth, and will do in the World: The Experience of all Ages, and the Succeſsfulneſs of Generous and Brave Aſſertors of ſeemingly deſtitute and unfriended Virtue, frequently witneſſing on that ſide. And in Confidence of this, or however if that ſhould fail, in Diſcharge of their own good Conſcience, good Men in all Times have been careful ſtill to confeſs the Truths of God, and do their own Duty, when there were the feweſt that ſeemed capable of being thereby wrought upon, and they had none to ſtand by them; but ſtrove altogether againſt the Stream, having the whole World to oppoſe them. As, *Noah wrought Righteouſneſs*; *Elias* was *zealous for the true God*; *Jeremy* was an Aſſertor of his Mind and Precepts; and many other *Holy Men and Prophets*, yea, our *Bleſſed Lord* and his *Apoſtles*, were the undaunted Preachers and Practiſers of decried Godlineſs, in the moſt degenerate, deriding, and perſecuting Ages, when they ſeem'd to have the feweſt prepared Hearers or Spectators; all many times appearing ready to contradict, and few (or ſometimes none) to ſtand by and back them, as I formerly noted.

3. *Thirdly*, We muſt not ſay Chriſtian Duties are unſeaſonable, when *they do not ſuit with ſome Deſigns which are carrying on, or are againſt ſome ſeeming and much deſired Good of Church or State.* This is the way of worldly Wiſdom, which, when any Truths or Duties hinder ſome worldly Good which they are purſuing for Religion or the Kingdom, bids the Profeſſors thereof to keep their Practice and Profeſſions of them for ſome fitter Time. If theſe are Truths and Duties, ſay they at ſuch Times, let them give way to Publick Good, and the Advancement of true Religion, which are of more Importance. And let thoſe that believe them take care, whilſt they embrace theſe, to approve themſelves withal as good Members of the Publick, whereof they all receive the Benefit; by ſeeking and ſetting on, not retarding or obſtructing the Good of Church or Commonwealth. You may ſhew your Care of them, will they ſuggeſt, when it will be as a good, ſo a wiſe and prudent Care, and hinder no greater Thing: But never bring them in Play now, to ſtop the great, and much, and generally wiſh'd-for Good that is going on. For this is a critical Time for it; and if this Opportunity is over-paſs'd, the like may never return again.

But are not we all Diſciples of *Chriſt*, and Profeſſors of Religion, as well as Members of a ſettled Church and Kingdom? And muſt we not firſt take care to acquit our ſelves as good Chriſtians, before we ſeek how to ſhew our ſelves good Stateſmen and Politicians? Is it not our Profeſſion, to be more for another World than for this? And may ſuch Profeſſors go out of the way of being happy there, when that ſerves to make themſelves more happy here? A good Chriſtian muſt never be wanting to his own Duty, or go beyond it, to do good to any, nay, even to a whole Nation: And ſo muſt never think of ſetting aſide the Seaſon for diſcharging his Duty, for a Seaſon of ſerving of the Church or Nation. He muſt never ſlip the Sea-

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ſon of ſhewing himſelf good, for a Seaſon of making himſelf or others ſecularly fortunate; or the Seaſon of practiſing and profeſſing as the Servant of Chriſt, for the Seaſon of ſerving any Intereſt or Condition, tho' never ſo great and publick in this World. There is *no doing Evil, that Good may come*; Good publick, or Good private; as I have ſhewed before.

Beſides, 'tis not for a good Man to think of doing good to a Church or Nation by Evil-doing. The greateſt Good to them, in his Opinion, is to engage God for them; and that muſt be, by keeping his Commandments, and practiſing and profeſſing them as we have Opportunity; but never breaking them, or ſetting them aſide to make uſe of ſome worldly Opportunity. If we would do good to Church or State, to do this wiſely, we muſt do it under God, not by ſetting up againſt him. So that we muſt not throw out his Service as an unſeaſonable Thing, when an Opportunity is offer'd us to ſerve the Publick, by refuſing to ſerve him when he calls. The Thoughts of doing Good, *i. e.* Temporal Good, or that of outward Settlement to the Publick, is not a Virtue but a Temptation, if that Good is not to be compaſſed but by Breach of Duty, or by Omiſſion thereof, when we are call'd by him to diſcharge it. And the doing it that way, is endeavouring to be wiſe againſt God, and ſetting up Policy againſt Religion; which, if God muſt give Succeſs, is not like to ſpeed, or in the Event to procure Good to them.

Near akin to this, is, *Thinking it no Seaſon to condemn and fault Things, as we did whilſt they ſerved others, when they come to ſerve our ſelves.* This is the Way of this World, if not to commend, yet to connive at any Error or Wickedneſs, whilſt it gets by it. It is pleaſed, if not with the Wickedneſs, yet with the Advantage; and had rather bear the Sin for the Profit, than want and condemn the Profit for the Sin's Sake. So that it will not open its Mouth againſt Errors whilſt 'tis getting, or againſt Sins and Breach of Duty, whilſt 'tis ſerved by them; being not ſo much offended with their Falſeneſs or Wickedneſs, as pleaſed with their Uſefulneſs or Convenience. Tho' moſt loud at others, it is ſilent then; and would have others too to be ſilent, and not cry out againſt them at ſuch Times. And this is mere Wiſdom of this World, or being wiſe for worldly Things; which lies in getting or taking worldly Advantages, however they come by them; and can brook what Religion moſt abhors, whilſt it brings in what Fleſh and Blood beſt approves. Which plainly ſhews, that a Man has not ſo much of Religion, as of this World, and Self-Deſign; nor is acted ſo much by Conſcience, as Convenience.

Thus muſt we be careful, that the Pretence of Unſeaſonableneſs do not carry us to ſmother our Belief of any Truth, or our Practice of any Duty, when God calls us to ſhew them forth; on any Pretence of *Hazard to our ſelves, of Unprofitableneſs to Religion, or our Neighbours, or of their being an Hindrance to any Good that doth come in to our ſelves, or is ſought to be brought about for the Church or State.*

The Truth is, in Points of direct and expreſs Duty, the Part of Prudence lies more *in Sight and Diſcerning of Seaſons, than in Choice of them.* In Matters which are not of direct and determinate Obligation, there is more Room for Diſcretion in the timeing of them, and in reſolving both whether and when to do them. For free Things, which are not determined by the Law of God, or that are not directly enjoin'd, but may indirectly (ſome more, and ſome leſs) be ſerviceable to, and promotive of that which is, or that are free and undetermined Expreſſions and Inſtances of General Laws; ſuch free Things, I ſay, and Free-will Offerings, are moſt properly Matter of Prudence, being left to Prudence, and not determinately bound on Conſcience. And in theſe there is a proper Choice of Seaſons,

Seaſons, which Men may embrace or let ſlip; either doing that Thing or another, now or at another Time, as they ſee Cauſe.

But in Things expreſly required by God, and Points of direct Duty, there is not the like Choice of Seaſons, or Room for Diſcretion. For whenſoever God calls us to them, and they are put upon us, either by the Authority of Superiors, or by any Occaſion with our Neighbours, or other juſt Call of Providence giving us Opportunity for them; or perhaps laying us under a Neceſſity, either of profeſſing or diſſembling them, or of practiſing them or what is repugnant to them: We are then under a Neceſſity and Obligation of diſcharging them, and have no Liberty to let them alone. For Mattters of expreſs Duty we are bound to perform, as oft as God calls us to perform them: Whenſoever he calls, we have no Power to refuſe. And this Call is by his Providence, as that brings us under Opportunities, and puts us upon practiſing or declaring our ſelves: And what Time Providence ſhall allot and fix on for theſe, is at God's Choice, not at ours. He is free, when he ſees beſt, to give the Calls; but when once he doth, we are under his Command, and never free to ſet them aſide, or refuſe Obedience. So that our Part is only a Duty and Neceſſity, to ſee and embrace the Seaſons which he chuſes; and God's Part is, to have the Liberty and diſcretionary Power to chuſe them: And therefore the Wiſdom and Prudence to be ſhewn in Choice of theſe Seaſons, is God's Wiſdom, and not ours. His Providence takes care of that; and 'tis a wiſe Providence, which never calls us to the Profeſſion of neceſſary Truths, or to the Practice of neceſſary Duties, but at wiſe and fitting Seaſons, which beſt fit his Purpoſes, tho' they leaſt fit ours. So that whenſoever he calls us to them, we are eaſed of that Care of deliberating about the Seaſonableneſs of them. In free Things, we are left to chuſe the Seaſons our ſelves, and may let go a worſe in Hopes of a better: But in neceſſary and bounden Duties, God's Call muſt always be our Seaſon; and we are only to diſcern and take it, not left to chuſe and deliberate upon it; God having already made that Choice to our Hands.

2. *Secondly*, In Execution of our Purpoſes, Chriſtian Prudence is for *tempering what we do to Circumſtances*; *i. e.* for conſidering Place, and Perſons, and Inſtruments, and Manner of acting, and the like; and ſo to ſuit all, as may beſt ſerve our Deſign, and ſet off the Thing done, ſo as may give us moſt Help and Advantage from all, and leaſt Hurt or Hindrance from any of them. This Attention to Circumſtances, is that *Circumſpection* which is ſo much ſpoken of, and is implied in Prudence; which St. *Paul* calls for, when he exhorts the *Epheſians* to *walk not as fools, but as wiſe*, as I noted before, *Eph.* v. 15. *Walk in Wiſdom*, ſays he again to the *Coloſſians*, *towards them that are without*; calling them to ſuch Prudence in their Carriage towards them, and in what they did before them, as conſider'd the Principles and Diſpoſitions of thoſe whom they converſed with, *Col.* iv. 5. *Let your Speech*, ſays he in that Place, *be with Grace, and ſeaſoned with Salt*; *i. e.* ſavoury and prudent, and ſo ſeaſon'd and temper'd on every Occaſion, as if moſt fit; *that ye may know how ye ought to anſwer every Man*, or to give each ſuch an Anſwer as may be proper for him, and the Occaſion, *v.* 6. This tempering what we do to Circumſtances, and diſtinguiſhing of Perſons and Places, and the like, is a great Point of Prudence: And Chriſtians, in their way, muſt take care (as they are able) to adorn themſelves therewith, as well as others; endeavouring, when they do their Duty, to temper themſelves ſo towards all, neglecting or deſpiſing none, that the Good they do may be beſt received, and win moſt upon the Minds of Men, and give the leaſt Offence to them. And when they do any Things more free and diſcretionary, for the Honour or Intereſt of Vir-

tue or Religion, or for any other good Deſign ; that they ſo moderate and order the Things they preſs, as will be beſt bore by Perſons and Places, as may get them moſt or beſt Friends, or feweſt and fainteſt Oppoſers ; as may afford moſt Eaſe and Succeſs to them in compaſſing their Deſigns, and moſt Fruit and Effect (both to themſelves, and the good Deſigns which they carried on) when they have compaſſed them.

There is Place for this wiſe tempering themſelves to Circumſtances, not only in theſe free Things, which are Matters of Prudence, but alſo in doing their bounden Duty, which is Matter of Conſcience : Not ſo tempering themſelves to Places or Perſons, Ends or Inſtruments, as to *let their Duty alone, when the mere doing thereof will diſtemper and diſturb them* ; but tempering themſelves in all that is extrinſecal about it, and in the Manner of doing it ; that bating what the Duty it ſelf doth, which ought to be done, nothing annexed to it, or in the Manner of doing it, ſhall give them any unneceſſary Provocation. It need not be done, for inſtance, with Bitterneſs and Fierceneſs of Spirit, when a milder Way, and being more gently and compaſſionably offer'd, would be like to be more eaſily welcomed, and take more Effect. It need not come with Accuſations, and Invectives againſt others ; when it would be more heeded, and operate higher in the way of opening our own Conſciences. It need not come tacked to any other Things which are more diſpleaſing, when it may enter better by it ſelf alone. In theſe and the like Matters, to temper, not our Duty, which we cannot mince or alter, but our ſelves, and our Manner of expreſſing it, which we may alter to Circumſtances ; is much for the Advantage both of it, and of our ſelves ; and is no more but that Caution which *Chriſt* call'd his Diſciples to, when, in their free Profeſſion of perſecuted Duties, he bid them withal *beware of Men* ; and when *they were ſent forth as Sheep among Wolves*, tho' they ſhould undauntedly deliver the Meſſage they were charged with, yet to be *as harmleſs as Doves* ; which, beſides what their Duty it ſelf did, would give thoſe Wolves no unneceſſary Provocations, *Matth.* x. 16, 17.

But if worldly Wiſdom comes to temper the doing of our Duty to Places and Perſons, *it will ſo temper it, as at any time to give it up for our external Quiet.* It will take ſo much as will go down, and throw aſide the reſt ; and anſwer all, by ſaying, The Times or Affairs, the Places or Perſons would not bear it. To prevent ſuch tempering of Duty to Circumſtances, therefore, for our own Quiet, as would be an impairing or Breach of Duty, I ſhall give theſe following Cautions in this Point.

1. This tempering of our ſelves to Circumſtances in the doing of our Duty, is *never by omitting any Duty*, as I ſaid, *when God calls for it* ; *but only by tempering our own Manner of Performance*, ſo as beſt ſuits the preſent Circumſtance, and may give the leaſt Offence. The Chriſtians, for inſtance, would temper their *Devotions* to the Circumſtances of perſecuted Men in the firſt Ages ; *not by letting thoſe Devotions fall*, but by *Praying*, and *Communicating in the Night, in the Deſart, in cloſe Meetings*, when they could not with Safety do it openly and in Publick, *for fear of the* Jews and *Heathens*. They temper'd themſelves at *Jeruſalem* to a Time of Diſtreſs and *Confiſcations, for the Profeſſion of Chriſtianity* ; not by concealing or denying their Sect and Profeſſion, but by * *Selling their Lands and Houſes, and putting it into a common Stock* ; that ſo when their own Eſtates were ſeized on for owning the Chriſtian Name, the Church might have wherewithal to relieve them. St. *Paul* and the other Apoſtles were ſent out to *preach the Goſpel*, to a prepoſſeſſed, incenſed, and ſpiteful World, *as ſo many Sheep in the midſt of Wolves*, as our Lord ſays. And they temper'd themſelves to theſe Men and Times, not by letting fall their Preaching, or *keeping back any Part of the Counſel of God* ; not that of *the Croſs of Chriſt*,

* Acts iv. 34, 35. & ii. 44, 45.

* 1 Cor. i. 23. *Chriſt*, which gave the moſt Offence, being * *to the* Jews *a Stumbling-block, and to the* Gentiles *Fooliſhneſs* ; nor any juſt Reproof of Idolatry and Superſtition, ſo irkſome to the *Heathen* ; nor any of the elevated Duties of Morality and Godlineſs, which were ſo very diſguſting to the Luſts of Men, or the like ; but by delivering theſe Things in Fairneſs and Tenderneſs, without giving any more Offence than would unavoidably be taken at the Things themſelves : *Becoming all Things to all Men*, as St. *Paul* ſays, *that they might* by all means *gain ſome*, 1 Cor. ix. 22.

The *Exerciſe of Diſcipline*, indeed, was more a Matter of Prudence and Diſcretion : And therefore in Rules thereof, they would temper to the State of the Church ; ſometimes preſſing, and ſometimes ſuſpending, now executing, and then omitting them, as the Place and Time would bear, and as might beſt ſuit the Circumſtances of thoſe whom they had to do with. But in Matters of Duty, which are not at the Liberty of Diſcretion, but under neceſſary Obligation, they never temper'd that to any Perſons, Place, or other Circumſtances, by omitting it. They never ſmother'd it, when they were call'd to profeſs it ; nor omitted it, or did the contrary, when call'd to the Performance thereof. Their Prudence in tempering themſelves to Circumſtances in Points of Duty, was by tempering themſelves thereto, whilſt they did their Duty ; never whilſt they let it alone, or acted contrary. Theirs was a Godly Prudence, or a Wiſdom twiſted evermore with Virtue, and Circumſpection never ſeparate from Innocence. When they put on the *Subtilty* and Circumſpection *of Serpents*, they put on withal (according to our Saviour's Order) *the Innocence of Doves* ; or look'd about them to take care for their Duty, before they look'd about to take care for themſelves.

Not as the worldly-wiſe, who will temper away their Duty, to compound for their outward Peace and Enjoyments. Tho' it be to be done at other Times, it is not to be done, ſay they, in our Circumſtances. That is, If it is like to loſe our Friends, or give Opportunity to our Enemies to pull us down, and ſet up themſelves ; if it ſuits not with the Minds of Men, or the State of Affairs ; with the ſeeming Safety of Mens Perſons, of Religion, Laws, or Liberties. Such Circumſtances it makes a Ground to ſet aſide Duties, not only to temper us in the Diſcharge thereof. Inſtead of tempering the full Diſcharge of Duty with Prudence, it thinks it Prudence then to throw it quite off, and allow it no Obſervance, or Diſcharge at all.

2. This Tempering to Circumſtances muſt not be, *by abating of Moral Duties, to comply with worldly Neceſſities and Convenience.* This is the Way of the Worldly-wiſe, where they do not throw off all, to pare away Part of the Obligation ; and to perform no more than may be tolerably ſuitable in their preſent Circumſtances, and than the Fleſh will conſent to.

They will urge the Circumſtance of the *Perſon.* Another Man, ſay they, might diſcharge the Duty more fully in this Caſe : But as for me, Men muſt conſider my Relation, how I am join'd in Affinity or Blood; my Obligations, how great Favours I have received ; or the Neceſſity of my Condition, and my Dependance for Support or Intereſt, on thoſe who are warm and zealous for another way. So that it is not to be expected from me, that I ſhould keep ſo fully and invariably to the Duty, as another Perſon of more eaſy and agreeing Relations, Obligations and Dependance may do.

And the Circumſtance of the *Place.* Were I in a Place, ſays a Mind that retains too much of this World, where this or that Duty would go down, where the due Diſcharge of it would be like to be quietly received, or where the Minds of Men were any ways impreſſible, to give ſome Appearance of its doing good upon them, much more Fidelity might be ſhewn there-

therein. But I live where the Spirits of Men are in a Ferment, where the Duty is generally decried, or bitterly persecuted, and the Practice thereof (instead of procuring any Religious Regard from the Beholders) provokes only their Outrage against the Practisers thereof: So I am forced to sail as near the Wind as I can, that I may not endeavour both against Wind and Stream. I omit what will not be endured, and practise what will; and this merely to content the People, as forced on by the Press of a Crowd; one Man being unable to withstand a whole Multitude.

And the Circumstance of the *Instruments* or *Auxiliaries*. Tho' they would discharge the Duty fully, were they left to themselves; yet now they are upon Designs, and must consider not only what will pass with themselves but with their Complices, they must keep in with their Human Succours; and therefore they must abate of their Religious Duties, lest standing too stiffly and inflexibly for them, they disoblige and lose their Patrons or Auxiliaries. It is well, say they, if by a Man so linked in, some Part can be performed, whilst some Part is abated. Some Part must be yielded, to gratify their Interests, or their Principles; some to keep those of a wrong, and some to keep the loose and immoral, or those of no Religion.

And the Circumstance of the *End*. They would, as please God in the Duty, so profit his Church thereby. And a Duty happens at some time, not to suit the Interest of their Party in Religion. If they will abate or infringe it, they may set up or keep up themselves; but if still they will faithfully discharge it as they ought, in all appearance they must become subject, and truckle under others. To deduct something in the present Circumstance, is most safe or serviceable for that Party of Christians whom they espouse, which they call God's Church: And in this Strait, they think they should not be censured, if they practise so much as is serviceable, and lay the rest aside.

And the Circumstance of the *Time*, admitting no Season for the full Practice of any Duties, or Profession of any Truths when there is Hazard in them, or no Probability of doing good by them; or they are like to be impeditive of some designed Good, or much desired Settlement, to Church or State; of which I spoke before.

Thus is worldly Wisdom for making bold with its Duty, to save its worldly Concerns; and for tempering Duty to the present Circumstances, by abating it, and by parting with so much thereof when it retains the rest, as (all its Circumstances consider'd) shall make it draw least Inconvenience after it from any of them. Which is nothing else but setting up this World above Almighty God, and our own Convenience above his Ways: Whereby, however we may promise our selves to pass for worldly-wise, we shall be sure to appear ill Christians; as I think is clear enough from the *foregoing Chapters*.

I speak not this of abating in Discharge of our Duty thus to Circumstances, *where Circumstances really make Abatements*. I know there is not so much due from us in some Circumstances, as there is in others: For some Circumstances are Incapacities; and these abate so far, and so long, as they incapacitate. * *No Man*, says the Moral Rule, *is tied to Impossibilities*. And therefore, where we owe never so much Duty, we are not bound to an actual Exercise and Discharge thereof, whilst we are not in a Capacity to discharge it. So far as it is providentially out of our Power, and so long as it is so, our actual Discharge thereof is under a Suspension; till by degrees it come to be in our Power again, which always brings back with it a like gradual Return of our Obligation. But I speak of their tempering their Duty in these Abatements to Circumstances of worldly Convenience, where there is the same State and Foundation of their Religious

* Impossibilium nulla est obligatio.

Obligations, as at other Times. We muſt not abate our Duties, whoſe Ground and Obligation is ſtill the ſame, and which we have Power and Opportunity to practiſe, if we dare run Hazards, and ſuſtain Inconveniences and Loſſes for them; to temper them to the external Eaſe and Convenience of Place, or Perſons, or other preſent Circumſtances: Which is not to reſpect the Obligation of Circumſtances in this Tempering, but only the fleſhly Eaſe, Convenience, and Advantage of them.

3. This Tempering to Circumſtances, *muſt lie only in our not unneceſſarily provoking Men, whilſt we do no ill our ſelves; not in our carrying on the unreaſonable or ungodly Wills of others.* It is one Thing to temper our ſelves to the Neceſſities of Things; another, to the Luſts or Vices of Perſons: One Thing, to ſuit their innocent Wants or Ways; another, to ſet on their Wickedneſs. This is to * *have Fellowſhip with the Works of Darkneſs*; to † *partake of other Mens Sins*, and ſin along with them for Company. So that we muſt never talk of tempering our ſelves to Circumſtances, by putting our ſelves into other Mens ill Circumſtances, or by complying in any ungodly or ill Things. If ill Things then are driven on by the Violence and Preſs of People, or the Power of Rulers; if all ſeem to conſpire together, and combine to oppreſs an innocent Perſon, or to explode an excellent and good Thing; to pull down what is right, and ſet up what is wrong; to ſeek Safety by what is ſinful, or Publick Good (either of Church or State) by doing evil; it muſt not be thought any Part of our Prudence, to temper our ſelves to their ungodly Wills by Compliance; by ſtriking in and countenancing, by being or ſeeming to be for them; by crying up, or carrying on, or going along therewith. If we would ſeek to be truly good, rather than falſly to appear wiſe; Religion is not for ſuch Ebbs and Flows, for being faſt and looſe with virtuous or vicious Things, as the Motion of the *Mobile*, or Courſe and Humour of the Time is. It is firm and ſtanch, and always true to God and to it ſelf: Not to be uſed (or laid aſide) as Men pleaſe, and made to bend in all the Turns and Flexures of their Humours or Vices.

* Eph. v. 11.
† Eph. v. 7.
1 Tim. v. 22.
2 Joh. 11.

CHAP. XII.

Of Caution in preventing Harm by any Duties: And of Flight in Perſecutions.

3. *Thirdly* and laſtly, In Execution of our Purpoſes, *Spiritual Prudence is for ſhewing Caution, to prevent Harm thereby, or ill Conſequences.*

This is a great Part of Prudence, to ſhew Providence, or foreſee Things before they are come to paſs; and, as far as depends on us, to prepare againſt (or put by) the Ill, and make the moſt of the Good that is in them. *A Prudent Man foreſeeth the Evil*, ſays *Solomon*, *and hideth himſelf*, or withdraws from it; *but the Simple*, without Foreſight, *paſs on to meet it, and are puniſh'd*, Prov. xxii. 3. It conſiſts much in Caution and Warineſs, looking about how it may beſt eſcape or remove Impediments, and avoid hurtful and ill Conſequences; which is the great Proof of Prudence among Men; the Wiſe aiming at it, and the Generality eſtimating the Prudence of any Counſel or Management, by the Abſence of ill Events, and the Proſperity or Succeſsfulneſs thereof.

Now

Now this Caution our Lord calls for alſo from his Servants, as what muſt ſhew them to be religiouſly prudent, or ſpiritually wiſe. *Beware of Men*, ſaid he to his Diſciples, when he ſent them out to diſcharge their Duty in the midſt of Dangers, or *as Sheep in the midſt of Wolves*; and bid them, for their Guard againſt them, to put on the *Serpent's Prudence*, as well as the *Dove's Innocence*, Mat. x. 16, 17. And the *Circumſpection*, whereby St. *Paul* exhorts the *Epheſians* to approve themſelves, *not as Fools, but as Wiſe*, he ſets off by this Caution, or Warineſs in preventing (whilſt they could without being falſe to their Duty) ſuch Harm and ill Conſequences to themſelves. *Redeeming the Time*, ſays he, (*i. e.* ſays (*a*) *Tertullian*) *Gaining your ſelves a ſafe Conduct, or free Paſſage, by the Wiſdom of your Converſation*: Or, ſecuring your ſelves whilſt you may, and gaining as much Reſpite as you can; which is call'd in * *Daniel, gaining*, or, (as the Margin from the *Chaldee*, and as *Junius* and *Tremellius* render it) *buying*, or *redeeming the Time, becauſe the Days are evil.* So that without ſuch Caution, you cannot enjoy, or hold the Time long, *Eph.* v. 15, 16. And on the contrary, the improvident Man in the Goſpel, for his having no Proſpect of Caſualties, or Preparation for them, is call'd the † *imprudent* or *unwiſe Man. Thou Fool*, ſays God to him, *this Night ſhall thy Soul be taken from thee*, Luk. xii. 20.

* Dan. ii. 8.

† ἄφρων.

Two Ways I ſhall note of ſhewing this Caution, to prevent Harm to our ſelves by ſuffering or perſecuted Duties.

1. Firſt, *Not to put our ſelves upon thoſe Things which bring Danger, without a Call.* We muſt not throw our ſelves upon Temptations, ſince we are taught to pray daily, that *God would not lead us into them.* To go raſhly, and put our ſelves upon them, eſpecially in a great Tryal, looks like tempting God, and preſuming too much upon our own Strength, wherein they who are moſt confident, are oft-times moſt ſhamefully worſted: As *Peter, who was confident that he ſhould own Chriſt beyond all the Diſciples*, was the Man, who (of all others) did moſt ſhamefully deſert and deny him, *Mat.* xxvi. 33, 74. And as *Quintus* the *Phrygian*, who (as the *Church* of *Smyrna* || note) *raſhly offering himſelf with ſome others, and ſtanding forth uncall'd before the Tribunal, fell* (or denied Chriſt) *in the Trial*: *Giving*, ſay they, *an illuſtrious Document to all, not raſhly and unneceſſarily to throw themſelves upon Dangers, without any juſt Regard to their own Weakneſs and Infirmities.* 'Tis not for us to run into *Sufferings for Righteouſneſs*, before we are ſent; but patiently to wait God's Time. For as our Suffering is only in Obedience and Conſcience towards God, ſo ſhould we ſtay for it till it pleaſes God, and till his Providence calls us thereto. *Whom he called*, ſaith St. *Paul*, (ſpeaking of our *Sufferings for Righteouſneſs, in Conformity to Chriſt*) *them he alſo juſtified*, or made victorious in them, *Rom.* viii. 29, 30. And *hereunto are ye called*, ſaith St. *Peter*, (treating of *acceptable Suffering for Well-doing*) 1 *Pet.* ii. 19, 20, 21. So that in Suffering for God, the moſt acceptable Diſcharge of Duty, and ſureſt Hope of Victory, is when we are call'd to it. We muſt not run at any time, or chuſe our own Time; but allow God, in Courſe of Providence, to ſummon us out, and to appoint us the Seaſon as of Acting, ſo of Suffering for him. And *this Seaſon*, in Scripture, is call'd *our Hour*, which *Chriſt* himſelf would not preoccupate; not expoſing, but *withdrawing himſelf, before his Hour was come*, Joh. vii. 1. and xi. 54. But when once *it was come*, readily *offering* and *reſigning himſelf*, to bear what was appointed for him, *John* xvii. 1. and xviii. 4, 5.

|| Ap. Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. *l.* 4. *c.* 15.

(*a*) Sapientia Converſationis lucrari nos vult Commeatum. Tert. *de Fugâ in Perſec.* Cap. 9. p. Op. 540.

Some, indeed, among the Primitive Christians, out of an *immoderate Zeal of Martyrdom*, were hasty to fetch down Sufferings, where they came not fast enough of themselves. They stept out to do a persecuted Duty, when they were not put upon it, nor had any Call of God thereto; and would not stay to expect their Enemies Rage, but rashly run out to challenge and provoke it. This Forwardness, after they had seen some sad Miscarriages and shameful Effects thereby, was discountenanced, and restrained by the *Primitive Church*. St. *Cyprian*'s last Charge to his Flock, a little before his *Martyrdom*, being, That (*a*) *none of them should voluntarily offer themselves to their* Heathen *Persecutors*; *because, what our Lord is for having us to do, is to confess when we are asked, not to profess unasked.* And the *Church* of *Smyrna*, condemning it in (*b*) *their Epistle*; and the *Council* of *Eliberis*, decreeing in the 60th *Canon*, That, *if* in their Zeal against Idolatry, and Haste of Martyrdom, *any shall break the* Heathen *Idols, and be slain for their Pains*; *there being no Direction for this in the Gospels, nor any such Thing ever done by the Apostles*; *they shall not be received into the Number of Martyrs.* (*c*) St. *Chrysostom*'s Advice contains, I think, the true Method of *Christian Prudence*, in this Case. *Let us pray to God*, says he, *that we enter not into Temptation*; *but being brought thereinto, let us generously undergo it. For that is the Part of Temperate Men, not to cast themselves upon Dangers*; *this, of Brave Spirits and Philosophers. Let us, therefore, neither throw our selves upon them rashly and simply, which only shews Boldness*; *nor draw back when driven into them, or when call'd out by the Nature and Circumstances of Things, for that is Timorousness. When we are called to preach a persecuted Truth, let us not refuse: But when there is no Call, from any Cause at all, or Profit, or Necessity according to Godliness*; *let us not run of our selves*; *for that is Ostentation, and superfluous Boasting.——As a Generous Soldier, be continually in Arms*; *be prudent, be vigilant, and always expect the Enemy: But go not to create thy self Enemies*; *for that is not the Part of a Soldier, but of one that is seditious. But if the Trumpet of Religion calls, go out forthwith, and set lightly even by Life it self, and with great Promptitude descend to the Conflict*, &c. *These Things I say, out of a desire to have you keep the Laws of Christ*; *who commands us to pray that we be not led into Temptation*; *and commands us too, to take up our Cross and follow him: For these Two are not contrary one to another, but very well agree together.*

On this Point I shall further add, when, with the Freedom of *Confessors*, we speak for persecuted Truths or Laws with others, that another Allowance of Christian Prudence is, *Not to profess this promiscuously to all Persons*; nor, after we have sufficiently declared our selves, *by Importunities of unprofitable Discourse*, still to incite an unpersuadeable and virulent Disputer's Rage against us.

Some Men are not impressible by Reason, or by any Rules of sober Virtue and Goodness; but possess'd by Prophaneness, or utterly over-run with Madness and Rage of Faction. They are ready to afford, I say, not only a deaf Ear, but a scurrilous and prophane Tongue, a treacherous Snare, or a spiteful Hand, to any Offers or Arguments on persecuted Duties, that shall be made to them.

Now to lay such Truths or Laws of God before these Men, is not to promote, but to prostitute them. And therefore here the Rule of our

(*a*) Ne quisquam ultrò se Gentilibus offerat, nos confiteri magis voluit, quam profiteri. *Cyp. Epist.* 81.

(*b*) Apud Vales. Annot. in Euseb. Hist. *l.* 4. *c.* 15.

(*c*) εὐχεσθαι μὲν οὖν χρὴ διὰ μὴ εἰσελθεῖν, &c. *Chrysost. Homil.* 42. Quod non oportet conturbari, cum videamus bonos in adversis, &c. *Tom.* 7. *Ed. Savil.* p. 908.

Lord

Lord takes place, *not to caſt Pearls before Swine*; *i. e.* the precious Truths of God, before thoſe ſtupid Sinners who have no Senſe of them; but, inſtead of reverently taking of them up, will rudely beſpatter, and *trample them under foot*. Nor *to throw holy Things before Dogs*; *i. e.* before thoſe who, inſtead of worthily entertaining, will ſpitefully ſnarl and bark againſt them, and be ready to *tear* and *rent* thoſe that hand them to them, *Mat.* vii. 6. And thus the *Holy Confeſſors*, tho' *ready to give an Anſwer*, as * St. *Peter* required, *to any one that asked a Reaſon of the Hope that was in them*; yet did not hold themſelves obliged to give this Account to one who asked only that he might ſcoff, or blaſpheme, or treacherouſly betray or trepan them; but to ſuch as asked ſoberly, or with a Deſire of Learning. Giving either *no Anſwer* to others; as *Chriſt would not to* Herod, who (only for his *Curioſity* and Paſtime) *queſtion'd with him*, Luk. xxiii. 8, 9. nor to *the High-Prieſt*, who, when they had not Matter enough *from his Accuſers*, *urged him to ſpeak* to what they had ſaid againſt him; not for Information, they being reſolv'd (as * *Chriſt* told them) *not to believe him, nor to let him go*; but that he might lay hold of ſomething more ſufficient to *condemn him*, from himſelf, *Mat.* xxvi. 60, 62, 63. Or elſe, Giving like Anſwer, as (*a*) *Pothinus* of *Lyons* did to the *Preſident*, *If thou art worthy, thou ſhalt know*; when he ſcoffingly and abuſively asked, *Who is the God of the* Chriſtians?

* 1 Pet. iii. 15.

* Luk. xxii. 67, 68.

2. *Secondly*, When (on God's Call) we have done our Duty, and are thereby brought into Dangers, it allows us to *ſave our Perſons, whilſt we innocently may, by Concealment, or Eſcape, and Flight in Perſecutions. When they perſecute you in one City, flee to another*; Flight and Concealment in extreme Perils, being what *Chriſt* himſelf allows, *Mat.* x. 23.

This has been the Way in all Times; as *Petrus Alexandrinus* (that *Bleſſed Martyr*) diſcourſes in his (*b*) *Canonical Epiſtle*, taken (*c*) afterwards into the *Code of the Univerſal Church*; and as (*d*) St. *Athanaſius*, after him, has demonſtrated more fully; *viz.* for good Men, in cruel Perſecutions, by Flight or Concealment to ſave themſelves, till ſome neceſſary Diſcharge of Duty, or Courſe of Providence, deliver'd them up for Suffering into their Perſecutors Hands. Thus, as *Athanaſius* obſerves, * *Jacob* fled from *Eſau*; and † *Moſes* (on ſlaying the *Egyptian*) *into the Land of* Midian *from* Pharaoh; and ‖ *David* from *Saul*, when he ſent to ſlay him. Thus alſo *Elijah* abſconded, and ∴ *hid himſelf for fear of* Ahab; and *fled for his Life from* Jezabel. And *the Sons of the Prophets*, in *Jezabel*'s *Perſecution*, were * *hid, and fed by Fifties in a Cave*, by good *Obadiah*. And thus † *the Diſciples* likewiſe aſſembled in *private*, or *held Night-Meetings, and ſhut the doors for fear of the* Jews: And *Paul*, at *Damaſcus*, was ‖ *let down by the Wall in a Basket by Night*, to eſcape thoſe that *watched the Gates day and night to kill him*. Yea, our Bleſſed Lord himſelf, who granted this Liberty to his Diſciples, *when perſecuted in one City, of fleeing to another*, upon Occaſion made uſe thereof. When the *Jews* at *Jeruſalem ſought to take him, he eſcaped out of their Hands, and went away again beyond* Jordan, *and there abode*, that being a more quiet and ſecure Place, *Joh.* x. 39, 40. And at another Time, when he was not ſafe in *Judæa*, *he walked in* Galilee, *and would not walk in* Jury, *becauſe the* Jews *ſought to kill him*, Joh. vii. 1. And again, when on the *Raiſing* of *Lazarus*, the *Jews took Counſel together to put him to death, he walked no more openly among them; but went thence into a Countrey near to the Wilderneſs, and there continued with his Diſciples*, Joh. xi. 53, 54.

* Gen. xxvii. 43.
† Exod. ii. 15.
‖ 1 Sam. xix. 2, 10, 12.
∴ 1 Kings xvii. 3. & xix. 3, 4.
* 1 Kings xviii. 4.
† Joh. xx. 19. Acts xii. 12.
‖ Acts ix. 24, 25.

(*a*) Euſeb. Hiſt. *l.* 5. *c.* 1. ἐαν ἧς ἄξιος γνώσῃ. (*b*) Can. 9, & 10.
(*c*) Concil. Trull. Cap. 2. (*d*) Apol. 1. de Fuga ſua, *p.* 707. Tom. 1. Op.

The

* Ib.p.709. The Reaſon of his Flying, as *Athanaſius* * notes, was becauſe *his Hour was not yet come.* And this is given as the Reaſon, why, *when they ſought to take him,* they could not do it, and *no Man laid Hands on him,* † *becauſe his Hour was not yet come,* Joh. vii. 30. Till then, he took the Liberty which he has allowed us to take, and prudently abſconded, when he was ſought after to his hurt; and made his eſcape as we are wont to do. But that *hour being once come,* as he declared it was, *Joh.* xvii. 1. Inſtead of abſconding any more, he went out to them, ſaying, *Whom ſeek ye?* And telling them, *I am he,* Joh. xviii. 4, 5. *He neither ſuffer'd himſelf,* as *Athanaſius* ‖ obſerves, *to be taken before his Time, nor endeavour'd to hide himſelf from them, when once his time was come.*

† Joh. viii. 20.

‖ Ib.p.711.

* Ib.p.710. *For each Man,* as that * *Father* ſays, *there is a prefix'd time.* As there is for Spring and Autumn, Summer and Winter; ſo there is a ſtated and appointed Time for Life and Death. And to this the Scriptures refer, when they ſpeak of *taking Men away in the midſt of their Days,* Pſ. cii. 24. of *Dying before their time,* Eccl. vii. 17. and of *coming to the Grave in a full Age, as a ſhock of Corn comes in its Seaſon,* Job v. 26.

* Ib. p. Now, *what time was appointed for him,* * ſaith he, *our Saviour Chriſt knew:* And accordingly, though he withdrew at all Times before, at that Time he offer'd himſelf to the Officers, who were ſent to take him. But as for our Time, as he adds, we know not what Time God has appointed us, till it appears by the Order of Events, and the Courſe of Providence. *Behold, I am Old, and know not the Day of my Death,* ſays the *Patriarch Iſaac,* Gen. xxvii. 2. And therefore *the way of God's Saints, when Men laid wait for them, was not,* as he † goes on, *to obtrude themſelves upon their Perſecutors, as not knowing the Time appointed them by the Divine Providence. But their Time being in God's Hand, they expected the Finiſhing and Courſe thereof. Wandring about in the mean ſeaſon, or hiding themſelves in Caves of the Earth, 'till the determined Time of their Death came, or till God, who is the Determiner of their Times, would manifeſt it to them; either preventing and diſappointing their Perſecutors, or delivering them into their Hands, as ſeemed moſt fit and ſeaſonable to him.*

† Ib.p.711.

‖ Ib.p.712. This Caution, and *Flight in Perſecution,* as he ‖ adds, *was not to be called Cowardice; but was an Exerciſe of their Fortitude and Patience. For in their Flight, they did not nouriſh and indulge Fears of Death, but fortified their minds againſt it. They ſhew'd Fortitude and Tolerance, and gave a Proof of Paſſive Valour; which is beſt ſeen, not in being ſuddenly Cut off, but in tedious Sorrows; which ſo highly enobled* Job's *Patience. Their Care was,* as he pleads, *neither to fear the Time of Death, when it was preſent; nor to anticipate that Time which God's Providence had decreed for it, or reſiſt the Divine Diſpenſation, whereto they knew aſſuredly they were reſerved: that ſo, they might not be chargeable, as being, by their own raſh Actings, the Cauſe of their own Fall.*

Nor was *it without Fruit,* either to themſelves, or the Church of *God. Their Flight,* ſaith * he, *was not idle, in as much as they preached the Truth when they fled, and never forgot to ſeek the Profit of others, under all the Hardſhips which they ſuſtain'd themſelves. When flying they hid themſelves, they were, by God's Diſpenſation, only reſerved this way, as Phyſicians, for the wants and uſe of thoſe that ſtood in need of them.*

* Ib.p.714. 715.

†Ib.p.715, 716. In Sum, the Rule of Chriſtian Prudence *for us all,* as † he obſerves, *when we are ſought for in Perſecutions, is not to be raſh and precipitate in tempting God, but to fly, and hide our ſelves, and wait till the appointed time of our Death comes; or, till our Great Judge ſhall allot that for us which ſeems beſt to himſelf. But when he allows us this Liberty, he would have us to ſtand always ready and prepared in our Minds, when either our appointed Time calls us, or we are taken up and apprehended by our Perſecutors,*

ſecutors, to ſtand and ſtrive for Religion and the Church, even unto Death. And thus the Martyrs did in Perſecutions. Whilſt they lay hid in the Dens and ſecret Places, they confirm'd and fortified their own Minds; and when diſcover'd and apprehended, they bravely ſuffer'd at the Stake. But if ſome of them voluntarily ſurrender'd themſelves to their Perſecutors, they were not carried on to this (as he adds) *by* inconſiderate Zeal or *Raſhneſs; but profeſſed every where, and before all, That this Promptitude and free Oblation of themſelves, proceeded from the Holy Ghoſt.*

Thus is there Place, by the Permiſſions of Religion, for the Servants of *Chriſt* to ſave themſelves by *Flight in Perſecutions.*

And this, for *Paſtors* as well as *People*, when the *Perſecutions of the Paſtors is perſonal.* For then, to ſave themſelves, they may depart from the Churches which they conducted, or from the Followers they had gather'd: As * St. *Peter* did, upon *Herod*'s Deſign againſt him, from *Jeruſalem*; and † St. *Paul*, when laid wait for there, from *Damaſcus*; and *Jeſus* himſelf, from *Jeruſalem*, or *Jury*, or other Places, as Deſigns were laid for his Life by the *Jews*. Yea, tho' by this Flight of theirs *ſome innocent Men* (as *Petrus Alexandrinus* ‖ obſerves) be accidentally brought in Trouble, and ſuffer for their Sakes. As ∴ *Gaius* and *Ariſtarchus* were (as he notes) *for St.* Paul; *the* * *Guard of Soldiers for St.* Peter; *the* † *innocent Infants for our Saviour Chriſt*; *and* Zacharias *the Father, for* John *the* Baptiſt, *when his Mother* Elizabeth *fled with him from* Herod: *All of them unblamed, notwithſtanding ſuch Things followed on the Account of their Flight.*

* Acts xii. 17.
† Acts ix. 24, 25.
‖ Can. 13.
∴ Acts xix. 29, 30, 31.
* Acts xii. 19.
† Mat. ii. 16.

But when the Perſecution is *common*, of the *Flocks* as well as of the *Shepherds*; and whilſt the Flock it ſelf ſtays, and is like to be left deſtitute and unprovided, or much ſcandalized and deſpirited by their Departure; there it ſeems as if the *Paſtors had not the ſame Allowance.* For when Dangers are common to the People as well as to the Prieſts, the Leaders themſelves ſhould by no means be among the foremoſt in Fears, and backwardeſt in Trials. They that in Times of Peace have been the Preachers of Faith and Fortitude, of Reſolution and Conſtancy; when Trouble comes, ſhould be the firſt Patterns and Examples thereof among their Flocks; and take eſpecial Care, leſt by the Haſtineſs of their Flight, and Exceſs of Fear, they diſgrace their former Sermons, and fall under that ſmart Cenſure which * *Tertullian* paſs'd on ſeveral Paſtors in his Days; *viz.* That *out of Dangers they were as bold as Lions, but in Danger as timorous as Harts, and* (*like them*) *all for truſting to their Heels.* The Paſtors ſtand charged not only with the Care of their own Bodies and worldly Intereſts, (which the Permiſſion of Flight ſecures) but with the Charge of the Church; being moſt ſolemnly intruſted with the Care thereof, and *watching for their Souls, as they that muſt give Account*, as † St. *Paul* ſays. And therefore at ſuch Times, it behoves them to conſider, not only how their Flight would ſerve their own Temporal or Private Wants; but alſo how it would comport with their Publick Truſt and Office, and ſuit with their Charge's Spiritual Neceſſities? Whether it be like to leave them quite deſtitute, without neceſſary Helps or Inſtructions, or Hope and Expectation of Spiritual Miniſtrations? Whether it is like to trouble the Spirits, and weaken and faint the Hearts of their People; and turn thoſe out of the way, whom the Preſence, Direction, and Exhortation of a Spiritual Guide would have kept firm and conſtant therein; encouraging them to yield to a Perſecutor's Threatnings, when they ſee they are ſo formidable as to ſhake the very Pillars of the Church, and make the Leaders ſhift for themſelves?

* De Coron. Mil. c. 1. In Pace Leones, in Prælio Cervos.
† Heb. xiii. 27.

And accordingly our Saviour, though, when the Paſtors are eſpecially perſecuted, he gives Liberty of flying; yet, in a common Perſecution, *when the Wolf*, *i. e.* a Wolfiſh Perſecutor *comes to ſnatch and ſcatter the Sheep*,

Sheep, as well as the *Shepherds*; he tells us, *to flee for himself*, and leave the Flock without any Guard or Proviſion, is the Mark, not of a *Good Shepherd*, but of an *Hireling*. *The Good Shepherd*, ſaith he, *when the Woolf cometh*, is not ſo careful for himſelf, as for his Charge, and *giveth*, or * ſtaketh down *his Life for the Sheep*, *i. e.* is ready to expoſe and hazard it for their ſake, *Joh.* x. 11, 12. The *Good Shepherd*, he diſtinguiſhes, not only from *Thieves and Robbers*, who ſeize thoſe Flocks which are not their own; As all thoſe *Falſe Meſſiahs* were, who came to impoſe themſelves upon the Fold *before him*, *v.* 8. But alſo from all *Mercenaries*, who, though † *entring in by the Door*, *i. e.* by himſelf, or under him the true Lord and Paſtor; yet look to his Sheep only with an *Hireling*'s Indifference, and not with a true Paſtoral Spirit and Affection. Inſtead of watching them, with his *Life in his Hand*, as the true Shepherd doth; *he that is an Hireling, whoſe own the Sheep are not*, *i. e.* who looks to them, not with an Owner's Care and Heartineſs, but only for his Pay; *when he ſeeth the Wolf coming, he leaveth the Sheep, and fleeth* to ſave himſelf. *The Hireling fleeth, becauſe he is an Hireling, and careth not for the Sheep*, but for his own Safety, *v.* 12, 13. The Note of the *Hireling*, is the *want of Care for the Sheep in time of Danger*, or of *Paſtoral Affection*. As St *Paul* alſo intimates, when he laments the want of the Paſtoral Spirit, and ſets it off, by *having none* by him *like-minded to Timothy*, that good Shepherd, *who would naturally care for their* Spiritual *State*; and by finding *all to ſeek their own, not the Things which are Jeſus Chriſt*'s, Phil. ii. 20, 21. And this Diſpoſition, as our Lord notes, the Paſtors ſhew, when in times of Danger, they leave their Flocks deſtitute and unprovided, ſcandalized or diſpirited; and, inſtead of ſtanding by their Charge at the peril of their Lives, they flee away and ſhift for themſelves.

* ψυχὰς τιθησιν.

† v. 2, 9.

Indeed, if when ſome go, who are more particularly obnoxious to a Perſecutor's Fury, others are ſtill left to ſupply the Needs of the Saints, theſe Servants of God have more Plea to withdraw themſelves; as St. *Polycarp did at the Importunity of the Brethren*, as the || *Church of Smyrna* write, *when he was ſought for by Name*. And as *Athanaſius* did, when perſecuted by *Syrianus*. Who yet, in that barbarous Outrage, which drave him away, was * reſolved to be one of the laſt in the Church, and ſee how the Flock eſcaped the Hands of the rude and mercileſs Soldiers, before he would attempt to eſcape himſelf. Or, if they are like at one time to be taken off more privately, or before Strangers, they may think fit by Flight to eſcape that Storm, that, with the more Advantage to God and the Church, they may offer themſelves before their own People; there by their own Practice, more effectually confirming thoſe *Exhortations to Martyrdom*, which they had formerly made among them. And thus St. *Cyprian*, in the † *laſt Epiſtle* which he wrote to them, tells *his Church*, that *when Officers were coming to fetch him to ſuffer at* Utica, *he had withdrawn, and waited in his Receſs, 'till he ſhould hear the Proconſul was returned to* Carthage: *Intending then to return to his own Houſe, that he might ſuffer before their Eyes*. This Liberty I grant is indulged us, not only for God's ſake, and the Churches, as St. *Cyprian* uſed it in his laſt Inſtance, but alſo for our own. We are allowed to fly, not only in way of well husbanding the Opportunities for ſerving God, and our Brethren; as St. *Clement* || of *Alexandria leaves a Mind, that neither ſeeks nor fears Death, to determine this Point by the Glory of God, and the Benefit of Mankind*: But alſo in Mercy to Human Weakneſs. But this Permiſſion to Human Weakneſs, is in Subordination to the Glory of God, and the Good of the Church. So that when the Paſtors cannot withdraw themſelves, without diſhonouring God and Religion, ſcandalizing their Flocks, or leaving

|| Ap. *Euſeb.* Hiſt. Eccl. l. 4. c. 15.

* *Vid.* Apol. pro Fuga.

† Ep. 81.

|| Strom. 4. & 7.

leaving them deſtitute; they are not to fly, but to abide by the Dangers, though at the Peril of their Lives.

But this Caution of Spiritual Prudence, lying in preventing Worldly Harm and Conſequences, Worldly Wiſdom is forward to extend too far, and turn into *a doing Harm to our Duty, to keep off Harm from our ſelves.* To keep out Harm and ill Conſequences, as far as we can, ſo long as we keep not out any Duty, or part of Duty, together with them, is what God allows, and what Prudence guided by the Spirit is to take care of. Accordingly, it doth not run into a Duty of outward Harm, as I ſay, before it has a Call: And when, by a Faithful Diſcharge of Duty, ſuffering is drawn on, by Flight or Concealment it may ſave it ſelf from it if it can. But Worldly Prudence is for providing againſt the Harm, though it be by making no Proviſion at all for the Duty; being always ready, rather to omit the doing what is Good, than to ſuffer what is Evil.

To prevent this, we muſt take along with us theſe Rules, in all our Deliberations about theſe matters.

1. That *Caution is never good, which drops, or violates a Duty.* The Caution of a Chriſtian is only to beware againſt Harm, whilſt he doth his Duty; never to beware of doing his Duty, leſt he ſuffer Harm thereby. Religion owns no hurt, like the hurt of Sin; and ſo preſcribes no Caution againſt any Thing, ſo much as againſt Evil-doing. The Breach of Duty is never to be taken up as an Expedient; but the Performance of it muſt always be our firſt and chief End. Do that when we are called, and do nothing againſt it; and then be as cautious of any Hurt that is like to come thereby, as we can. But this muſt never be neglected, or let fall, that a Worldly Good or Convenience may be ſecured. Tho' this is ſo much the Way of Worldly Prudence, *viz. to be wiſe and wary againſt Worldly Harm, by the Omiſſion of any Duty which is like to draw it upon us,* that when when Men have a Call to diſcharge a Duty, 'tis really thought by many ſomewhat a *ſuſpicious Thing, to hear them ask after the Prudence of it*; that being, God knows, much oftner the Method of thoſe who are ſeeking, and have a mind prudently to omit it, than of thoſe who have a mind prudenly to practiſe it.

2. We muſt never ſhew *more Care and Caution, to prevent ill Conſequences to our Worldly Intereſts, than to prevent ill Conſequences to our Spiritual Intereſts.* The Intereſt and Honour of Religion and Virtue, of Truth and Righteouſneſs, is to be above any Worldly Intereſt, in a Chriſtian's Thoughts. And therefore in looking about to deſcry Conſequences, his Eye ſhould ſooneſt fix upon, and his Care and Warineſs provide for thoſe Conſequences in any way, which are like thereby to befal theſe. It will conſider, and ſee in the firſt place, when a Courſe is propoſed, whether Virtue and Religion are like to get or loſe by it; whether it will bring any Truth of God, or Duty of Godlineſs, under good or ill Report: Whether it will lay Hindrances and Incumbrances in its Way, or afford Encouragements; whether it will ſtagger, or confirm others in the Belief; whether it will ſeduce them from, or invite them to the Practice of Truth and Holineſs. The Conſequences to Duty and Religion are far beyond any Conſequences of this Life: And all truly Religious Men, as they ought, ſo they will ſet much more by them. And 'tis a plain Evidence that any Perſons are Men of this World, and Worldly Wiſe, when they are more watchful and ſolicitous againſt Temporal, than againſt Spiritual Conſequences; and can take up with any Damages brought to Truth and Godlineſs, when they are neceſſary to keep off Worldly Damage from themſelves. What will be the Effect and Conſequences thereof, to the outward Eaſe and Enjoyments, Liberties or Privileges, Security or Advancement, of our ſelves or Families, Church or State? ſays the Carnal

Man. But what will be the Conſequence of it, to Duty and Religion; not to make them Secularly Great, but to ſhew them Spiritually Good; not to hold them in External Power and Poſſeſſions, but to give or keep their Hold upon Mens Hearts and Conſciences, by confirming all in the Belief of the Reality and Sincerity, of the Efficacy and Excellency thereof? This is the Religious or Spiritually Wiſe Man's Queſtion.

CHAP. XIII.

Of Spiritual Prudence in Worldly Matters, or as over-ruling all other inferior Prudence, about Things of this Life. And of Sollicitude.

THE *Third* and laſt Thing propoſed at *firſt*, to ſet off the Nature and Offices of Spiritual Prudence, is to ſhew its part in Worldly Matters. Or, after its having been thus wiſe, as is declared, for the Things of Religion it ſelf, to ſhew, how that, as *for all other Inferior and Worldly Prudence in Things of this Life, it ſo orders the Ends, and over-rules the Ways thereof, as to keep them ſubſervient to Religion, or as beſt becomes Chriſtians.*

Worldly Prudence, is *to be Wiſe for the Ends of this World.* As to preſerve our Lives here, and the Comforts and Enjoyments thereof, our Properties, Power, and External Quiet. To ſecure, or augment theſe, or other earthly good Things, either to our ſelves, or to our Friends and Families; to the Church, or to the State. All theſe are Worldly Ends. And to be wiſe for them, is Worldly Prudence. And this we have all need of here, becauſe we are all of us Members of this World, needing Worldly Things, and being twiſted in Worldly Relations, whereto Good Men and Good Chriſtians are ſubject, as well as others. But though we live in this World, we aim at a better World. We are kept alive by Worldly Things; but we live for better, even for Heavenly Things, which Religion ſhews, and which the Ways thereof will procure for us. So that the Wiſdom of Religion muſt limit and over-rule us, in all the Acts of Wiſdom and Prudence, which we ſhew about the leſſer and inferior Things of this Life. The Fleſh muſt be ſubject to the Spirit, and the Wiſdom of this World give place to the Wiſdom of the next.

Now concerning this over-ruling Influence of Spiritual Wiſdom, in all Inferior and Worldly Deliberation, I ſhall note theſe two Things.

1. *Firſt*, That *the Rules of Religion are the trueſt Wiſdom, as for the next, ſo even for the Ends of this World.* They are really the moſt Prudent Ways, and beſt choſen, for all the great and deſirable Purpoſes of this Life. So that had God left them free, and ſaid nothing of them, their own Uſefulneſs would have recommended them to every diſcreet Man; and true Worldly Wiſdom would have ſaid the ſame that our Duty and our Religion now ſays of them. No other fancied Ways, and leaſt of all their Contraries, could ſo well have ſerved the true Ends of living here, as theſe do. Other Ways, perhaps, may ſeem more ſerviceable, and fit to be taken up for theſe Ends, at ſome one particular Turn. But none of them are ſo fit and conducive, if taken into conſtant Courſe, and made a general Rule of Living. And Men are made to live by Rules, and their

Happineſs

Happineſs to be ſought by Rules; without which, there would be nothing but utmoſt Uncertainty and Confuſion, which would ſpoil all Happineſs, and prove the greateſt Miſery here on Earth. They are made to deſire and to ſeek what is beſt for the Ends of Life, not only in ſome one or few Actions, but in the Tenor of Life; not only what will happen to promote them on ſome accidental Turns, but what is fit to do ſo ordinarily, and at all Times, tho' by chance (on ſome particular Turns) it may admit of an Exception. And this general and conſtant Service muſt be by Rules, which are general Things; and which are made for Directors, not only on certain Occaſions, or in advantageous Circumſtances, but in ordinary and conſtant Courſe, or at all Times; that all other Men may know where to have us, and we know where to be our ſelves; without which, as I ſay, there would be nothing but Jealouſy and Confuſion, inſtead of Happineſs.

Now, as for Rules of Wiſdom for attaining the true Ends of Life, there are none better than thoſe which are preſcribed by our Holy Religion: God having adopted our real Intereſt into our Duty; and made thoſe Things, whereby Wiſdom would direct all Men to ſerve themſelves here, to be the Way of ſerving him, and of ſecuring to themſelves the Joys of Heaven hereafter.

What Rules, for inſtance, are better *in Converſation*, than to give no Offence; neither injuring, nor deſpiſing, and leſs diſdaining any? Than by being gentle, and eaſy of Acceſs, and courteous; a Way of gaining much, that will coſt us little? Than by having a care of Cenſure; not being apt to tax what we do not know, or to condemn others? And of all Backbiting or Accuſations, and ripping up either the real or fancied Faults of abſent Perſons; yea, in Places and Companies abounding in Cenſure, by being wary even how we bring up the Names of the abſent, who are not there to ſpeak for themſelves; leſt it afford Matter to the Malignity of evil Tongues, and make them evil-ſpoken of? Than by not expecting much from others, not being ſoon angry or exceptious; which will prevent our having Difference with others, and (under any Carriage of theirs) keep us eaſy within our ſelves; and however affronting or provoking their Carriage be, we do not thereby loſe much, if it doth not rob us of the Tranquility and Enjoyment of our own Spirits? By all theſe Ways, and ſundry others which Religion preſcribes, we take the wiſeſt Care to converſe with others, with the moſt Advantage, and with the leaſt Hurt and Trouble to our ſelves.

What Rules, again, are better *in Dealing*, than to be true and juſt; which are the way to be truſted? To be induſtrious and careful in our Buſineſs; to do always as we are willing to be done by; to be reaſonable in our Demands, moderate in our Gettings, fair in all our Trading and Tranſactions; which will moſt effectually retain thoſe that try, and draw in others to deal with us, when they are neither like to be neglected, nor deceived and over-reach'd in their Buſineſs. To do all that is right, and with a willing Mind; which diſcovers no Uneaſineſs in being ſhew'd it, or Backwardneſs in performing thereof. To offer nothing that is wrong; yea, when others offer it, not to return it; not maliciouſly remembring, and ſtudiouſly recompencing, but forgiving Injuries; which is abſolutely as the moſt Chriſtian, ſo the wiſeſt Courſe, and moſt for the Ends and Enjoyment of this Life. For it coſts us Abundance more Labour, and vexatious Thought, to revenge an Injury, than it need do to put it up. To forgive it, is only to bear the Diſquietude which is paſt; but to revenge it, is to throw away a great deal more of our Quiet after it, and to add to our former Sore by a new and (in Probability) much greater Heap of freſh Toil and Danger.

What Rules are ſo wiſe, for *the Enjoyment of our ſelves*, of *Health of Body*, and *Eaſe of Mind in this Life*, as Sobriety and Temperance, and chaſte and due Regulation of fleſhly Pleaſures, and Moderation in all Things? As bringing our Minds in every thing to our Conditions; not affecting ſtill to have what ſuits our fleſhly Likings, but to like what God is pleaſed to ſend us. As Mortification, and due Subjection of our bodily Appetites, inſtead of pampering of them; as fitting looſe to this World, inſtead of being worldly-minded, and fond thereof; As living upon Providence, and truſting to God more than to our ſelves, or to any Human Proviſions; and being reſigned to his Will, or contented and deſirous rather that he ſhould do his own Will, (as we profeſs in our daily Prayers) than that he ſhould do ours. Than all which, what can better prepare us to receive all the Viciſſitudes of this Life; to give us leaſt Trouble from the Ill, or afford us moſt Comfort, Contentment, and unwearying and true Enjoyment from the Good Things thereof?

What Rules, laſtly, could conduce ſo much to *ſettle Happineſs*, as in *Neighbourhoods*, ſo in *Families*, *greater Societies*, *and all Relations*, as the due Diſcharge of all thoſe Duties which Religion preſcribes in thoſe Relations? By *Parents* being careful to educate their Children well, and to provide for them; keeping them under an wholſome Government, but kind, and without unneceſſary Provocation: And by *Childrens* being full of Reſpect in all Things, and obedient to them again. By *Wives* being ſubject (in all Things innocent) to their Husbands; and *Husbands* being kind and condeſcenſive to their Wives, as to their own Fleſh. By *Maſters* governing with Equity, and forbearing Threatning; and by *Servants* not anſwering again, but ſhewing Heartineſs in what Service they perform, and doing it with Diligence and all Fidelity. By *Princes* being wiſe, and watchful for the Publick Good; and ruling all in the Fear of God, with Clemency and Juſtice: And *Subjects*, on the other Hand, ever Honouring their Rulers as the Miniſters and Vicegerents of God; obeying their Commands, where conſcionably they may; and keeping in their Subjection, not throwing it off, and forcibly reſiſting them where they cannot obey.

Such as theſe are the Rules of Religion, both towards our ſelves, and towards others. And better cannot be given for attaining the wiſe Ends of Life, and for ordering our ſelves as the beſt ſtudied Prudence would have us, in Converſation or Buſineſs, by our ſelves or with others, and in all Relations. So that every Religious Good Man, whilſt he keeps to the Ways of Duty and Religion, doth follow the wiſeſt Courſes, and the beſt Rules of Prudence for this Life. Yea, tho' he ſhould be among thoſe who paſs not for the wiſe, but for the weak and ſimple Underſtandings; tho' he ſhould not ſee their Conducivenes for theſe Ends, nor follow them for the worldly Wiſdom, but only for the Religion of them. Tho' he has not the Skill and Apprehenſion, to ſee and judge of Secular Prudence; yet whilſt he keeps to the Rule of his Duty, he has always this, which is the beſt Proof of Prudence, ever to be found in the moſt prudent and ſecularly wiſe Ways. Having the Grace of being good and honeſt, he cannot miſs of doing what the beſt Underſtandings muſt needs ſay is moſt prudent and diſcreet. The Wiſdom of God guides him, where (if left to himſelf) he could not, like better Underſtandings, ſhew much Wiſdom of his own: And following what God has preſcribed, he is ſure to act wiſely, tho' he is not able to ſay much to others, to ſhew them the Wiſdom and Conduciveneſs of his own Actings. The Ways of Duty wherein he walks are choſen of God, and are the Ways of God's Prudence for ſerving the wiſe Ends of Life: And the moſt prudent Perſons had better follow him than their own Underſtandings: They can never find ſuch another Director, nor make any other Choice of Ways ſo wiſe and prudent for themſelves.

But

But beſides theſe Ways of Duty for compaſſing the Ends of Life, which are Ways of God's chuſing; worldly Wiſdom has a great many more of its own, which God has left free, and whereof he has ſaid nothing. The worldly Ends of Life themſelves are rather our Liberty than our Duty; more God's Permiſſion, than his Injunction. And in purſuing them, beſides the Duties of Religion, whereby we ſet them on whilſt we are ſerving him; there are Multitudes of other Ways wherein worldly Wiſdom has its Latitude, and that a very wide Compaſs. And in this Field of worldly Prudence, when it propoſes its Ends, and purſues them by its own Methods, this is

2. *Secondly*, The other Thing which I would note of Spiritual Prudence, That *when worldly Wiſdom ſets up Ends, or thinks to ſerve it ſelf by Ways prejudicial to Godlineſs, it over-rules it in all ſuch Motions.*

Sometimes worldly Prudence is for *ſetting up ill Things for Ends.* It propoſes how to ſerve Vices or Vanities; how to compaſs Ends of Ambition or Covetouſneſs, Luſt or Revenge, Vain-Glory or Intemperance. It aims at the accompliſhing, or ſerving of a Sin; which is no End of Life of God's making, nor any Part of his Creation; but begot between *Satan* and our ſelves, and merely of his and our Production. And Spiritual Wiſdom quite throws out ſuch Ends; which being the Stain and Reproach, the Miſery and Deſtruction of Life, muſt never be turned into the Aim thereof. As it doth alſo, all ſetting up the real Advantages, and uſeful Things of this World, *for laſt and main Ends.* Not ſeeking at all to ſerve God, or ſhew forth any Virtue thereby, which is to turn them into an Opportunity and Matter of Religion; but only to ſatisfy our fleſhly Appetites, and enjoy our ſelves therein.

Again: In ſeeking the Good Things of this Life, *worldly Prudence is apt to tranſgreſs in Means and Methods.* And the Prudence of Religion is, as to prevent its ſetting up undue Ends, ſo *to keep out any Thing ill or undue, in the Way or Courſe it takes to compaſs its Ends; over-ruling it in theſe, not as agrees moſt with worldly Minds, but as beſt becomes Chriſtians.* Particularly I ſhall obſerve,

1. *Firſt*, In Purſuing any worldly Ends, *it keeps it from ſerving it ſelf, by doing any forbidden and unlawful Things.* And beſides all that has been hitherto diſcourſed to this Purpoſe, with a more eſpecial Eye to Ends of Duty and Religion, I ſhall here ſet this off briefly, in ſome moſt obvious Inſtances, in the Courſe of Secular Affairs.

In *Competition, the Way of worldly Wiſdom is for doing any Thing that will overcome.* It will uſe any Means, and take all as lawful, that ſeems fit to ſtrengthen themſelves, or to weaken their Adverſaries. It will blacken a Competitor by Calumnies, whiſper and ſuggeſt Fears about him; tell any Stories it has heard before they are examined, if not ſuch as it ſelf has maliciouſly invented; miſrepreſent what might be innocent and well meant; pervert their Words or Deeds (tho' harmleſs in themſelves) to very hurtful and evil Purpoſes; as *David* complains his Adverſaries did by him, ſaying, *Every day they wreſt my Words*, Pſal. lvi. 5. Yea, ſometimes in the midſt of theſe undermining Arts, it will ſpeak fair to his Face, and cover Treachery under Compliment and kind Expreſſions; as the ſame Holy *David* complains his Enemy did: *While his Mouth was ſmoother than Butter, having War in his Heart; and his Words, when ſofter than Oil, yet being drawn Swords*, Pſal. lv. 21. In ſum, their End in Competition is Victory; and to do any Thing that will overcome, is the Rule in worldly Practice, tho' in Reaſon and Religion it ſhould be otherwiſe.

But now Spiritual Wiſdom, in purſuing any worldly Ends againſt Opponents, will *keep us from uſing any Ways, either falſe or miſchievous.* Indeed,

deed, as Prudence, it will watch Times, and pick Advantages for it ſelf: *A wiſe Man's Heart*, as *Solomon* ſays, *diſcerning both Time and Judgment*, *Eccl.* viii. 5. But as Chriſtian, it will do nothing injurious to them for Advantage. It may take what lies as free for it as for others, and at the moſt Advantageous Times. But it will ſhew nothing uncandid, utter nothing falſe, offer nothing injurious, or what it is not willing to receive it ſelf. Nay, when we receive ſuch Uſage from an Adverſary, it will not allow us to return it on him, not being *for returning Evil for Evil, but for overcoming Evil with Good*, Rom. xii. 17, 21. As it is for having every Man approve himſelf the trueſt Friend; ſo alſo the faireſt, and juſteſt Antagoniſt and Competitor in the World.

Again, in *gaining Intereſt*, and the *Favour of Men*, Worldly Wiſdom is *for doing any Thing that will pleaſe, and procure Help from thoſe whom it has to deal with.* Without Intereſt, Deſigns and Buſineſs will not eaſily go on. And this needed Intereſt often lies among ill Men, with whom no Intereſt is to be made unleſs you pleaſe them. And, peradventure, they are not to be pleaſed, but by engaging with them in wicked Factions, againſt Religion, or ſome much decried and exploded Duties, or Truths thereof; or, againſt the known Laws, Privileges, or Conſtitutions, either of Church or State; or by going along in immoral Practices, without making any Difference, more than they do, of Good or Bad. They are Men given up to baſe Ends; or who ſeek and ſet on better, by baſe and wicked Methods. And if we expect they ſhould ſerve our Ends, we muſt firſt ſerve theirs, and Drink, or Swear, or Commit other Lewdneſs, in Compliance with their wicked Humours, or ungodly and vicious Ends or Intereſts. And theſe, Fleſhly Wiſdom is for taking up when they lie in its Way, rather than go without their Favour and Aſſiſtance.

But now true Chriſtian Prudence will never allow us, either *to diſhonour God, or injure our Brethren, or abuſe our ſelves to pleaſe Men.* It is for ſeeking the Favour of the Potent, and the Eſteem of all, by courteous obliging Carriage, and by worthy Actions; but never by baſe Arts and Compliances. It is not for loſing God, by doing any Thing that is ill, to pleaſe and gain them. It calls upon us to do our Duty, and nothing contrary thereto, whether thereby we keep, or loſe Human Helps and Succours; whether all Men cry us up for ſo doing, or decry us. When we ſeek to have *our Way eſtabliſhed*, or take Effect, *Ponder the Path of thy Feet*, ſays this Wiſdom, *i. e.* the Means we uſe, or the Courſe we take, *and turn not to the right hand, nor to the left*, Prov. iv. 26, 27.

Again, In *raiſing Families or Fortunes, growing Rich or Great*, Fleſhly Prudence *is not too apt to keep within the Bounds of Right and Juſtice.* When Getting is the End, it will over-reach the Ignorant, who want Skill to deal with it; and oppreſs the Poor and Fatherleſs, that are too weak to withſtand it. In Bargaining or Commerce, it will prey upon other Mens Neceſſities, vent Falſe or Faulty Wares, ſet exacting Prices, ſtart feigned Claims, uſe any Falſhood or Unfaithfulneſs, Strictneſs and Rigor, Wrong and Violence, to enrich it ſelf. Making haſte to be Rich, it is not like to be Innocent: For *they that will be Rich, fall into Temptation and a Snare, and into many fooliſh and hurtful Luſts*, as St. *Paul* ſays, 1 *Tim.* vi. 9.

But now Spiritual Wiſdom *is not for being hired to an ill or diſhoneſt Action, by any Gain.* Unlawful Gains it reckons among the Greateſt Loſſes, as giving away a Good Conſcience, and a Bleſſed Eternity, for ſome empty and periſhing Riches. *What is any Man the better, though he ſhould gain the whole World, and loſe his own Soul?* ſaith our Saviour, *Mat.* xvi. 26. What is ill and unjuſtly got, it eſteems not as a Bleſſing, but a Curſe to Families.

Families. The Gettings will not ſo truly enrich, as the Injuſtice, in Time, will load and impoveriſh, calling ſtill for a juſt Retribution, and vindictive Stroke of Providence. And therefore ſuch are not to paſs for durable Riches, being not ſo like to raiſe and build up, as to conſume an Eſtate, and, like a ſecret Canker, to eat it out.

Such as theſe are wont to be the Methods of Worldly Wiſdom, in compaſſing Eſtates, carrying on of Buſineſs, prevailing in Competitions, and the like; and in all the Hypocritical and Inſincere, the Ungodly and Unrighteous Methods, whereof it uſes to ſerve it ſelf when Occaſion requires; which I have already ſpoke of in the preceeding Chapters. And ſuch as theſe are the Reſtraints, which Spiritual Wiſdom lays on all Good Chriſtians therein. It permits not to look for Expediency in any Sin, or to ſerve themſelves in any Neceſſity, or on any Occaſion, by Evil-Doing. *The Thoughts of the Righteous are right*, ſays the Wiſe Man, *i. e.* his Righteous Ends, are always purſued and managed by Right Ways; *but the Counſel of the wicked are Deceit, i. e.* he ſeeks to compaſs his Ends, by Wicked and Deceitful Doings, *Prov.* xii. 5.

And this Reſtraint it lays upon us, *to keep only in good Ways*, not only as Chriſtian, but as Prudence too. For in Reality, this keeping upright, or only to good Ways, in purſuing all the main Ends or good Things of this Life, is the Way to ſpeed moſt, and to find the beſt Succeſs in that Purſuit. And the giving our ſelves a Liberty of betaking to ill ones, as occaſion ſerves, is much more like to miſs of it. In an uncertain World, that is all Viciſſitudes and Contingences, there is no way of purſuing theſe Ends, which is certain, and never fails of Succeſs; but all may miſs ſometimes. But this upright walking will miſs much leſs, neither ſo frequently, nor ſo widely, as perverting of our Ways when our Need requires, would do. So that Honeſty is the beſt Policy; and this never ſtepping aſide to an unlawful Expedient, is abſolutely the wiſeſt and the likelieſt Courſe which a Prudent Man can take in purſuing theſe Ends.

For doth not all driving Trades, and management of Buſineſs, and carrying on of Projects and Deſigns, lye in Dealing with others? And is not all Dealing, where Men dare Truſt, and can Confide? And doth not all Truſt and Confidence depend on Uprightneſs? No Man is willing to be deceived, or cozen'd, wrong'd, or outwitted. And therefore if they ſuſpect any to be a Crafty Perſon, Men are loth to deal with him. Or, in dealing, being ſtill ſuſpicious of Deſign, they are ſlow and difficult to grant him any reaſonable Thing, whereof they would make no Scruple to another Perſon. If they find a Man to be a Man of Tricks; having had to do with him once, they will be wary how they come to have to do with him a ſecond Time. Diſhoneſt and unlawful Ways, may ſerve a Man's Turn in ſome one Act. But it will diſſerve him in an Hundred for that one, in thoſe which are to follow, and is mere Folly if we look forward; incapacitating him for being truſted, and rendring him, it may be, the more unfit to carry on any Bargain or Buſineſs, all his Life afterwards. For a Man who lives by Trade or Buſineſs, is not only for doing this one Day, but many Days. Not for living by one Cuſtomer, or Dealer, and for having all his Ends on him at once; but for ſo uſing him once, as that he may hope to have him often; for ſo dealing by that one as may encourage and draw in many more to deal with him. And this Wiſdom or Providence, that looks forward, a Man quite contradicts, that uſes any Diſhoneſty or unlawful Means to ſerve a Turn at preſent. Tricks, for a while, may lie hid; and ſo long, they ſtand a Worldly Mind in ſome Stead to the Ends of this World; but this uſes not to be long,

and

and ſooner or later, they are for the moſt part diſcovered. *A Lying Tongue is but for a Moment*, Pov. xii. 19. *He that walks uprightly, walks ſurely*, ſays *Solomon: But he that perverteth his Ways*, or hath recourſe to diſhoneſt and unlawful Methods, *ſhall be known, i. e.* a little Time will diſcover him, *Prov.* x. 9. And when once diſcovered, his Way is hated, and he is not truſted. And then, by catching unlawfully at a little Gain, or Succeſs, in one Act; he loſes all that he lawfully might have had, in all the Scores of Opportunities, which, keeping in honeſt Ways would have brought him, of getting, or ſucceeding, in the like matters afterwards.

Beſides, by the juſt Providence of God, this Way of *ſerving our Worldly Ends by unlawful Methods*, is wont to be defeated. The ill Means which are uſed to divert an Evil, he over-rules to bring and pull it down upon them: As the *Killing of Chriſt, to bring in the* Romans; the *Compliances of the* Gnoſticks, *to involve them in Deſtruction with the* Jews; the *Sale of* Joſeph, *to bring his proud and wicked Brethren to pay him Homage*: Though all theſe, as I formerly noted, were intended, and wickedly reſorted to by the Actors, for quite contrary Purpoſes: When Men fly to an evil and forbidden Thing to compaſs an End, that ſets God and Providence againſt them. And they are like to have but little Cauſe to boaſt of their Gettings or Succeſs, whilſt he ſets himſelf to blaſt all that they project, and to undo what they are unrighteouſly a doing.

2. *Secondly*, In *Courſe of Converſe or Buſineſs*, Spiritual Prudence keeps the Wiſdom of this World, *from letting fall, or being wanting in any Duties.* It drops none, as I ſaid above, to ſave it ſelf from Perſecutions: Much leſs ſhould it omit them, to ſuit it ſelf to Turns and Companies. This Men are very apt to do, in the uſual Method of this World. They are called in Worldly Companies, and in the Courſe of Worldly Buſineſs, to expreſs their Regard for many Duties. It may be the Name of God is blaſphemed, or ſome Truth of his is run down, or ſome Virtue is diſhonoured, and we ſtand by and hear it. Or, ſome Innocent and Good Men, Good Ways, or Good Things, are loaded with Reproach and Accuſations, which we know to be falſe. Or Intemperance is carried on, with an Expectation of our Preſence, or Concurrence therein, or the like. Now here the Suggeſtion of Worldly Wiſdom, is out of Baſhfulneſs to keep ſilence, and not to ſhew uneaſineſs at the Reproach of God, or Goodneſs, or of Good Men, for fear of diſpleaſing, and giving Offence: And to countenance Intemperance, or, it may be, in part at leaſt, to ſhare therein, rather than break Company, or incur the Cenſure of being rude, moroſe, unſociable, or the like. But Spiritual Wiſdom ſets the Honour of God, and the owning of Virtue, and the Aſſertion of Truth, of the Goodneſs of Things, or of the Innocence of Perſons, at an higher Rate than theſe Worldly Conſiderations. And therefore it will not be wanting, to manifeſt and ſhew forth the Honour it has for God, the Juſtice it bears to Men, the Conſcionable Regard it has for every Virtue, and the Conſcientious Fear it has of every Sin, when it is call'd to manifeſt its Like or Diſlike, its Concurrence or Diſſent, on any juſt Occaſion. Not being *for ſuffering Sin upon*, much leſs countenancing it in *our Brother*, Lev. xix. 17. and requiring us *to have no Fellowſhip with the Works of Darkneſs, but rather to reprove them* where we meet them, as St. *Paul* ſays, *Eph.* v. 11. So to bear out *Chriſt*'s Truths and Laws, and to bear up his Name, not only in Secret, but in Life and Converſation.

The better to diſcharge and facilitate this, I think it would be an excellent Rule of Spiritual Prudence, *for all true Chriſtians to make open and ordinary Profeſſions of ſtrict Virtue.* Not falſly giving out, what Virtue we have not. Nor affectedly bringing into Company what we have,

when

when we need not. But, on the other hand, not being ashamed or afraid to profess what we really are, and to own all that Strictness which it becomes Christians to have, or which they ought to practise, when there is Occasion for us to shew our selves. It would be very fit, I think, *for all Christians*, to appear to have, and to keep about them the same Sense of Things in Conversation, which they appear to have at Church. Professing still, to like and approve here, what they pretend to like and approve there. And shewing their Godly Fear, and Dislike of the same Things, when they meet them proposed or practised before Men; as they did, when they heard them discoursed of, and represented before God. And for *all Ministers*, to appear visibly to think and to say the same of all Matters in Company, as they do in their Pulpits: Shewing the same Sentiments of Things, in liking, or disliking, allowing or rebuking them; and giving them the same Reception, when they meet them in Practice, as they did whilst far off, and whilst warning against them in Discourses.

And the Benefit of this to all would be, that few or none would expect any Unchristian Compliance or Entertainment from them; or, where there is any Thing of Breeding and Civility, offer any Thing Unchristian in their Company. In respect of some of the more Modish and Fashionable Vices of the World, which are the Way of Reception in a Place, and expect more Compliance; as shewing Hospitality, for instance, by furnishing out a Table for Intemperance: These strict Professions of the contrary Virtue, may perhaps seem harder, and would incur more Censure at the first. But that makes but a few Days Talk. And when once a Man's Virtuous Profession and Resolution is known and got Abroad, and some few have had Tryal of it; that Talk is at an End. And then his Virtue, in talking and acting so at common Times, what they themselves are ready to do in their best Thoughts, and most serious Discourses, will be honour'd: Aud his Non-Compliance with their Breach in their Practice, of what they themselves profess in their wisest Seasons, will be no longer censured by them. And when once Men have this Opinion of his Virtue, he will be out of the Way of Temptation; and they will never come to him, when they seek or expect to be otherwise received, than agrees with his known Practice and Profession.

3. *Thirdly*, In pursuing any Worldly Ends, Spiritual Prudence *will keep a Man from being sollicitous about Events, in the way he takes.*

Sollicitude is *an anxious and mistrustful Fear, and Care of speeding in these Worldly Pursuits, or of attaining what we seek for.* When we are in pursuit of any of these Ends, there is a Care and Studiousness to compass them. And this Carefulness is the greater, where Men are under a fear of failing therein. Which Fear is wont to be most, where the Things are over-valued; an over-estimate making one jealous without Cause, and apt to fear for a Thing, where no ground of Fear is; or, where they want Faith, and mistrust the Providence of God. All which are too usual in the Way of Worldly-Wise Men. Who, making Worldly Things, not so much a Means in their Passage, as a main End, and so placing too much in them; and not attending to Providence, or the Promises of God, which are invisible Things, for the Preservation thereof, but only to what is before their Eyes; are apt to be full of very superfluous Fears, and anxious and distrustful Cares, about these Temporalities, which they so immoderately and unduly prize.

But now Spiritual Wisdom takes care to prevent this. Not that it is against all Provisions before-hand, or all Care for Futurity in Worldly Matters. *Go to the Ant thou Sluggard*, says Wisdom it self, about Providence and Seasonable Cares and Preparations for Futurity: *Consider her*

ways, and be wise, Prov. vi. 6, 7, 8. And *the Apoſtles at Jeruſalem*, and *other Chriſtians*, under the appearance of eminent and approaching Want, and great Diſtreſs, were providently careful to prepare for it the beſt they could, by *ſelling what Houſes and Lands they had*, and *putting the Prices into a common Stock*, Acts iv. 34, 35. Yea, in the Family and Retinue of *Chriſt* himſelf, there was a Provident Care, and *Judas bore* a common Purſe or *Bag*, which was for *having ſomething ſtill before-hand*, Joh. xiii. 29. *and* xii. 6. About theſe Things (*a*) *Labour and Care is to be exerciſed, and only ſolicitude to be removed*, as St. *Jerom* notes, i. e. *ſuch Care as diſquiets the Miud.*

But the Provident Fear and Care, or well-order'd Sollicitude about theſe Temporal Things or Ends of this Life, which *Godly Wiſdom* allows, is to be a Care and Providence under theſe following Limitations.

1. *Firſt*, It is not to be for theſe Temporal Things in Life, *as for the Ends of Life it ſelf.* We are not made for this World, nor enjoy it as Inhabitants, who ſet up their Reſt therein, as in their proper Place. But we are made and deſign'd for a better, and only paſs through this as *Strangers and Pilgrims, in ſearch of a City above* in the higheſt Heavens, as the * Scripture ſays. And therefore theſe Worldly Things we muſt not ſtop in, as if, like as they are made for us, ſo we were made for them. Our Care for them, is not to be as for the Ends of Life, which we muſt only ſeek to pleaſe our ſelves in, or enjoy: But as for † *the Means and Helps thereof*, which we muſt uſe, in order to better and higher Enjoyments; they are to be cared for, only as Things neceſſary, or uſeful to us in our Paſſage; or as ſubſervient to us in ſeeking better Things; or in exerciſing thoſe Virtues, and ſetting forth thoſe Religious Duties, which are the True and Real Ends of Life.

* 1 Pet. ii. 11. Heb. xi. 13.

† Adminiculis Vitæ.

2. It is not to be a Care and Studiouſneſs for *Superfluities*, but for the *True and Reaſonable Neceſſities and Conveniencies of Life.* *Superfluities* are not neceſſary to real Wants and Conveniencies; but only to the Phantaſtick Wants and Conveniencies, of Vicious, Vain, or Diſeaſed Minds and Imaginations. And Spiritual Prudence is not for pampering and gratifying, but for curing an unſound and diſtemper'd Fancy and Apprehenſion. It neglects not to provide for real Conveniencies, but it ſeeks not to ſupply the wants of Vices or Diſtempers of Men's Souls; or *makes no Proviſion for the Fleſh*, as St. *Paul* ſays, *to fulfil the Luſts thereof*, Rom. xiii. 14. Where God has provided Men with Plenty and Surpluſage, either by his Bleſſing on their own Endeavours, or by the Care of Anceſtors, they are eaſed of the great Temptation to Sollicitouſneſs, and are the more inexcuſable if they offend therein, for more and more Superfluities. But where he has allotted leſs, and Proſpect of Want may put Men upon more impatient and uneaſy Cares; there Spiritual Prudence is for having its Care and Sollicitude ſpent on Conveniencies, not on Superfluities; and on real Conveniences, not on Imaginary and Phantaſtick ones, which are infinite, and never to be ſatisfied. *Feed me with Food* || *convenient for me*, that is, commenſurate to my Circumſtance and Condition in the World, was *wiſe Agur*'s *Wiſh*, Prov. xxx. 8. And, *give us* * *this Day*, or † *Day by Day, our Daily Bread*, ſays the *Lord's Prayer.* Bounding our Sollicitudes and Cares with what is really ſufficient, and enough for us; or with *Bread, i. e.* Convenient Suſtenance and Support, which excludes *Greedineſs.* And claiming Holy Acquieſcence and Content, if it be but for *this Day*, or *from Day to Day*, in Daily Dependance upon Pro-

|| Demenſi mei.

* Mat. vi. 11.

† Luk. xi. 3.

(*a*) Labor eſt exercendus, Sollicitudo tollenda. *Jerom. Tom.* 9. Comment. ad c. 6. *Mat.* on Nolite Sollicite eſſe. *v.* 25.

vidence, which excludes *Diffidence*. And ſo to be maintained for all the Days of our Lives ; at the End whereof we can carry away nothing, but good Works and a good Conſcience, not any worldly Things.

3. 'Tis not a Study and Care for theſe Neceſſaries and Conveniencies, that is *ſuperfluous*, i. e. *more than needs* ; *or a ſhewing more Sollicitude, when they would be as well ſecured and ſerved by leſs*. We have Employment enough for our Care on higher Things, which call for all the Care that we can ſpare ; and ſo have little Cauſe to laviſh it out, and throw it away unneceſſarily on leſſer Matters. Some Care for them is neceſſary, God having ſo order'd Things to incite Induſtry, that we cannot compaſs what we need without our own Care. But when we do take Care for them, that ſhould be a juſt and proportion'd Care ; not an unneceſſary Care ; where the Superfluity doth the End we ſeek no good, but only troubles our ſelves, and leaves us the leſs Care in Store and Reſerve for better Things.

It muſt not be immoderate, or more than ſuits either,

1. With *the true Weight and Worth, the Dangers or Hazards of theſe Things*. The worldly Things we ſeek, are of a very mixed and limited Goodneſs ; and we may eaſily beſtow more Care and Pains in Purſuit of any of them, than it will anſwer. They are likewiſe many times more eaſily attainable, and not liable to any great Hazard. Or when there is more Uncertainty in any Purſuit ; yet if we cannot have one Thing, the World has Variety ; and we may have another as good, that will ſerve as well. Or if we have it not at one Time, let us but wait, and we may have it at another ; and perhaps when that Time comes, it will appear to be a better. So that we may eaſily ſpend more Care upon them than they will require. And having ſo much Uſe of it, Spiritual Prudence is for having us to be good Husbands of our Care ; not ſpending more upon any worldly Things, than the Worth of the Thing will bear, and (if it were got thereby) than we ſhould be well paid for ; nor laying out more thereon, than the Difficulty of the Thing it ſelf, or the Hazards incident to it, do require.

2. Or *more than ſuits with our other greater and higher Cares*. We muſt be careful in ſuch ſort for any Ends of this Life, as that we neglect not all due Care for the Things of the Life beyond this. So that our Care for any worldly Thing muſt not be ſuch as takes up our Mind too much. Not ſuch, for inſtance, as leaves it not Time and Care enough to ſpare for Spiritual Improvements, and for attaining all the Virtues of Religion ; and for watching againſt all the Temptations of the World ; and for any Opportunities and Ways of doing the Good which we have been taught, or of avoiding the Evil whereof we have been forewarn'd : All which is ſuch a *Care of this Life, as choaks the Word*, as our Saviour ſays, *Mat.* xiii. 22. Nor ſuch as *obtrudes it ſelf upon us at an aliene or unſeaſonable Time* ; calling us to mind our worldly Care, when we have a contrary Call to mind God or Religion, ſome Work of Piety or Charity ; or when we are preſent at, and our Minds ſhould be attending to, and ſpending all their Care upon ſome Spiritual Functions, as Prayers, or other Divine Offices ; or in any other Call and Seaſon, for like Good and Religious Things. The Care of this World muſt yield to the Care of Religion : It muſt not juſtle out God and our Duty, but give way to them : So that it is always immoderate and ill govern'd, when it is not made to comport with them.

3. Or *with the Enjoyment of our own Minds*. When Care grows great, it is very diſquieting, and a vexatious burthenſome Thing. And moſt of thoſe worldly Things which Men purſue, tho' they are valuable when they come cheaper, and are got more quietly ; yet, however they may flatter themſelves with Fancies before, when they come to try them, they do not

ordinarily find that Satisfaction therein, which will compenſate for the Loſs of Eaſe and Tranquility of Mind. That Care is immoderate, and gives away more than it is like to get, which robs us of our internal Eaſe and Self-Enjoyment. For it is a much more valuable Thing to enjoy what is within, than what is without us; and to enjoy our ſelves and our own Minds, than thoſe worldly Things which we are in Purſuit of. That Care is to be removed, which is *vexatious* and *diſquieting to the Mind*: *What our Lord has forbid, not being all Labour and Care, but only Sollicitude*, as St. *Jerom* ſays.

4. Particularly it excludes all ſuch Care, as diſquiets it by *diſtracting Fears, and Anxiety about Events*, or *all anxious Cares with Miſtruſt of Providence.*

As for a Competency of worldly Things tho' we have no Surpluſage, and for ſuch Succeſs at all Times in any Purſuit, as is good and fit for us; they are what we have ſecured to us by * Promiſes, and by the Providence of God: And all our Sollicitude for theſe Things, muſt only be a Care, with *Faith in God*, and *Reliance on Providence*; never an *anxious Fear*, with *Want of Faith*, or *Diſtruſt* thereof. Which Diſtruſt of God, and about Things Men are eagerly deſirous of, muſt needs fill worldly Minds indeed with Anxiety and Diſtractions: For their great Deſires will put them upon great Cares; and their Want of Faith leaving no ſure Anchor of Hope in God, (which is the only fix'd Stay to hold to) will fill them with Fears. So that they are ſtill wavering in Ebbs and Flows, Hopes and Fears, and are of anxious and diſtracted Spirits.

* Rom. viii. 28. Heb. xiii. 5. Mat. vi. 33.

But now this anxious and miſtruſtful Sollicitude, is what Spiritual Wiſdom by no means allows of. We are not to give way to it, tho' we have *Bread* but from *Day to Day*; which calls us to a conſtant Dependance on God for what we ſhall eat next, as I obſerved before from the *Lord's Prayer*. Nor in Dangers, either Private or Publick, to Church or State; tho' our Preſervation or Deliverance is but from *Day to Day*, without any comfortable Proſpect of Continuance, and we are held there in like conſtant Dependance. Our Care indeed is neceſſary, for attaining of worldly good Things, and for putting by worldly Evils; God having left thoſe good Attainments for an Employment of Induſtry, and not conferring them upon us by himſelf alone, or making them fall on every Man's Head by Miracles, but by our own Concurrence. And theſe depending in good part upon us, muſt be a Matter of our Care, employing our Care as well as his Providence. But as they depend on us, they depend on him too: And as we are to have them by our Cares, ſo muſt we have them under and from his Providence. And therefore, when we are careful to get them, we muſt at the ſame time look up to him, and truſt that he will give them, or ſuch other Good in Lieu thereof, as he ſees moſt fitting for us. *Faith in Providence*, eſpecially where alſo we have God's expreſs Promiſes withal, muſt always both ſupport our Cares, and ſpeed or give Succeſs to them. So that whenſoever we care, and are ſollicitous for any Earthly Things, it muſt always be under God, not excluding him; and with Faith in Providence and God's Promiſes, not with anxious and diſtracting Fears and Miſtruſt thereof. Which anxious and miſtruſtful *Sollicitude about Food or Raiment*, that is, the good Things of this World, our Saviour warns againſt, *Mat.* vi.

For the Care there ſpoken of, is a miſtruſtful, painful Care; that Sollicitude being taxed as ſhewing *little Faith*, v. 30. or *being of doubtful Mind*, and *hanging in careful Suſpenſe*, as St. *Luke* explains it, *Luke* xii. 29. † *Be not anxiouſly and miſtruſtfully ſollicitous*, ſays our Lord; or *take no Thought for your Life*, (or the Things of this World to ſupport Life) *what ye ſhall*

† μὴ μεριμνᾶτε.

ſhall eat, or drink ; or for the Body, what ye ſhall put on, Mat. vi. 25, 31. Which ſollicitous Miſtruſt he ſeeks to remove and exclude, by the Aſſurance of God's Care over us : Reproving it from the greater Inſtances of his Care, which all of us have received already : *Is not the Life more than Meat, and the Body more than Raiment ?* And is he like to with-hold this, who gave that ? v. 25. And from what Care all other Creatures do receive from him : *Are not the Fowls of the Air, that* (have none of our Proviſions) *neither ſow, nor reap, nor gather into Barns*, yet taken care for by him all the Year, and *fed ? And are not the* very *Lillies, that neither toil nor ſpin, clad ? And are not ye much better than they* ? Or can he overlook you, whilſt he takes care of them ? v. 26, 28. From the Care which Providence has even of the minuteſt Matters belonging to us, *the Hairs of our Head* (as he * ſays elſewhere) *being all number'd.* From God's Knowledge of all our Needs, and a Promiſe and Aſſurance that as he knows, ſo he will take care of all their Wants, who take care of their own Duty, and of his Righteouſneſs. *Your Heavenly Father knows ye have need of all theſe Things. But ſeek ye firſt the Kingdom of God and his Righteouſneſs, and all theſe Things ſhall be added unto you*, v. 32, 33. And, to name no more, Laſtly, From the Unprofitableneſs of ſuch anxious and miſtruſtful Cares, which (in moſt Caſes) ſerve not at all to ſet on our own Wiſhes, but only to torment and diſquiet our ſelves. *Which of you, by* ſuch *taking Thought, can add one Cubit unto his Stature ?* v. 27.

* Mat. x. 30.

5. Laſtly, 'Tis not a *Sollicitude or Carefulneſs before the Time, or a Preoccupation of Cares*, foreſtalling and anticipating them before the Time comes. Spiritual Prudence in caring for worldly Matters, is not for tormenting it ſelf with Fears of what may never happen, or with troubleſome Cares of Things that are afar off. It is not ſollicitous about reaping, whilſt 'tis only Seed-time ; or what Opportunity and Seaſon they ſhall have to ſow again, when they are now but in the Time of reaping ; or how the Markets will go, and what the Sale thereof will be at the Time of ſelling, when the Grain is yet in the Field, and not got into the Barn. This is to trouble our ſelves with Cares, before the Time of caring ; to † *take Thought for To-morrow*, which is our Saviour's Expreſſion in this Prohibition : Not letting the Thing alone which is to come To-morrow, to be cared for To-morrow ; when it will be no better cared for now than it will be then ; and when this Day's Care, is only to add the Care of one Day more, not to prevent any that muſt ~~come~~ after : An early Trouble, and before we need, for what we cannot ſhun ; and a painful Anticipation of a diſtant Care, which (at its own Time) muſt be cared for, and repeated over again. Which our Lord reſpects, when he ſays, *Take no Thought for the Morrow ; for the Morrow ſhall take Thought for the Things of it ſelf : Sufficient to the Day is the Evil thereof*, Mat. vi. 34. *Sufficient to the Day is the Evil thereof ; i. e.* Sufficient to this Day is the Affliction of the Care and Sollicitude that is preſent, and which it brings along with it ; and we ſhall have enough to do in bearing the Care and Sollicitude of any future and remote Burthen, when its own Time is come, and it is made preſent.

† Sollicitè in craſtinum.

Such is the Carefulneſs and Sollicitude for worldly Things which *Chriſt* forbids, and which Chriſtian Prudence is for baniſhing out of the Hearts of Chriſtians, when they are in the way of compaſſing any worldly Ends. A due Care it allows, that is not diſquieting or vexatious, miſtruſtful of God, or neglectful of better Things. But it permits not ſuch Care of them, as ſets them up for Ends, not only for Means and Inſtruments ; as is laid out for Superfluities, not for real Wants and Conveniencies : Such as is a ſuperfluous Care, more than needs for our Purpoſe ; an immoderate and ill-govern'd

ordinarily find that Satisfaction therein, which will compenſate for the Loſs of Eaſe and Tranquility of Mind. That Care is immoderate, and gives away more than it is like to get, which robs us of our internal Eaſe and Self-Enjoyment. For it is a much more valuable Thing to enjoy what is within, than what is without us; and to enjoy our ſelves and our own Minds, than thoſe worldly Things which we are in Purſuit of. That Care is to be removed, which is *vexatious* and *diſquieting to the Mind*: *What our Lord has forbid, not being all Labour and Care, but only Sollicitude*, as St. *Jerom* ſays.

4. Particularly it excludes all ſuch Care, as diſquiets it by *diſtracting Fears, and Anxiety about Events*, or *all anxious Cares with Miſtruſt of Providence.*

As for a Competency of worldly Things tho' we have no Surpluſage, and for ſuch Succeſs at all Times in any Purſuit, as is good and fit for us; they are what we have ſecured to us by * Promiſes, and by the Providence of God: And all our Sollicitude for theſe Things, muſt only be a Care, with *Faith in God*, and *Reliance on Providence*; never an *anxious Fear*, with *Want of Faith*, or *Diſtruſt* thereof. Which Diſtruſt of God, and about Things Men are eagerly deſirous of, muſt needs fill worldly Minds indeed with Anxiety and Diſtractions: For their great Deſires will put them upon great Cares; and their Want of Faith leaving no ſure Anchor of Hope in God, (which is the only fix'd Stay to hold to) will fill them with Fears. So that they are ſtill wavering in Ebbs and Flows, Hopes and Fears, and are of anxious and diſtracted Spirits.

* Rom. viii. 28. Heb. xiii. 5. Mat. vi. 33.

But now this anxious and miſtruſtful Sollicitude, is what Spiritual Wiſdom by no means allows of. We are not to give way to it, tho' we have *Bread* but from *Day to Day*; which calls us to a conſtant Dependance on God for what we ſhall eat next, as I obſerved before from the *Lord's Prayer*. Nor in Dangers, either Private or Publick, to Church or State; tho' our Preſervation or Deliverance is but from *Day to Day*, without any comfortable Proſpect of Continuance, and we are held there in like conſtant Dependance. Our Care indeed is neceſſary, for attaining of worldly good Things, and for putting by worldly Evils; God having left thoſe good Attainments for an Employment of Induſtry, and not conferring them upon us by himſelf alone, or making them fall on every Man's Head by Miracles, but by our own Concurrence. And theſe depending in good part upon us, muſt be a Matter of our Care, employing our Care as well as his Providence. But as they depend on us, they depend on him too: And as we are to have them by our Cares, ſo muſt we have them under and from his Providence. And therefore, when we are careful to get them, we muſt at the ſame time look up to him, and truſt that he will give them, or ſuch other Good in Lieu thereof, as he ſees moſt fitting for us. *Faith in Providence*, eſpecially where alſo we have God's expreſs Promiſes withal, muſt always both ſupport our Cares, and ſpeed or give Succeſs to them. So that whenſoever we care, and are ſollicitous for any Earthly Things, it muſt always be under God, not excluding him; and with Faith in Providence and God's Promiſes, not with anxious and diſtracting Fears and Miſtruſt thereof. Which anxious and miſtruſtful *Sollicitude about Food or Raiment*, that is, the good Things of this World, our Saviour warns againſt, *Mat.* vi.

For the Care there ſpoken of, is a miſtruſtful, painful Care; that Sollicitude being taxed as ſhewing *little Faith*, v. 30. or *being of doubtful Mind*, and *hanging in careful Suſpenſe*, as St. *Luke* explains it, *Luke* xii. 29. † *Be not anxiouſly and miſtruſtfully ſollicitous*, ſays our Lord; or *take no Thought for your Life*, (or the Things of this World to ſupport Life) *what ye ſhall*

† μὴ μεριμνᾶτε.

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govern'd Care, more than the Things will anſwer, as well as more than the attaining of them would require; ſuch as defrauds better Things, and conſiſts not with our greater or higher Cares; ſuch as burthens and diſquiets our Minds, as diſtruſts God and Providence, and turns into Anxiety and diſtracting Thoughts; or, laſtly, ſuch as pre-occupates diſtant Evils, and torments it ſelf before-hand with Futurities, which it cannot help, yea, perhaps, with Tryals or Maladies which it ſhall never feel; and is not content to defer a troubleſome Care for a Thing, 'till the Time of caring for it come. All theſe ways of being Sollicitous, beſides the reſort to unlawful Means, ſo much inſiſted on above, are the Sollicitude of Worldly Minds, who fix in Worldly Things, and weigh them in a Worldly Eſtimate, and ſeek them only by Worldly Succours. Not of the ſpiritually wiſe, who ſeek them only as ſerviceable to higher and better Ends, or in Subordination to God, and in Subſerviency to Religion; over-ruling all the Suggeſtions of Fleſhly Wiſdom in theſe Points, ſo as may beſt ſerve it ſelf, and as may make us do what moſt becomes Chriſtians.

And this is the laſt Office of *Chriſtian Prudence*, which I propoſed to treat of, *viz.* to govern in all Worldly Affairs, or *in all the ways forementioned, ſo to furniſh out Inferior and Worldly Prudence about Things of this Life in ſome Points, and to over-rule it in others, keeping it from ſerving it ſelf by any forbidden ways, by letting fall, or being wanting to any Duties, and from being anxious and ſollicitous about the Attainment of what it purſues; as may beſt ſuit with the Spirit and Precepts of Chriſtianity, and become the Servants and Followers of Chriſt Jeſus.*

And thus at length it may, at leaſt in part, appear what true Chriſtian Prudence is; how it lies in ſeeing and following right Ends of Religion, and in purſuing them only by fit and Chriſtian Ways; in taking for the Execution thereof, the moſt advantageous Seaſons, in tempering them to Circumſtances, and ſhewing Caution to prevent Harm thereby, or ill Conſequences; and as for all other inferior Prudence in Things of this Life, in ſo ordering the Ends, and over-ruling the Ways thereof, as may keep them moſt ſubſervient to Religion, and as may beſt become Chriſtians: And how contrary the way of Worldly Wiſdom, or Fleſhly Craftineſs, is to all this, in all the foreſaid Particulars.

CHAP. XIV.

A Recommendation of Chriſtian Prudence.

AND now, in Concluſion, for a further Explanation of, as well as for a Motive to that Chriſtian Prudence which I have endeavoured to recommend and ſet off in the *preceeding Chapters*; I ſhall briefly obſerve, how we are taught all this, both to keep to one way, and to ſhun the other, in St. *Paul*'s Practice. For this is the Account which that bleſſed Apoſtle gives of himſelf: *Our rejoicing is this, the Teſtimony of our Conſcience, that in Simplicity and godly Sincerity, not with Fleſhly Wiſdom, but by the Grace of God, we have had our Converſation in the World,* 2 Cor. i. 12.

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He diſclaims *having had any Converſation by Fleſhly Wiſdom*; *i. e.* by having ſuited his Converſation to Fleſhly Ends, or governing himſelf by Fleſhly Methods. Wiſdom is ſeen in propoſing of Ends, and in choice of Means. And Fleſhly Wiſdom is ſuch as is fitteſt for Fleſhly Purpoſes; purſuing Fleſhly Ends by Fleſhly Courſes, eſpecially by *Deceit* and *Craftineſs*. (*a*) *By Fleſhly Wiſdom, he here means, not Eloquence, but Wickedneſs and Craftineſs*, ſays *Theodorit*. And to purſue all Things, or to deal and converſe with all Perſons of this World, by *Fleſhly Wiſdom*, is to ſerve the Ends or Appetites of our Fleſh by them: To take up at every turn with ſuch Things as are eaſieſt to Fleſh and Blood, and make moſt for it; and to compaſs them, as need is, by any Method, eſpecially by Craft and Deceit. So that then Men *converſe by Fleſhly Wiſdom*, when they govern their Converſations by Fleſhly Conſiderations, and Worldly Maxims, and compaſs their Ends by unlawful and deceitful Ways, and ſteer their Courſe in every Thing they do, or meet withal in this World, as may give them the moſt and beſt Enjoyment of Worldly Things. And this, do all they count wiſe, who are fix'd to this World, and look no further. But this, the *Bleſſed Apoſtle* tells us, was not his Meaſure; *Not by Fleſhly Wiſdom:*

But by the Grace of God. That is, by *Religion*, or the *Rules of the Goſpel*, which is called *the Grace of God*, as containing his gracious Dealings and Intentions towards us, and as both declaring to us what we ſhould do, and offering us Grace whereby to do it. *The Grace of God bringing Salvation, teaches us, &c.* ſaith St. *Paul*, *i. e.* the Goſpel doth, *Tit.* ii. 11. So that his Converſation he ordered all along, not as might get him, or keep him moſt Eaſe and Intereſt in this World; but as might beſt ſecure his Innocence in every Thing, and the Rules of Religion. His chief Care was, at all Times, and in every Action, to do his Duty, to keep the Orders, and ſerve the Honour of Chriſtianity. All his Study and Deliberation, was as a Man of another World, not of this; as one that ſought to ſave his Soul, not to pamper his Body; what way he might be moſt Innocent and Holy, not what would make him a more Wealthy, Worldly Eaſy, or Happy Perſon. If a Way, or Thing, was never ſo croſs to his Worldly Intereſts, and to the Cravings of the Fleſh, to diſcharge his Duty, and keep a good Conſcience, he would take or do it. And in any Thing, if a Duty was called for by the Goſpel, or the Grace of God; for any Conſiderations of this World, he would not forego it. *Not in Fleſhly Wiſdom, but in Simplicity, and godly Sincerity* (which I have before explained at large,) *and by the Grace of God*, or the Rules of the Goſpel, *I have had my Converſation in the World.*

Laſtly, I ſhall note the Comfort and Satisfaction which he found in all this. *This is our Rejoycing, our* * *Glory* and Triumph, *the Teſtimony of our Conſcience, &c.* Such a Cauſe of Rejoycing, *his Converſing in all Things without Fleſhly Wiſdom, and by the Grace of God*, proved to him moſt fully afterwards. But whilſt he was practiſing this Rule, though he had plenty of inward Comforts and Satisfaction, yet he found outward Trouble enough therein. As he has no Regard for this World, or for the Rules of Fleſhly Wiſdom; ſo had this World no more Favour or Regard for him. All this Time, whilſt he held on in the way of Simplicity, and of the Grace of God, he run through as much Rage and Rudeneſs, and Perſecutions of the World, as any Man. This, indeed, was one Thing which he was ſtill ſure of, and the great Exerciſe of his Life in every Place. So

* καύχησις.

(*a*) Carnalem ſapientiam hic dicit, non Eloquentiam, ſed malitiam & callidiratem. *Theod.* in loc.

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the Holy Ghoſt, as he ſays, *witneſſed to him, that in every City, Bonds and Afflictions abode* or waited for *him*, Acts xx. 23. Nay, theſe he met with, in the higheſt Degrees, conflicting, not only with the Malice, but with the downright Rage and Madneſs of the People. They were ready to tread him down like Dirt under their Feet; and valued him no more, than the Sweepings of the Streets: *We are*, ſaith he, *as the Filth of the World, and as the Off-ſcouring of all Things, unto this Day*, 1 Cor. iv. 13. Here had he need enough to betake himſelf from Simplicity, and the ſtrict Rules of the Goſpel or Grace of God, to *Fleſhly Wiſdom*, could any Thing on Earth have driven him thereto. And he met with outward Trouble and Sorrow enough, for his Conſcientious and Religious Stiffneſs, that he would not.

And yet after all this, he doth not in the leaſt repent of all his Sufferings; nay, were they all to be ſuffer'd over again, or as many more ſet before him, he is as ready as ever he was, to hold on ſtill in the ſame Courſe. He looks upon thoſe Sufferings in this way, with other Eyes, than common Spectators do; rating them as Favours, and the trueſt matter of glorying and Joy. His Caſe, all this while, ſeemed moſt miſerable to others; but they ſaw only the outſide, and viewed it at a diſtance; whereas, in Truth, it was all the Time happy to himſelf. The Pains of his Sufferings were ſoon gone; but the Peace and Joy thereof were laſting. Whilſt the Pains and Troubles were moſt preſſing upon him, he had ſtill a Stream of inward Joys and Conſolations coming in, which did refreſh and ſupport him under them: *God comforting him*, as he ſays, *in all his Tribulations*; and ſtill *as the Sufferings of Chriſt abounded in him, ſo his Conſolations alſo*, in Proportion *abounding by Chriſt*, 2 Cor i. 4, 5. But though theſe Joys came with his Sorrows, yet they did not vaniſh with them, but ſtaid and ſtuck by him afterwards, for a full and abundant Compenſation.

And this is the Comfort of all truly Religious and upright Sufferers; like as this Holy Apoſtle was, ſo they are beſt pleaſed with themſelves, when others are moſt diſpleaſed with them. Though they have not the Joys of this World, yet they have Joy in it: Joy, whilſt they loſe the good Things thereof, yea, therefore Joy becauſe they loſe them, and ſtill a greater Meaſure of Joys, the greater their Loſs is; if it be for diſcharging a good Conſcience towards God, or for keeping the Rules of Righteouſneſs, and the Service of *Jeſus*. And they have a clear Proſpect of moſt ineffable and laſting Joys, ſo ſoon as ever the Scene ſhall change, and they ſhall be taken and removed from hence. *Come thou good and faithful Servant, enter thou into the Joy of thy Lord*, Mat. xxv. 21.

But we live in a Time, when to the greateſt Numbers, *Popery*, which is indeed a very Corrupt Religion, ſeems more formidable than any other Thing. And to call a Way Popiſh, ſounds worſe in the Ears of the Populace, than to ſay it is Unchriſtian. And therefore, to conclude this Subject, I ſhall note in the laſt place, how all the foreſaid Methods of the worldly Wiſe, which I have taxed before, are no better than *Popiſh Corruptions*.

There are *Popiſh Morals*, as well as *Popiſh Superſtitions and Idolatries*. The Depravations of good Practice, and of Moral Honeſty and Juſtice, by a Number of their Caſuiſts, have been as ſcandalous, and will prove as fatal to thoſe Souls who are deluded by them, as their Depravations in Matters of Faith and Devotion. And the forecited Rules of the Worldly Wiſe, are among thoſe very Ways whereby too many Papiſts have corrupted Chriſtian Morals. Nay, they are the Morals of *Jeſuits*, who are the worſt of Papiſts, and whoſe ſcandalous Accommodations of *Chriſt*'s Holy Rules and Precepts, to comply with Fleſhly Paſſions and Intereſts, ſuiting Religion

gion to Self-Ends, and basely bending Moral Duties to serve Corrupt Turns and Worldly Necessities, are condemned in these, and such other Points, by the sober Papists themselves.

And this I the rather note, because I see so many Reverend and Worthy Persons, who seem the strictest and truest Examples of Moral Integrity among us, and who stand out against all these unlawful Compliances and Insincerities of the Fleshly Wise, appearing as the Patterns and Confessors for Honesty and Morality, in a Day of general Temptation and Defection from them. I say, I see that these Persons, among other Marks of common Hatred and Scorn, are yet branded with the Name of Papists, (notwithstanding all the Opposition which they made to Popery, and some of them most eminently, when the Day of Tryal was,) for these their brave and truly Christian Oppositions of Popish Morals. Yea, and that by those, who content with a Zeal against Popish Errors in Faith, and Superstitious Devotions, are yet, in the midst of all their Heat against them, running into the worst parts of their Morality, sucking in the rankest Poyson of *Jesuitish* Honesty unawares.

For, as to the Points before-mentioned, such as these are the *Jesuits* Principles; all taught by some or other, (for God forbid that I should charge all therewith,) in that *Order*.

They are *for doing Evil that Good may come*. This is the meaning of that Grand Salvo, so much magnified and made use of among them, *viz. The Right Direction of the Intention*, which affords them such wonderful help in an unlawful Thing. Thus they clear Men of the worst Crimes; as *Simony*, *False-Witness*, *Theft*, *Duels*, and *Murther* it self. Plead but Necessity, and say there is need of it, for Religion, or the Church, or their Society, for the Publick, or for a Man's own Private Good, to preserve his Life, his Estate, or his Reputation; And then the Breach of the Precept they make to be without Guilt, if therein a Man doth but direct his Intention aright; permitting the Evil of the Action, if the Actor doth but take care to purify his Intention.

They are notorious, for *giving a Discharge of Relative Duties*, particularly towards Princes, *when those Duties grow Burthensome or Unsafe*, under impious, or oppressive Rulers. For, of all others, they are the Men who are foremost, (leading others,) and fullest in asserting, *the Deposition and Dethroning Kings*; the *Absolution and Discharge of Subjects, from the Obligation of their Natural Allegiance*; *and the Lawfulness of Rising in Arms against Heretical or Tyrannical Princes*. There is scarce any one Thing, wherewith for many Years last past, not only this Order of Men, but the *Church of Rome* have been more learnedly charged, and more shamefully silenc'd, than they have with these Doctrines. Yea, 'tis the *Test of Popery* by our Laws; the *Legal Conviction of Papists*, being by the Tender of the *Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy*, which were made to secure and defend our Princes against the Poison of these Tenets.

They are infamous, for *all Arts of Insincerity and Fallaciousness*. Having been the Pest of Human Society, by their Doctrines of *Equivocation*, or using of doubtful Words and ambiguous Speeches, which the Parties concern'd shall take otherwise than they mean them. And *of Mental Reservation*, reserving in their own Minds some hidden and unexpressed Clauses in their Declarations; or secret and unexpected Conditions in their Promises: So to make their Speech a Truth to themselves, though it be a Lye to others. Of *getting*, and *compassing their Ends* by *deceitful Suggestions*; or setting out so much Truth as to serve the Turn, and craftily hiding what would hinder it. And instead of that Plainness and Simplicity which is prescribed by Religion, studiously assuming all counterfeit Shapes, and inventing and propagating all those Fallacious Ways, or Liber-

ties of dissembling, which the *Father of Lies* can suggest to their Hearts, whereby to overthrow the Faith of Men.

Whilst they *reserve their Minds, or inward Service for God*, they *are for giving the External Service, or outward Appearance, to any Wickedness* * p. 51. *expected from them.* Thus, as the Author of *the Provincial Letter* * observes, they allow'd the *Chinese* to worship a *Chinese Idol*, if they were careful to hide under their Cloaths an *Image of Jesus Christ*, to which, by a Mental Reserve, they were to pay those Publick Adorations, which in visible Appearance the Idol receiv'd.

They are for *Tempering their Duty, to Circumstances of outward Convenience*, doing so much, as they safely may, without Worldly Loss or Disad- † Ib. vantage. Contenting themselves, as † they did in the *Indies*, to preach up a *Glorified Jesus*, to those that would not hear of a *Crucified Jesus*. And abating the Duties of Religion, till they have brought them down to the Pitch and Proportion, the Wants and Worldly Necessities of those who consult them.

They are *for Changing Doctrines, as they Change Turns and Interests*. Not only in different Turns of their own, or the Societies Affairs, but likewise of their Disciples. Having one Resolution for one Man, and at one Time, and a contrary at another. By this Looseness, taking in all Comers, and fitting and reconciling all Times and Persons to their own Ends.

They are *for holding and maintaining what is once ill got.* And make unjust Possession, a just Title to it. And order easy Amends and Restitution, for Wrongful and Evil-Deeds; no more than can consist with the Offenders own Credit and Convenience.

They have invented *Salvo's*, whereby Men may keep Innocent, and yet *Act in an unlawful Business*; and *minister*, and help other Men to Sin without Sinning themselves.

They *vacate*, at their Pleasure, and *put by the Laws of Morality*, as they lye in their Way, rendring them insignificant, and of little or no Force or Obligation. Either by *Interpretation of Terms*, or so expounding the Terms used in prohibiting any Sins, as shall exempt all, or almost all their own Transgressions from coming under them. Or, by allowing the Thing, not under the Name whereby it stands forbidden, but *the very same Thing in another Form*: Like to what they resolved in the Case of *Usury*, permitting it, not under the Name of *Usury*, but of the *Contract Mohatra*, i. e. *Selling any Person, who wants Money, any Commodities on Trust, at a great Rate; and he presently Selling them again for ready Money to the same Person, at so much less as the Use would come to.* Or, by *nice and vain Distinctions*, eluding all the Force of a Duty, by limiting it to some such Bounds, or making it to bind only for such Reasons, as they will be in little need to transgress: Or running into such thin and subtle Notions, till they have lost both it and themselves. Or, by the Plea of *Favourable Circumstances*, which in Carnal Estimate call for Ease and Indulgence; and which they are most liberal in granting at God's Cost to save themselves. Or, by *Shifting of Intentions*, confining the Malignity thereof *to doing it for certain Ends*, which they can easily evade, by proposing other Ends therein to themselves. The main Study, and boasted Subtilty of their Casuistry, lies not in explaining, but in defeating Moral Duties, in spreading Plaisters for all Sores, and inventing Salvo's for Sins. And instead of Instructions and Enforecements, how to keep, venting among their Disciples, Palliations and Devices, to shew them how they may be able without Sin, to break God's Commandments.

In Sum, not to lengthen out this Point by any more Particulars, they are extremely tender of Fleshly Wants and Necessities. But this, as they who

are for more *Flesh* than *Spirit*; shewing no Tenderness for God, but making as bold as may be with Religion and its Duties. Theirs is *an accommodating and complying Theology*; and their great Care is not to bear, but to avoid and shift off the Cross, and to temper and bring down the Strictnesses and Severities of *Christ*, to the Pitch and Measure of a fleshly Mind. And this wicked Policy, or Suiting the Rules of Morality and Holiness to Carnal Ends and Inclinations, they call *Religious Wisdom*, or being wise to retain or multiply the Followers, to serve the Ends and Interests of the *Lord Jesus*.

It would be too long to annex particular Sayings and Proofs of all these, and other such like Opinions and Maxims of fleshly Wisdom, advanced by some or other of these Carnal Politicians. They who list may see enough from their own Authors; or, without giving themselves Trouble to look further for them, in the *Mystery of Jesuitism*, or * *Provincial Letters*, and in the several *Extracts of Propositions from the Jesuits Writings in the Additionals*.

* Vid. *Letter* 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, &c.

Thus are the foresaid Rules and worldly Maxims (declared against in the preceding Chapters) no better than *Jesuits Principles*, which Secular Reason, and Carnal Interests, and Self-Ends are ready enough to suggest to fleshly Natures of all Sects and Parties; but which they, above all others, have cultivated to Perfection: So that as these Rules of fleshly Wisdom take place, and come in use, the *Jesuit* creeps in, and revives amongst us. And if *Jesuits Morals* must come in to drive out *Popish Superstitions and Idolatries*; as much and as bad *Popery* will come in at the Back-door, as goes out at the Fore-door, and there will be no Deliverance from *Popery* that way to boast of.

I have an hearty Aversion to *Popery*, whilst I pity their Persons, and am (I thank God) ready to perform all that is just and charitable to them; at the same time mightily condemning their Persuasion, as a most corrupt Religion. Accordingly, I think it a mighty Preservation, to be kept by God's Grace and good Providence from those most dangerous and mischievous Errors, or from all violent Temptations to them. But I confess, I am for keeping out *Popery*, or any other ill Religion, only by Orthodox Tenets, and true Christian Practices. Which, God be thanked, (whatever it is of too many of its Members) is the way of this Church, in all her Authentick Doctrines and Offices; that set as much by Good Life, as by Orthodox Belief; and are not more for professing Truth, than they are for practising a strict and inviolable Morality and Holiness: As all her Children and Sons must be too, who will not revolt, or break off from her Principles. And I think it a most lamentable Unhappiness, for Men (in their Zeal against so blameworthy a Religion) to run headlong into some of its most heinous Vices; and even when they are opposing it with the greatest seeming Fierceness, from sound and entire *Protestants*, to become in truth *part-boil'd Romanists*, or drive out *Popish* Superstitions, by the Use and Help of *Jesuitish* Immoralities. Which really is done, as I have shewn, as often as the before-condemn'd Rules of fleshly Wisdom (and others like unto them) do find Place amongst us.

CHRISTIANITY,

A

DOCTRINE

OF THE

CROSS:

OR,

Paſſive Obedience,

UNDER ANY

Pretended Invaſion of LEGAL RIGHTS and LIBERTIES.

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OR THE

DOCTRINE

OF A

CHRISTIAN

TO THE
READER.

IT is a ſad Reflection to a true Chriſtian Spirit, to ſee ſome of the nobleſt Virtues of our Holy Religion, and Points of good Practice, not only neglected in the Lives, but endeavoured to be driven out of the Reverence and Eſteem of Chriſtians. Among theſe, I think none of late have bore more of the rude Batteries of Noiſe and Violence, or fallen deeper under the Wanton Sport or Malicious Strokes of prophane Wits, than the Doctrine of *Paſſive Obedience*.

I take it to be an unqueſtionable Goſpel Truth, and primitive Doctrine: And to carry in it the moſt lively Exerciſe and Expreſſion of the two grand Virtues of *Faith* and *Patience*. It is *Faith*, that under perſecuting or oppreſſive Governors, rather than ſave our ſelves by ſinning againſt God or them, dare run Ventures, and truſt or rely on him, either to prevent thoſe Perſecutions and outward Loſſes, which are ready to meet us in this Stedfaſtneſs to our Duty, or to ſupport us under them, and abundantly compenſate and reward us for them. And it is *Patience*, that bears all the preſſing Conflicts without Fainting, till the Grace of God has brought us through them. And theſe two Virtues, raiſe us ſo much above our ſelves, and this World; or above Human Weakneſſes, Affections, and Intereſts; that God has always dignified them with eſpecial Marks and Prerogatives of his Favour and Acceptance. And on the ſame Account, good Men have ever held them as the brighteſt Glory of the Saints, and what they were moſt ambitiouſly to aim at. As on the other Hand, for the ſame Reaſon, they have ever been

been the greateſt Terror and Stumbling-Block, to Worldly and Carnal Minds.

My Deſign in the enſuing Papers, is to do what ſeaſonable Service I am able, to this great and noble Inſtance of oppreſſed Truth and Righteouſneſs. And becauſe, after all that has been ſo often, and ſo well ſaid of late upon this Subject by others, particularly in the Elaborate and much Celebrated Diſcourſes of *Jovian*, and *the Caſe of Reſiſtance of the Supreme Powers Stated*, &c. The Adverſaries of this Truth ſtill inſiſt with great Confidence and Triumph, upon the Plea *of Legal Rights for Authorizing Reſiſtance* : I have ſingled out this Plea, and diſcuſs'd it in the enſuing Treatiſe. My Aim is, not ſo much to engage in particular and perſonal Diſputes, as to ſpeak to the Argument ; and to ſay ſo much, as among Minds willing to ſee it, may be ſufficient to prove and eſtabliſh a Doctrine ſo neceſſary as that whereof I write, and to obviate the moſt colourable Pretences which are brought againſt it. *Paſſive Obedience* is a great and practical Truth : And I ſeek herein, by ſetting it off with as much Strength and Clearneſs, and withal as briefly as I can, to build up honeſtly-diſpoſed Readers in the Belief and Practice thereof, notwithſtanding any Things, which, either in pretended *Favour to Religion*, or on any fancied *Authority from Civil Right*, they ſhall find urged in Oppoſition to it.

I muſt advertiſe thee further, that this Treatiſe was ſent away in Company of another, Entitled, *Of Chriſtian Prudence*, &c. And being both then prepared, and deſigned for the Preſs, there is a Reference to it in Page 160 of that Book. Which, not being obſerved by thoſe who had the Care thereof, (the Author himſelf being at a great diſtance from the Preſs,) that Book was publiſhed firſt, and this was left to follow it. And now it is come Abroad, I beſeech Almighty God of his Infinite Mercy to vouchſafe it his Acceptance, and to accompany it with his Grace, that it may not fail to do an Holy Religion ſome Honour ; a Noble, but decried and exploded Duty, ſome Credit ; and thy Self and his Church ſome Service.

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PASSIVE OBEDIENCE to Sovereign Powers, *is keeping under their Obedience, when we ſuffer wrongfully at their Hands.* If they command Things againſt the Law of God, or of the Land, we ought not; or if againſt the inviolable Liberties, which Laws have ſecured againſt the Prerogative in their reſpective Kingdoms, we need not ordinarily be *Active* in doing what we are bidden. In other Things, a Juſt and Lawful Authority muſt have *Active Obedience*: But when they come to puniſh againſt Laws, or for ſuch Things as with a ſafe Conſcience their Subjects could not act in; they are ſtill to continue under their Obedience, and in a State of Subjection. And this is by *being Paſſive*, or not riſing up to reſiſt, and levy War againſt them. They may ſeek to guard off the unjuſt Suffering, by Petitioning, by claiming the Help of Law from Courts of Juſtice, whilſt there are any Proviſions for Help yet untried therein, or by any other fitting Ways conſiſtent with Subjection. But not by running to Arms when all other Ways fail, and by Liſting Soldiers, (for no Man will ſtand in Arms by himſelf againſt him) to defend their own Rights againſt their Lawful Sovereign. Whilſt a Prince is our Lawful Sovereign, Obedience muſt be *due* to him; and whilſt we are under his Obedience, we muſt be *paſſive*, and have no Liberty in this ſort to reſiſt him.

This Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience, and Non-Reſiſtance, ſeems both moſt plainly preſcribed by the Precepts, and moſt ſuitable to the Spirit and Genius of our Holy Religion.

The *Fifth* Commandment, under the Name of *Honour*, enjoins both *Reverence* and *Support* of Princes, as our Politick *Fathers*. But when Subjects make War upon them, inſtead of paying *Fear* and *Reverence*, they are plain-

plainly in a State of *bidding Defiance*; and when the Sword is unsheathed against them, that is evidently not for their *Support*, but for the *beating and pulling of them down.*

* Tit. iii. 1. *Put them in mind*, saith * St. *Paul*, *to obey Magistrates.* But there is most visibly an End of Obedience, when Things are come to this pass; and Men under Command, cannot possibly do any Thing more contrary to shewing Obedience, than to *rise and fall* upon their Commanders.

† 1 Pet. ii. 13. ‖ Rom. xiii. 1. *Submit*, says † St. *Peter*, *to every Ordinance of Man.* Yea, *Let every Soul be subject*, saith ‖ St. *Paul.* But what becomes of Submission, when they fall thus to resisting? For every Man must needs be sensible he doth no longer submit to another, when he stands up to resist and fight against him.

Christianity is *a Doctrine of the Cross*, which is one of its distinguishing Marks: Nothing (in Account thereof) being more necessary, more proper and praise-worthy, than for Christians to * *take up*, and *bear Crosses.* Whence came those Crosses so much as from the persecuting Powers? And if the Crosses which Christians profess to bear, are such as persecuting Sovereigns lay on; it is plain they profess not to resist, (which is out of the way of bearing) but to shew Passive Obedience under them. For there is an End of taking up and bearing Crosses, when, instead of taking up and bearing, Men set themselves with all their Might to shake them off, or beat them back again.

* Mat. x. 38. Luk. ix. 23. Mat. xvi. 24. Luk. xiv. 27.

These Passages, and such like, do sufficiently bear out the Duty of *Non-Resistance*, even to the most ordinary Understandings, if they will but attend to them. Besides, that † St. *Paul* has told us in express Terms, That *they who resist* the Higher Powers, *shall receive to themselves Damnation.*

† Rom. xiii. 2.

All this was true, say the Advocates of Resistance, at those Times, and in those Cases for which these Rules were given. But those were, where the Wills of Governors were Laws, or where the Laws brought *Crosses*; not where the Laws (as it is with us) are a Cover against them. *Religion* it self, say they, doth not authorize Resistance; but *Civil Right* doth. And if Religion is by Law made a *Civil Right*, we may resist for it, as we may for other Civil Rights and Properties: Not being bound by any of these Precepts to bear Crosses, which the Law keeps off; nor tied to Submission under Invasion of Civil Rights, which carry with them a Power to rise in Defence thereof.

This Plea is set up as the main Strength of (*a*) those, who argue against the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*: And my Design is particularly to discuss it; and to enquire, whether the Precepts and Obligations to Passive Obedience were given and kept, with an Exception of these Invasions of Civil Rights, or with a Design to bind under them, and as a Rule to Christians while they suffer'd such Invasions.

This way of warlike Resistance is a very hazardous Course, and thereby Men extremely expose their own Persons. And that which tempts them thus to hazard themselves, as the most serious are wont to profess, is their Affection for Religion. Like as that which is given out to justify them therein, is its being made a Civil Right, or Legal Constitution. And I shall endeavour to shew them, that *Religion gets no good by it*; so that they are mistaken in the Way of shewing their Affection. And

(*a*) *Enquiry into the Measures of Submission to the Supreme Authority*, Art. 9, 12. *Discourse about the Justice of the Gentlemens Undertaking at* York, Nov. 1688. p. 4, 5, 6, 7, & passim. Julian *the Apostate*, c. 9. p. 74, 92. *And the Answer to* Jovian, p. 160. *And several others.*

that

that *its being a Civil Right, will not warrant them therein*; ſo that they will miſs alſo of their Juſtification. The former I ſhall not paſs over, without ſaying ſo much as I think ſufficient to undeceive the Honeſt and Well-meaning. But the clearing of the latter, is what I principally deſign.

CHAP. I.

No Arming againſt Sovereign Powers, in Love for Religion.

TO take off the Pretence and Temptation to warlike Reſiſtance againſt the Sovereign Powers *for the ſake of Religion*; I ſhall ſhew, in the *firſt* place, that *this Riſing in Arms is no wiſe Expreſſion of Mens Care and Kindneſs for true Religion.*

Religion is an Internal Thing. It doth not hang without us, as the Things of this World do; but is inward, in the Mind. It is lodged in our Hearts, and is to dwell upon our Spirits. *The Kingdom of God is within you*, ſays our Saviour, *Luke* xvii. 2. It conſiſts in a * *New Nature*; and *the Renewal of the Mind*, ſays St. *Paul*, *Rom.* xii. 2. It lies in *Faith* and *Obedience*, which are Spiritual and Internal Things. Their Power and Excellence take Life from, and are ſeated in the Inner Man; though they are expreſſed and made viſible in the Outward Converſation.

* Joh. iii. 3. *and* 2 Cor. v. 17.

And depending thus purely upon our own Minds, it may equally ſubſiſt under all the Alterations of this World, whether Proſperity or Adverſity, Peace or Perſecutions. To believe, and to do right, which is the whole of Religion, is alike practicable under all Times, and in all Circumſtances. And whether we ſhall do thus or no, is not in the Power of others, but under God, only of our own Wills. This makes the Rewardableneſs of Faith and Obedience, that they are to be the Oblation of our own good Will, and we are to chuſe them. It alſo ſhews the Excellence thereof, that depending on our own Will, nothing elſe, which can never force our Wills, can rob us of them. Theſe Virtues, lodged in a truly good Heart, are like *a Treaſure laid up in Heaven, where no Thief can break through or ſteal*, Mat. vi. 20. No Powers that can force away from us any outward Things, are able to ſtorm our Hearts, or force what is within us, *viz.* a *good Conſcience*, or that *Joy* and *Peace*, which is the conſequent thereof. *Your Joy*, ſays our Lord to his Diſciples, *no Man taketh from you*, Jo. xvi. 22.

And from this I ſhall note *two* Points fit to be conſidered in this Caſe.

Firſt, Others Force, can never make us loſe Religion. For no Force can reach it, not being placed among Things that are liable to be forced away, but being lodged in the Heart. Any outward Force upon us, muſt ſtop at the outſide of us: Or, if it pierce further, it will force away our Lives, before it reach our Hearts. Nay, when it comes there, it may force our Hearts out of our Bodies; but it cannot force our Religion out of our Hearts, unleſs we pleaſe. Our Hearts, where Religion reigns, are only in the Hand of God, and of our ſelves.

Indeed, Religion, whilſt profeſſed in this World, by the Bleſſing of God, has oft-times much of the Encouragements of this World. And theſe world-

worldly Advantages and Encouragements, are ſubject to the ſame Force as all other worldly Things, and may be taken away by Violence. And the loſing of what is Worldly about Religion, in the Eye of worldly Wiſdom, is the loſing of Religion: It thinks Religion is gone, when the worldly Recompences and Inducements about it are: And that to keep Religion in the Land, it muſt be ſure to keep them here. And accordingly, when Perſecution comes, whoſe Buſineſs is to force away theſe Worldly Goods from Religion, it asks, What will become of Religion? But all this while it conſiders not, that Religion is a Spiritual Thing, which can ſubſiſt without theſe worldly Encouragements: That it looks all at another World, and ſo can continue the ſame it was, when bereft of all the good Things of this World; that, tho' it may have Things without in Poſſeſſion, yet is it none of them; but lives it ſelf and is lodged within, where no Force can come, but where it can keep whether outward Force will or no. What would theſe Worldly-Wiſe Men have ſaid, had they lived in the Days of *Chriſt* and his *Apoſtles*? For then they would have been called to embrace Religion, and at the ſame Time to leave this World; and have ſeen Religion thrive, when it had nothing Worldly about it: And all that Perſecution can do at any Time, is only to bring it into this, which was its Primitive State. But Religion is not loſt then, but kept and upheld, and ſubſiſts as truly as it did the firſt Day it appeared, and all the Time it was growing up, and making its way over all that oppoſed it, in the unconverted World. This, in Chriſtianity muſt paſs for a certain Maxim, that, *Tho' ill Arts, to keep off Perſecution, may, and in God's juſt Judgment ordinarily do; yet Perſecution it ſelf never ſhall deſtroy the Church.* Our bleſſed Lord has given us his own Word for this; *The Gates of Hell*, i. e. all the Powers of Darkneſs, *ſhall not prevail againſt the Church*, Mat. xvi. 18. And Perſecution is one of their main and ſtrongeſt Batteries.

Yea, Perſecution doth not waſte, but improve and increaſe Religion. It deſtroys it, among Worldly-Wiſe Men, who are driven from any Thing by worldly Conſiderations. So that if any are Religious only, or mainly from worldly Motives, they will quit and give it up for worldly Loſſes: And worldly Wiſdom, rating who will keep, or who will forego it, only on worldly Proſpects; it concludes Religion, if not quite loſt, muſt needs be mightily brought down, almoſt to nothing, by Perſecutions.

But 'tis otherwiſe in the Eye of Spiritual Prudence. For that knows it, as I ſay, to be ſeated in Mens Hearts, and free Wills; and ſo to be without the reach of outward Force and Devaſtations. And that its genuine and proper Supports, which it ſtands on there, are not the good Things of this, but the future Hopes and Expectations of another World, which no Perſecutors can take from us. So that when they have done their worſt, and deſpoiled us of what is moſt valuable in this World; yet all That is ſtill left, which *Jeſus Chriſt* the Author thereof has offered to ſupport it. Nay, That, inſtead of being abated, is heightned, by what they take from us. Becauſe the more we ſuffer for our Duty here, the more we are to hope, and expect to receive hereafter. The other World, which is to make Men Religious, and to ſupport Religion, is not only as much, but a great deal more for us, when we are under Perſecutions, than when we are under none.

Indeed Perſecution, leaving no external viſible Support, is the trueſt Tryal of Pretenders to Religion, and diſcovers who follow it mainly for the ſake of what is not its own, viz. *Preſent Indemnity at leaſt, if not Recompence and Encouragement*; and who, for the ſake of what is, viz. *future and unſeen Rewards.* They are a *Touchſtone*, to try Hearts and Tempers, *that they who are approved*, as St. *Paul* ſays in the caſe of *Hereſies* and *Schiſms*,

Schiſms, may be made manifeſt, 1 Cor. xi. 19. Accordingly in the Scriptures, we read of *Tryals* and *Temptations*, meaning Perſecutions, 1 *Cor.* x. 13. *Jam.* i. 2. and of *the fiery Tryal*, or Furnace of Affliction, that fines and purges the Gold from the Droſs, 1 *Pet.* iv. 12. (*a*) *Perſecution is not only moſt worthy of God, but as I may ſo ſay, neceſſary to him, for the Probation or Reprobation of his Servants*, ſays *Tertul.*

And making this Diſcrimination, it will leſſen the Number of the external Profeſſors of Religion. It ſtrikes off all *the ſeed ſown in thorny Ground*, which can be *choaked by the cares of this World*, Mat. xiii. 7, 22. And thoſe on *the ſtony ground too*, who have *no* ſufficient *Root* of Religion, but too much of this World, and whoſe Root lying almoſt at the Surface, is ſoon ſcorched and parched up when *the heat of Perſecution comes*, v. 5, 6, 21. It is *the Fan*, as (*b*) *Tertullian* ſays, *that purges the Lord's floor, winnowing the Church, which till then is a confuſed heap of Profeſſors, and ſeparating the Chaff and light Corn from the good Wheat*, the Nominal from the Real, the Chriſtians of this World from thoſe of a better.

But it takes off no right Chriſtians, who are not right, ſo long as any Thing can make them deſert their Saviour, or any Duty of his Religion, when they are call'd by him to own and ſtick to them. *If any Man love Father or Mother, or his own Life more than me, he is not worthy of me*, Mat. x. 37, 39. Luk. xiv, 26. *If he take not his Croſs and follow me, he is not worthy of me*, Mat. x. 38. *If he doth not bear his Croſs and come after me, he cannot be my Diſciple*, Luk. xiv. 27.

As for thoſe who are right true Chriſtians, Perſecution perfects them. It takes them off from fleſhly Delights, and cures their inordinate Love and Complacence in, or Hankerings after this World. It makes them ſit looſe to it, and have a generous Contempt thereof. It heightens their pious Reſolutions, inſtead of abating them; it doth not ſtop their Carier in Duty, but enliven it. It begets in them a triumphant Diſdain of the Injuries or Reproaches that are thrown upon them for doing a good Thing; and a Complacence in the Croſs, inſtead of a Diſpleaſure with themſelves, when it meets them in a good Cauſe. For in theſe Sufferings, having the Support of God's Promiſes, the Comfort of his Spirit, and the Applauſe of a good Conſcience; they are not only patient under their Lot, but ſatisfied with it: they do not only bear their Burden, but glory and rejoyce therein. *Bleſſed are ye, when Men ſhall revile you and perſecute you for righteouſneſs ſake. Rejoyce then and be exceeding glad*, ſays our Lord, Mat. v. 10, 11, 12. Luk. vi. 22, 23. *Count it not ſtrange, but rejoyce, in as much as ye are partakers of Chriſt's Sufferings, that ye may be alſo of his Glory.* Under ſuch Sufferings. *happy are ye, for the Spirit of God reſts upon you*, ſays St. *Peter*, 1 Pet. iv. 12, 13, 14. Accordingly, ſays St. *Paul*, *I take pleaſure in neceſſities, in perſecutions, in diſtreſſes for Chriſt's ſake*, 2 Cor. xiii. 10. And the *Hebrews took joyfully the ſpoiling of their goods, knowing they had in Heaven a better and more enduring ſubſtance*, Heb. x. 34. A ſtate of Perſecution, is the moſt advantageous Time for a Chriſtian to appear perfect in; and paſſive Virtues are the beſt Ornament, and moſt compleat Dreſs, wherein he can ſhew and recommend himſelf. He is never ſo good, ſo glorious, and great, as when he is bravely and undauntedly doing his Duty, and confeſſing under the Croſs of Chriſt. Nay, put the worſt that can come, that ſuch a Religious Man be cut off, and dye for his Religion; yet even then muſt no Man prophanely ask,

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(*a*) In primis Deo digna, &, ut ita dixerim, neceſſaria, ad Probationem ſcilicet Servorum ejus, ſive reprobationem. *Tertul. de fug. in Perſec. c.* 1.

(*b*) Pala illa quæ & nunc Dominicam aream purgat, eccleſiam ſcilicet, confuſum acervum fidelium eventilans, frumentum Martyrum, & paleas Negatorum. *Ibid.*

What is become of Religion? For that is then become which ſhould become of it, *viz.* to carry the Profeſſors thereof to be everlaſtingly happy in Heaven. And by their dying for it, which is more, no Hurt but Good will come to Religion among thoſe that ſurvive.

For Perſecution, as it perfects, ſo it ſpreads and propagates truly Religious Men. If Religion thereby loſes outſide Profeſſors, it gets ſincere and faithful Followers. The Church loſes not ſo much by the Sufferings, as it gets by the Examples of the Holy and *Bleſſed Martyrs*. For theſe ſtrangely affect, and ſtrike upon the Spirits of Men. Their Faith and Patience, and other noble Virtues, ſhew Men the Power, and excite their Curioſity, and mightily diſpoſe them to hearken, and enquire into the Truth of what they ſuffer for. So that *Semen eſt Sanguis Chriſtianorum, the Blood of the Martyrs was the Seed of the Church*, as (*c*) *Tertullian* ſays they found by experience in the Sufferings of the ancient Church. Theſe influenced, not only the weak, but the wiſeſt Perſons, bringing in ſuch as *Juſtin*, that *renown'd Philoſoper* and *Martyr*, to ſee and receive the Truth; the great Occaſion of his Converſion, as he * himſelf relates, being that Conſtancy and Religious Bravery the Martyrs ſhew'd in their Sufferings. There is a Witneſs in the Blood of Saints, that begets Faith in Beholders: And therefore among the *Three that bear Witneſs* to Chriſt *on Earth*, St. *John* reckons *the Blood* for one; *the Spirit, the Water, and the Blood*, meaning thereby the Sufferings in his Cauſe, 1 Joh. v. 8. And St. *Paul*, noting *the ſigns of an Apoſtle* who was to perſuade and get belief in others, tells the *Corinthians*, they *were wrought among them in all patience*, 2 Cor. xii. 12. Their Sufferings, were one Proof of their being *God's Miniſters*. *In all things*, ſaith he, *approving our ſelves as the Miniſters of God; in much patience, in afflictions, neceſſities, diſtreſſes*, and Perſecutions of every ſort, as well as *by the Word of Truth*, and *by the* Gifts of Miracles, or the *Power of God*, 2 Cor. vi. 4, 5, 7. The Patterns and the Prayers, the paſſive Graces and Sufferings of the primitive Saints and Martyrs, as well as their Preaching, and Miraculous Powers, were a Cauſe that ſpread Religion ſo ſtrangely under the primitive Perſecutions: Inſtead of cutting off, it was really a Widener, and a true prolifick Principle and Seed of the Church.

* Apol. 1. p. 50.

Thus doth God turn this great Rule of worldly Wiſdom into mere Folly. In this, he abſolutely *confounds the Wiſdom of the Wiſe*, and *takes the* fleſhly *wiſe*, as the Scripture ſays, *in their own craftineſs*, and demonſtrates how *the Wiſdom of this World is Fooliſhneſs with God*, 1 Cor. iii. 19, 20. When Perſecutions go to deſtroy the Religious, they do not pull down, but propagate and advance Religion. When they deſtroy and cut off ſome, they drive in more, and Religion gets new ones in their room. It loſes none but outſide or inſincere Profeſſors, but increaſes in the Number of hearty and upright Followers, who are the true Honour of Religion and Ornament of the Church.

From this I obſerve, how we muſt not ſay with worldly Wiſe Men, that *worldly Eaſe and Immunities are beſt for Religion.* Indeed, outward Peace and Privileges, are Things very valuable and acceptable to its Profeſſors, as their place of profeſſing it is here in this World, and whilſt they bear about them fleſhly Natures. But, as we muſt thankfully value and improve it, when we have it; ſo muſt we conſider too, that Religion it ſelf, and the Spirit, (tho' the Fleſh be of another Mind) may be bettered by the want thereof. And therefore, that it is but fit in this Caſe, to leave God

(*c*) Apol. c. ult. & Juſtin. Mart. ad Diognet. *p.* 498, 499. & Dial. cum Tryph. *p.* 337. & Lact. l. 5. c. 13.

to

to take his own Way, and chuſe for us. And if at any Time he is bringing Perſecution on, 'tis not for us to ſtep out of his Way to keep it off, and excuſe our ſelves by ſaying, *it is better for Religion.* For when was it ever better for the Church, than in the *firſt Ages*, when they run thro' the moſt and ſoreſt Perſecutions? Is not that beſt for the Church, which makes the moſt and the beſt good Chriſtians? And when were they more or better, in the places where Chriſtianity prevail'd, than in thoſe firſt and perſecuted Ages? Were not thoſe Times, a continual, and vaſt Increaſe of freſh Converts? And were not thoſe Converts of much better and more Chriſtian Lives, under this Diſcipline of Perſecutions, than others uſe to be in Times of Peace and ſecular Advantages?

And on the other hand, to abate the Advantage of worldly Peace and Poſſeſſions, are not they too liable to carnalize and corrupt the Spirits of Men? Do not the worldly Poſſeſſions, which were deſign'd to encourage Men in the Way and Miniſtry of Religion, too oft ſteal their Hearts away from it? And then, when a Perſecution comes for any neceſſary Truth or Duties ſake, inſtead of being a Friend and Support, are not they an Enemy within the Walls, to betray and deliver it up? The ſad Experience of ſuch general and ſhameful Defections from Religious Truths to hold their worldly Poſſeſſions, made *Fauſtinus* and *Marcellinus* in their Book of Prayers to the Emperors, to call them (*d*) *Perniciosiſſimas poſſeſſiones, moſt pernicious Poſſeſſions*; yea (*e*) *to wiſh, that the Church had never been poſſeſſed of them; that living after the manner of the Apoſtles, it might ſtill have more inviolably poſſeſſed the Integrity of the Faith.* I know there are many great and valuable Advantages by *worldly Poſſeſſions*, for which the Church has great Cauſe to be thankful to God, and all its Benefactors: But theſe, in trying Times, are advantages only to wiſe Men, who have raiſed Affections, and retain a true Spirituality of Mind, and Contempt of the World, in the midſt of all ſecular Enjoyments; being, on ſuch Occaſions, the greateſt Snare and Bane to all others. So that the Advantage pleadable from theſe, is only to thoſe who can let them go for Religion, and love God and their Duty above them. And when God ſends Perſecution, it is both the School wherein to ſhew forth this raiſed Temper of Mind, and wherein to improve and perfect it. 'Tis not for us therefore to ſay, it is better for Religion, but only for Fleſh and Blood whilſt they profeſs Religion, to be out of Perſecution. For when God ſees fit to ſend it upon his Church, as he always doth when they cannot ſhun it without Sin; he deſigns, and will undoubtedly effect it, to purge and purify, to perfect and promote, true and acceptable Religion and Godlineſs thereby. And all that *loſes*, is only mix'd and mongrel Profeſſors, and our own worldly and carnal ſelves.

Such is the real Importance of Perſecution, to Religion and the Church. It gets more thereby, than it loſes. It is deprived of nominal mix'd Profeſſors; but augmented with better Chriſtians. Tho' it ſhould ſhew fewer Profeſſors, yet can it at ſuch Times produce more, and more perfect Saints, and Heirs of eternal Happineſs. It takes from its faithful Followers worldly Things, not ſpiritual; preſent, not future. So that it deſtroys or leſſens it only in the Opinion of worldly Minds, or fleſhly Prudence, who look only at what is kept or loſt of this World's Goods and Advantages; but advances, confirms, and multiplies it in the Opinion of the ſpiritually minded, and according to the eſtimate of true *Chriſtian* Prudence.

(*d*) Libel. Precum, *p.* 8.

(*e*) Quas utinam nunquam poſſediſſet eccleſia, ut Apoſtolico more vivens fidem integram inviolabiliter poſſideret. *Ibid. p.* 2. *Ed. Ox.*

Like to this, of others *Force* not making us loſe Religion, is another Obſervation, of *others Force not hindring the effect of our Miniſtry.* This is wont to be one Plea at ſuch Times. For as the People are ready to ſay, they take Arms againſt their perſecuting Prince, that they may not be deprived of the benefit of their Miniſters: So among the Miniſters themſelves, are ſome tempted to ſtretch and go greater lengths in compliance therewith, than they think their Duty allows, *on pretence of ſerving God, and keeping in to do good in their Places. If we ſtick at this, ſay ſome, what will become of our Miniſtry, and the Exerciſe thereof? And what way can we have, to do God Service in our Stations.*

Now, if this has any force at all, it ſeems to be againſt God's own ordering; as if in this diſpoſal of Providence, he had called us from a better way to a worſe, and in debarring and diſcharging us from our former Stations, (as he doth, when we can no longer hold them without Sin,) had ſummoned us to a leſs uſeful Poſt to ſerve him in. But a Mind that truly and ſincerely ſeeks to ſerve God, and not under an hypocritical pretence thereof to ſerve its worldly Intereſts, will eaſily give him leave, when he ſees fit, to change the Scene of our Service, and to chalk out and call us, as he pleaſes, to the Place where, and the Station in which he will be ſerved. And beſides, this external Force, tho' it drives us out of our Stations, will not take us away at ſuch Times, from doing him Service. For, beſides what we have opportunity then to do for him, we may ſerve him more by ſuffering in a good Way, than we ever ſhould be able to do by keeping our Stations through a bad one. Nay, our Sufferings for a good Cauſe, may be like to be of more real uſe and influence, than all our Preaching up the ſame Cauſe might be, without ſuffering. There is a Witneſs in the Blood, as I obſerved, and a Perſuaſiveneſs in the Sufferings of Martyrs and Confeſſors, which affects and convinces more, than any Words or Sermons they could uſe. Let us then, on ſuch Occaſions, take care to ſuffer *Chriſtianly*, and leave it to God's Care to ſupply any want of us in our Stations, and to ſerve himſelf by our Sufferings, more than it were poſſible for us to ſerve him by any other Ways.

And as others Force, can never make us loſe Religion: So neither,

Secondly, *When Force and Perſecutions come upon Religion*, eſpecially from *our Governors*, in the Eye of Spiritual Wiſdom, *is our armed Reſiſtance, or encountring Force by Force, a way to defend and preſerve Religion.*

If our Force be a way to preſerve any Thing at ſuch Times, it is the worldly Appendages of Religion, *viz.* our Secular Profits, Civil Liberties, Powers, Honours, and other Advantages, which the Laws have conferred and ſettled in favour of the Truth, and given the Profeſſors thereof a Title to. What it can have any pretence to, is to guard worldly Things, poſſeſſed by Religious Men, as they are Members of this World, as well as Profeſſors of Religion. And if it come in to guard worldly Things, it is on the ſcore of worldly Prudence, and is made uſe of by the Religious, not as *Religious*, but as *worldly Wiſe.* Tho', as to publick Force for Redreſs of publick Grievances, however to be aggrieved, before they have tryed, it may ſeem otherwiſe, I think it is a moſt unwiſe Courſe; and inſtead of preſerving what part of thoſe worldly Things was endangered, it brings all into much greater Danger, and to ſecure one part, throws away ſeveral. Adding only this for our Recompence, that inſtead of loſing and ſuffering a little, againſt the grain of our angry Paſſions; it throws us into the ſuffering of a great deal more, but in the pleaſure and purſuit of them.

But as to Religion, it is *not outward Force*, but *Faith* and *Patience, Prayer and good Practice*, which is the way to preſerve it. This may ſeem a Riddle

Riddle in the Eye of worldly Wiſdom, and paſs not for the Prudence, but for the Folly of Religious Men. But this *Fooliſhneſs of God*, as the *Apoſtle* ſpeaks, *is wiſer than Men*; and this ſeeming *Weakneſs of God*, *is ſtronger than* any boaſted Force of *Men*, 1 Cor. i. 25. And when their magnified Ways, by Human Confidences, and an Arm of Fleſh, inſtead of preſerving, betray and undermine the Religion they fight for; and theſe *worldly-wiſe* are not delivered by, as they promiſed themſelves, but *taken in their own Craftineſs*: This deſpiſed Way of Faith and Patience, and good Prayers, which builds on God and not upon our ſelves, and which he counts wiſe tho' they count fooliſh; is found not only to preſerve, but to promote it, and to make it glorious and triumphant. Thus it did in greater Trials and Perſecutions, than any God has proved his Church withal in theſe later Ages. And it will ſtill have the ſame Effect, to thoſe who dare truſt God with Religion and themſelves, and allow his Providence and Promiſes to make up to them, what Human Appearances do to Carnal Politicians. *In your Patience poſſeſs ye your Souls*, or *preſerve ye them*; the word κτήσασθε ſometimes (as *Mat.* x. 9.) noting not our *Poſſeſſing*, but *Acquiring*. *Per Tolerantiam ſalvos facietis voſmetipſos*, as * *Tertullian* cites this Place. That is, *By your Sufferance*, or *Patience*, *you ſhall make your ſelves ſafe*; ſays *Chriſt* to his Diſciples, when that Patience ſeemed not the Way to poſſeſs and preſerve, but to expoſe them, Luk. xxi. 19. *He that will ſave his Life, ſhall loſe it*; *and he that will loſe his Life for my ſake, the ſame ſhall ſave it*; ſaid he in thoſe Times, when Mens Neceſſities would make them liſten after all Human Arts and Devices to ſave themſelves, *Luk.* ix. 24. *In returning and reſt ſhall you be ſaved*; *in quietneſs and confidence ſhall be your ſtrength: Your ſtrength is to ſit ſtill*; ſaid God by *Iſaiah* to the *Jews*, when in their Diſtreſs they were promiſing themſelves more Relief from the unlawful Aid of *Egypt*, and from tumultuary Ways; *Iſa.* xxx. 7, 15.

* Adv. Marc. l. 4. c. 39.

This is to be taken off, indeed, from Human Strengths, and ſtay'd on Providence: But that makes it only a greater Trial of Faith, not a weaker Remedy and Method of Relief. For when all is done, the laſt and beſt Security is *Providence*. And the ſureſt Way to fix that in our Favour, is this of *Faith* and *Patience*. *Thou wilt keep him in perfect Peace, whoſe Mind is ſtay'd on thee, becauſe he truſteth in thee*, Iſa. xxvi. 3. And *the Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of Temptations*, who rely on him by keeping in his Ways; *and to reſerve the unjuſt unto the Day of Judgment, to be puniſhed*; *i. e.* by juſt Judgment, and ill Event on their ill Ways here, as well as hereafter: As it happen'd not long after this with the *Gnoſticks*, whom in the next Words he deſcribes, thoſe moſt Carnal Politicians, and ungodly Temporizers of that Age, 2 *Pet.* ii. 9.

Certainly, * ſays St. *Chryſoſtom*, ſpeaking of this Preſcription of our Lord, which the prophane Spirits of this Age call *a Mountebank Receipt*, or of *putting on the Manſuetude of Sheep, and the Simplicity of Doves, when we are ſent out in the midſt of Wolves: Certainly*, ſays he, *as many of us as ſhew forth the Manſuetude of Sheep, ſhall eaſily overcome our Enemies. Yea, tho' innumerable Wolves compaſs us about on every ſide, we ſhall be preſerved ſafe, and get the better of them. But if, inſtead of continuing like Sheep among Wolves, we turn Wolves our ſelves, and put on wolfiſh Natures; then are we like to be overcome, as being left to our ſelves. For then the Shepherd withdraws his Help from us; who feeds and watches over the Sheep only, not over the Wolves. When thou turneſt thy ſelf into a Wolf, away he preſently goes, and leaves thee, as one that relieſt no longer on his Strength, but beginneſt to truſt to thy own, and ſuffereſt not his Power to be made manifeſt in thee. For when, being vexed with Injuries, thou ſuffereſt all with a mild and equal Mind; not ſtanding up to fight for thy ſelf, but truſting to him to fight for thee; thou attributeſt to him the whole*

* Homil. 34. in Mat. c. x. 16. *Be ye wiſe as Serpents*, &c.

Triumph of the Day. But if, instead of suffering like a Sheep, thou shalt stand up to tear and devour like a Wolf, and go out and fight against the Enemy; by that thou hidest and darkenest the Glory of his Victory. ——— *Tho' this Way of Simplicity and Patience seem to Men the most unmeet to cure, or guard against our Persecutors Violence; yet,* says he, *God, that knows better what is like to be effective with Human Nature, than Men themselves do, knows that Boldness is not wont to be broken and extinguished by Boldness, but by Mildness. And of this we see plain Experience in the Holy Apostles. Who, as oft as the People of the* Jews *rose against them, and sharpen'd their Teeth upon them, imitated the Dove, as our Lord requires; and by answering them with a becoming Mildness and Moderation, overcame their Anger, extinguished their Fury, and retarded their hasty and violent Motions. For when they said, Have we not charged you over and over, that you should not teach in this Name? Altho' they could have wrought infinite Miracles, yet they neither spoke nor acted any thing harsh and provoking; but apologizing for themselves with all Mildness, said,* Whether it be just to hearken to you, rather than unto God, judge ye.

Such, as that *good Father* truly observed, is the prosperous Issue of this Course of *Faith* and *Patience*: And that when there is nothing promising in Human Appearances, but all rests on Faith in God, or Reliance on Providence. When the Sheep are to arm themselves with nothing but Simplicity and Mansuetude, in the midst of Wolves; *What Consolation,* saith
* Ibid. * he, *can there be for them? Only the Power of him that sends them. Therefore this he sets in the first place,* Lo! I send you—— *He that could have made them, that, as Lions, they should have struck Terror into others; thought fit rather to order, that they should come as Sheep among terrifying Wolves: For that makes you more illustrious, and better declares my Power and Strength.*

This I have here said, to note the Wisdom and Successfulness of this Way of *trusting God for Relief*, by keeping to his Way of *Faith* and *Patience*, when his Vicegerents persecute us; and not stepping out thereof into any forbidden Ways, (as warlike Force) in Trust to an Arm of Flesh, at the Suggestion of worldly Prudence. And tho' this is not Wisdom, to those that look only at Human Appearances; yet it will be found so, by those that mark Events, and the Ways and Rules of Providence. For God sets himself against this worldly Wisdom, and turns it into Foolishness, to take Men off from trusting in an Arm of Flesh: And speeds and prospers this other Method of Spiritual Wisdom, by Surprizes of Success, and invisible Interpositions, and Turns and Ways never thought of till brought to pass; to call us all to rely on Providence, whilst, by confining our selves to his Ways, we place our Faith and Trust in himself; as they who please may find more largely discoursed, in the foregoing Treatise of *Christian Prudence*, Chap. VIII.

Thus is Religion to be preserved, by Faith and Patience, and Spiritual Methods; and not by Force: It cannot be taken by Force, and so needs not be kept by it.

Nay, instead of being preserved by Force, it is impaired thereby, when it is used in its Behalf. They are much deceived, that fancy War will do good to Religion. Instead of that, the Force and Fighting of Religious Men, are the greatest Violence to Religion: Tho' it gets by the Force it suffers, it loses mightily by the Force it uses. When Force gets within it, and mixes with it, whilst it seeks to preserve the Shell, it consumes the Kernel; and pretending to guard the Body, it eats out the very Heart of it.

For

For Religion it ſelf lies mightily in Love and Beneficence: *He that loves another, hath fulfilled the Law*, Rom. xiii. 10. *A new Commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another*, Joh. xiii. 34. *And by this ſhall all Men know that ye are my Diſciples, if ye have Love one to another*, Ver. 35. But, inſtead of Love and Beneficence, Wars and Fightings lie all in angry Paſſions, and doing Miſchief. *It* is ſhown in forgiving; *that* in avenging Injuries: *It*, in doing good for Ill; *that*, in doing all the Ill Men can. *It*, in mourning with thoſe that mourn, and rejoicing with thoſe that rejoice; *that*, in mourning for the Mirth, and rejoicing over the Cries and Grief of others. *It*, in loving our Neighbour as our ſelves; yea, our Enemies that hate us, tho' without a Cauſe; or our Perſecutors, that hate us for the beſt Things; but *that*, in hating and perſecuting all as Enemies; having no Regard to good or ill, Relations or Strangers, Friends or Foes. *That* is tender of all the Things and Rights, both of God and Men: *This*, of neither; ſparing neither Things ſacred nor prophane; and counting all it can take its own, and Spoil and Rapine, Waſte and Devaſtation no Wrong. *That* is for ſaving of Lives, in regard to Community of Natures, and Reverence to God's Image; *this* for deſtroying them. By theſe, and many more that might be added, it appears, how Religion is calculated for a State of Peace; ſo that whenſoever War burſts out, and is put in Practice, the greater Part of its Duties are under Suſpenſion, and ſuffer Violence. I do not ſay it forbids all Wars: In Compliance with the State and Neceſſities of this World, on juſt and great Cauſes, it connives and gives way to them. But this it doth by no means as a Way to promote it ſelf, or advance the Obſervance of its Rules, which are in ſo great meaſure no Rules at all, whilſt War reigns. And therefore what it doth in this Caſe, is only to tolerate it: It allows, but it doth not encourage or perſuade to it.

Beſides, as the Liberties of War run counter to ſo great a Body of its Rules; ſo, in Time of War, there is alſo the uſual Reſtraint taken off, and Impunity added to all Wickedneſs. They are (too often) then moſt in Power, who are better Soldiers than Chriſtians, and have the leaſt Senſe of Religion and Conſcience. Then a Shoal of irreligious Tempers, as Pride, Inſolence, Hatred, Uncompaſſionateneſs, Anger, Revenge, Covetouſneſs, Ambition, Neglect of the Things of God and Religion, or open Profanation of them; in a word, all vicious and corrupt Paſſions are ſuperinduced upon the Minds of Men, which are a Revival of the old Man, and moſt oppoſite to the very Life and Deſign of true Religion. So that Religion it ſelf is not like to have any good, more than the Civil State is, by Wars. Its Profeſſors will in the end be worſe by it, in their Religion, as well as in their Fortunes. They will come out more oppoſite to God, and the Temper of Saints, and ſo be worſe Chriſtians.

Yea, not only as to its *Moral Practice*, but even as to *Orthodoxy of Profeſſion*, and *Purity of Worſhip*, Religion, inſtead of being reform'd and amended, by the juſt Judgment of God, and the natural Courſe of Human Paſſions, is too oft made a great deal worſe, by warring againſt our Governors. A Spiritual Defection many times accompanies a Civil one: As the *Iſraelites*, with *Jeroboam*, fell off *from God to the Calves*, when they had *revolted from the Houſe* of *Solomon*. And in our late *long Civil Wars*, when they rebell'd for Religion, by Rebellion againſt the King, was a ſtrange Defection introduced from Chriſtianity: * Some throwing out *the Articles of Faith*; ſome, *all the Ten Commandments*; ſome, *the Holy Scriptures*; ſome, *the Calling and Office of Miniſters*; ſome, *their Tythes and Maintenance*; ſome, *the Lord's Supper*: Others, *Baptiſm, and all Ordinances*. In a word; among one or other of the *Sects*, Religion, inſtead

* Vid. Edwards Gangræna, *Part* 1. *Ep. Dedicat.*

of

of thriving and increaſing, moſt lamentably ſuffering in its moſt *Important Articles*, in the very *Eſſential and Conſtituent Marks*, and the *Viſible Face* and *External Appearance of Chriſt's Holy Church.*

Such, in reality, is the Difference between our ſuffering others Force in Perſecutions, and our uſing Force our ſelves, by liſting Armies for Religion againſt our perſecuting Rulers. We may practiſe all the Parts of Religion, whilſt they are forcing us; ſeveral, that have no Place in external Peace and Quietneſs; and all, with more Perfection and Honour than at other Times: So that in ſuffering the Force of Perſecutors, Religion it ſelf gets, whatever elſe loſes; and its Rules have more true and tried, more perfect and triumphant Obſervance, than they could have otherwiſe. But when we come to uſe Force our ſelves, to defend Religion againſt our perſecuting Governors; in this Time of Force, we lay aſide the greater Part of its Rules, and give a Looſe to all degenerate and vicious Tempers, utterly oppoſite to its Habits; ſo that, whatever elſe gets, it loſes.

And therefore, in Spiritual Wiſdom, which wiſely ſeeks the Growth of Religious Tempers on the Minds of Men, and the Advancement of Faith and good Practice, Religion is not to be defended, or preſerved, by our taking Arms againſt its and our Perſecutors. It would live and thrive, be preſerved and proſper'd, by our ſuffering: But when, to preſerve thoſe mundane Privileges which are tack'd to it, we go to War, it is ſure to be worſted by our fighting. *Jeſus Chriſt*, who preſcrib'd it, is ſtiled, not the *Lord of Hoſts*, or *God of Battels*, but the *Prince of Peace*; and the Goſpel, which contains it, is the *Goſpel of Peace.* So 'tis our keeping quiet, not running to Arms, that beſt ſuits it, and muſt do it good.

Of the Unlawfulneſs of taking Arms againſt the Supreme Power, in Defence of the Laws, and Legal Rights and Liberties.

CHAP. II.

That the Subjects of the Empire had Legal Rights.

HAving ſaid thus much, to ſhew Men how far their Arming againſt their Lawful Sovereigns is from *doing any good to Religion*; I now proceed, in the next place, to ſhew, That *Religion's being back'd by Law, and made a Civil Right, will by no means juſtify them in ſo doing.*

Their Plea is, That the Scripture Precepts of *Obedience* and *Submiſſion*, and *not-reſiſting Higher Powers*, but *bearing Croſſes under them, were not deſign'd for Sufferers in all Caſes, but only for Sufferers according to Laws.* They forbid all Liberty of reſiſting, not abſolutely, ſay * they, to every Man; but to him only, that has the Laws againſt him; or who ſuffers under a Prince whoſe Will is his Law, and without any Law to cover him. But where Men ſuffer in their Civil Rights, or where Religion ſuffers, that ſtands by Law, and is taken into the Subjects Civil Properties; eſpecially where they ſuffer an Invaſion of moſt important Rights, or a

* *See the Authors cited*, p. 144.

Breach upon the Conſtitution it ſelf: Thoſe Precepts, they ſay, forbid not Reſiſtance in ſuch Caſes; nor were they given or intended for any ſuch Sufferers. And tho' the Nature of Religion will not, yet the Nature of Civil Right (they think) will authorize Men, notwithſtanding thoſe Goſpel Injunctions, to arm in Defence thereof.

I take this to be a great and moſt lamentable Perverſion of thoſe Goſpel Precepts, which were given to Men that had Legal Rights, and ſuffer'd the moſt Illegal Invaſions of them. And to clear this Point, I ſhall endeavour to ſhew, how under the moſt heinous and notorious Invaſions that oppreſſive Sovereigns have made upon Laws and Rights, God has ſtill call'd Subjects to this Non-Reſiſtance. And how ſuch Invaſions gave no Exemptions therefrom, either to the *Chriſtians* under the perſecuting Emperors, nor to the *Jews* under their Kings, nor is allow'd to exempt *us* by our own Laws. Nay, if this Plea of *Defenſibleneſs of Legal Rights* can exempt us; I think it will be found, that a like Defenſibleneſs of Natural Rights would as well exempt all other Subjects, and ſo leave no ſuch Duty in the World as *Paſſive Obedience*. There being as good Authority to defend our Natural Rights this way againſt perſecuting Laws, as there is to defend any Legal Rights againſt Illegal Perſecutors.

First, *I ſhall ſhew this of the* Chriſtians, *under the* Roman *Emperors*. And this I ſhall endeavor to do with the more Exactneſs; the Goſpel Precepts of Submiſſion and Non-Reſiſtance being, by our Lord and his Apoſtles, moſt indiſpenſibly enjoin'd, and afterwards (during all the Ten Perſecutions) moſt carefully and ſtrictly practiſed under their Invaſions.

Firſt, To clear this Point, I obſerve, That there was a great and moſt notorious Invaſion of Rights and Liberties, when yet the Authority was own'd, and Non-Reſiſtance and Allegiance enjoin'd, *by Chriſt and his Apoſtles*.

The *Imperial Power* became a *Legal Conſtitution*, and was ſettled by Law upon *Auguſtus*, by the *Senate* and *People* themſelves. *His Country gave up the Care and Authority of the whole Empire to him, that for his Life he ſhould have the Power both of Peace and War*, ſays * *Strabo*. This was, when in a *ſet Speech* (in free and open Senate) he offer'd to *reſtore and give up all the Power into their Hands, both Arms, Laws and Provinces*, as † *Dio* reports. They had paſſed thro' a long Series of Civil Miſeries and Diſtractions, thro' the Factions and bloody Wars of the Great Men, that appear'd now plainly unavoidable under the Popular Form: And being made ſenſible thereby of the great Inconveniency of their former Popular State, and of the Sweetneſs of that Eaſe and Quietneſs which all experienced under his Government; *They all pray'd him with many Words, laying before him many Arguments*, (as the ſame || *Dio* relates) *that he would take the Empire* (which he offer'd to reſtore back to them) *upon himſelf alone. And thus*, adds he, *was all the Power of Senate and People transferr'd upon* Auguſtus, *and confirm'd to him by themſelves. The Emperors* (as he further notes to this Purpoſe) *received all the Power of the whole Commonwealth, by means of thoſe Names* of *Conſul, Proconſul, Imperator*, of the *Pontifical* and *Tribunitial* Powers, &c. *which were uſed in the Popular State, and which they now aſſume according to the Laws - - - - - taking the Names together with the Powers of the former Magiſtrates upon themſelves, that they may not ſeem to hold them by Force, but by the Laws.* Thus, according to this Noble Hiſtorian, did the *Imperial* Power become the Legal Conſtitution and Government of the *Roman* Empire. And this was by the *Royal Law*, or *Lex Regia*; *a Law*

* Geog. l. 17. ſub fin.

† Lib. 53.

|| Ib. l. 53.

Law paſs'd (as (*a*) *Juſtinian* declares) *about the Authority of the Emperor; whereby the People conferred upon him all their Power*; and *whence his* Placita (as well as any *Leges, Plebiſcita, Senatuſconſulta*, &c. in their *Law-Books*) *ſhould have the Force of Law.* This Law gave him alſo the Prerogatives of (*b*) *calling and holding Senates, of making Leagues and Alliances, of acting whatſoever he ſhould think of uſe to the Commonwealth, or for the Majeſty of Human and Divine Things*; with other particular Powers, mention'd in a Fragment thereof upon its Renewal to *Veſpaſian*, ſtill extant in an *Inſcription* on a (*c*) *Brazen Table* in the *Lateran* at *Rome.*

But after the Erection of the Empire, and making it (as by the *Lex Regia* it begun to be in *Auguſtus*) a *Legal Eſtabliſhment*, ſeveral Powers ſtill remain'd in the *People* and *Senate. Publick Buſineſs, and the chief of his private alſo, were treated of by the Senate. The* Conſuls *and the* Prætors *too retain'd their Figure. The leſſer Magiſtrates likewiſe exerciſed each their ſeveral Powers*; *and the Laws* (*bating only in Queſtions of Treaſon*) *were in good Uſe*; ſays (*d*) *Tacitus* of the Empire, as it had ſtood *ad eam diem*, viz. *till the Ninth Year, or thro' all the beſt Days of* Tiberius. *The Senators and the Magiſtrates had both their Ancient Majeſty and Authority preſerved to them. And before them were brought both the Matter of Cuſtoms and Monopolies, of raiſing and disbanding Soldiers, of continuing Commanders, or nominating them for extraordinary Wars, and of anſwering the Letters and Ambaſſadors of Kings*; ſays (*e*) *Suetonius*, of the Way and Adminiſtration of the Emperor, in the Days of that Prince. By the (*f*) *Tribunitial Power*, the Emperor indeed *could interpoſe*, and (when he ſaw fit) with Power of Negative ſtop any Matters. Tho' here alſo (*g*) *Suetonius* notes the Temper and Moderation of *Tiberius* in his *good Years, ſuffering, and that without Complaint, ſome Things to be carried in the Senate, againſt his Mind and Suffrage*: Albeit in moſt Things, either about Men or Money, or whatever elſe wherein they were to *refer to the Senate*, the Emperors having ſuch Height of Power in themſelves, found the Senators very obſequious. But the Emperors, not content with this Original Power, (tho' (*h*) *mighty free and large indeed*, as *Tiberius* tells the *Senate, who had conferr'd it*) ſtill ſought one after another to ſtretch the *Imperial Prerogative* more and more, till by degrees they had ſwallowed up moſt of that which by the Allowance of the *Lex Regia* at firſt remain'd of the Powers and Prerogatives of the People and Senate.

Nay, not content thus to incroach on all that ſeemed to carry any Competition in *Point of Power*; when they had taken from them almoſt all the *Authority of Governors*, they would not permit them to reſt ſafe in the *Rights* and *Immunities of Subjects*, or keep in their Adminiſtration to the *known Laws and Juſtice of the Empire.* For they were very heinous and notorious Invaders of the Lives and Properties of the *Roman Subjects*, and thoſe too of Higheſt Dignity; as may appear to any, that will read the Lives of *Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero*, who ſway'd all in *the Days of Chriſt* and *his Apoſtles.*

(*a*) Sed & quod Principi placuit Legis habet vigorem; quum Lege Regia quæ de ejus Imperio lata eſt, Populus ei, & in eum, omne Imperium ſuum & Poteſtatem concedat. *Inſtit. l.* 1. *Tit.* 2. 6.

(*b*) Fœduſve cum quibus volet facere liceat——utique ei Senatum habere, relationem facere, &c. Utique quæcunque ex uſu Reipublicæ, Majeſtate divinarum, humanarum, publicarum, privatarumque rerum eſſe cenſebit; ei agere facere jus poteſtaſque ſit, ita ut Divo Auguſto, Tiberio, &c. fuit.

(*c*) Apud Jan. Gruterum Inſcript. Antiq. *p.* 242. & Inſcript. de Cæſar. Suetonio annexis. Ed. Ox. ſub Veſpaſ. Nu. 10.

(*d*) Annal. *l.* 4. *p.* 190, 191. Ed. Gryphii. (*e*) In Tiber. *c.* 30.

(*f*) Dio, *l.* 53. (*g*) C. 31. Vid. & c. 32.

(*h*) Principem quem vos tanta ac tam libera poteſtate inſtruxiſtis, Senatui ſervire debere. C. 29.

But what ſay *the Prince* and *the Preachers of the Goſpel of Peace*, to the Subjects of the Empire, under theſe Invaders of Rights and Properties, or *Raviſhers of Liberties*, as the Phraſe of ſome now is? *Render to* Cæſar *the Things which are* Cæſar's, ſays our Saviour to the *Jews* under *Tiberius*, towards the End of his Reign, and in *his worſt Times*, Mat. xxii. 21. *Whoever reſiſts, reſiſts the Ordinance of God, and ſhall receive Damnation. Wherefore ye muſt needs be ſubject, not only for Wrath, but alſo for Conſcience ſake*; ſays St. *Paul* to thoſe at *Rome*, Rom. xiii. 2, 5. And *ſubmit for the Lord's Sake to every Ordinance of Man; whether to the King as Supreme, or to Governors, who are ſent by him*; ſays St. *Peter* to the *Strangers*, or converted *Jews*, thro' *Pontus*, *Galatia*, *Cappadocia*, *Aſia*, and thoſe Parts, 1 *Pet.* ii. 13, 14. And this Charge he laid on them, and was inſtant in it, when their Countrymen were buſily meditating a Revolt, which was *abetted by thoſe in the Provinces*, as well as *acted by thoſe in* Judea, as * *Dio* ſays; and that from under *Nero*, the worſt of *invading Tyrants*, and *Monſter of Men*: This Epiſtle being writ, as (*a*) Dr. *Lightfoot* conjectures, in the Eleventh Year of *Nero*, when the *Jews* had *begun thoſe Commotions the factious Spirits had been ſo long driving on*; it being the (*b*) Year before *Ceſtius Gallus* laid Siege to *Jeruſalem*, which a few Years after was taken and deſtroy'd by *Veſpaſian*. * L. 66.

Theſe were the Rules of Chriſtian Subjection under all the aforeſaid Emperors, whereby the Chriſtians of that and of the enſuing Ages were to govern themſelves. And theſe do not teach taking up Arms againſt invading Princes; but Paſſive Obedience, or Non-Reſiſtance under them: And that at a Time when the Invaſion of Rights was moſt crying and notorious, and in the tendereſt Points both of Life, Power and Fortunes: And when they had not merely the Nature of Right to plead, as implying a Power (as ſome ſay now) of forcible Defence even againſt the Prince himſelf, ſhould he offer to infringe it; but when alſo (ſays the † *Paſtoral Letter*; tho' I think the *Lex Regia* and the Erection of the Empire had taken the Force of that off) they had the *Lex Valeria*, or *Valerian Law*, to ſecure thoſe Rights: That is, a Law of *Valerius*, from this and other ſuch like Laws paſſed in his *Conſulſhip*, ſirnamed *Publicola*, as || *Livy* ſays; who, upon the *Expulſion of the Kings*, and *Change of Government* to a *Popular State*, (*c*) enacted, *That it ſhould be lawful for any one to kill him, who took upon him any Magiſtracy, without the Peoples Order and Conſent.* † P. 11. || Dec. 1. l. 2.

And indeed, the Meaning of all the Goſpel Precepts, of *taking up the Croſs*, *Patience* and *Non-Reſiſtance*, muſt needs be meant of *Invaders of Rights*; whether Natural or Civil, matters not much, as I ſhall ſhew afterwards. For where are the Croſſes, what Place for Patience, or what Provocation to Reſiſtance, under the Maintainers of Rights, or righteous Rulers? There is Difference between the Patience and Non-Reſiſtance of Criminals, and the Patience and Non-Reſiſtance of Chriſtians: That is, when they ſuffer according to Right; this, when againſt Right: That, when they ſuffer for Ill; this, when for good and rewardable Things. *If when ye ſuffer for your Faults, ye take that patiently, what Glory is it to you? But if when ye do well and ſuffer for it, ye take it patiently, that is acceptable with God*; 1 Pet. ii. 19, 20. So that to pretend we are for Paſſive Obedience, and yet not to be for ſuffering, but reſiſting, when our Rights are invaded; ſeems as much as to ſay, we are always for it, but when we are call'd to uſe it. Good Kings will not puniſh, but reward good Men and Well-doers; and that will afford but very little Trial of their Paſſive Obedience.

(*a*) *Harm. of New Teſt.* ad An. Ner. 11. Chriſti 65. (*b*) Joſeph. de Bell. *l.* 2. *c.* 24.
(*c*) Vid. Paulum Minut. de Leg. Rom. *p.* 37, 38.

Under the *Succeſſors* of theſe *Emperors*, the Perſecutions of the Chriſtians were carried on ſtill by the *Breach of Rights*. Not only the Rights of God and Religion; as all their Perſecutions were a Reverſe of his Orders, and uſurping a Power to puniſh and torment his Servants for obeying him; but by a *Breach* of the *Rights* of the *Empire* too.

To clear this, I obſerve, That tho' the *Roman Emperor* had a very large and extenſive Power, (much wider than is enjoy'd by our Kings) and as abſolute by the *Lex Regia* as could well conſiſt with the *Government of a Free People*; yet was *this Imperial Power to be adminiſtred by Stated Laws, and to conſiſt with Popular Freedoms and Immunities.*

In ſeveral Things, the Emperor was bound up *to the Conſent of the Subject*; not having a plenary Power to act alone, without the *Concurrence of the Senate.* Such was the *Conſecrating of any New God*; which, as (*a*) *Tertullian* notes, was not to be done, *niſi à Senatu probatus, without the Approbation of the Senate.* On which account, tho' *on the Credit of Letters he received out of* Paleſtine *declaring his Divinity*, Tiberius *was for it; and brought it into the Senate*, as that Father obſerves, *with the Prerogative of his Suffrage; yet the Senate refuſing, our Saviour* Chriſt *was not admitted into the Liſt of the* Roman *Deities.* To ſay nothing now, how by the Original Conſtitution he was to bring before them ſeveral great Matters of State; as about raiſing Taxes and Soldiers, and anſwering Ambaſſadors, and the like, as I obſerved before. Such alſo was that *Creation of Magiſtrates*, reſerved at (*b*) firſt by the *Lex Regia* to the Senate and People, (the Emperor, as Head of the Senate, giving his Suffrage) which *Tiberius* (*c*) firſt *took away from the People* in the Aſſembly of their Tribes, to reſtrain it to the Senators, as is obſerved by *Tacitus*; and which *Caligula* was afterwards for *reſtoring to them*, as we are told by (*d*) *Suetonius.*

The *Imperial Power* was eſtabliſhed by Law in *Auguſtus*, on his Speech to deliver it up to the *Senate* and *People*, as I ſhewed before: And cannot be thought to have been ſuch a Power, as ſhould ſet aſide all their Laws; ſince in that very Speech he exhorted them *firmly to retain, and make no Change in their received Laws*, as (*e*) *Dio* ſays.

And after it was ſet up to profeſs and bear out their Liberties as Free Subjects, and their not coming thereby into a State of Servitude, or Subjection to mere Will and Diſcretion as the Emperors Slaves, the *Romans* would not give, nor the Emperors (as (*f*) *Auguſtus*, (*g*) *Tiberius*, &c.) receive or admit the Title of *Domini*, but of *Principes*; not be ſtiled *Lords*, but *Princes.* They had erected an Imperial Sovereignty, which ſhould proceed according to *Roman* Laws and Liberties; and ſo would not look upon their Empire as a Regality, which in their ordinary Account ſpoke a Government more abſolute, and inconſiſtent with Popular Rights and Immunities. So in *Caligula*, who was for wearing the *Regal Diadem*, (*h*) *Suetonius* taxes it as an high Enormity, that *he was for changing the Faſhion of a Principality into that of a Regality.*

Nay, the Law it ſelf declares the Imperial Power to be a Limited Power, and tied to go by Laws, and with regard to Legal Liberties.

(*a*) Apol. p. 6. & c. 13.

(*b*) Utique quos Magiſtratum, Poteſtatem, Imperium, Curationemve cujus rei petentes, Senatui Populoque Ro. commendaverit, quibuſque Suffragationem ſuam dederit, promiſerit, eorum Commiciis quibuſque extra ordinem ratio habeatur. *Inſcript. Tab. Lateran.*

(*c*) Tum primum è campo comitia ad Patres tranſlata ſunt. Nam ad eam diem, etſi potiſſima arbitrio Principis, quædam tamen ſtudiis tribuum fiebant. *Tacit. An.* l. 1. p. 29. Ed. Gryph.

(*d*) In Calig. c. 16. (*e*) Lib. 53. (*f*) Suet. in Aug. c. 53.

(*g*) Id. in Tib. c. 27. (*h*) In Calig. c. 22.

(*a*) It

(*a*) *It is a Voice worthy of the Majesty of one that reigns, to profess himself tied to go by Laws*, says the *Roman Law*. And again; (*b*) *Nothing is so much the Property of Empire, as to live and go by the Laws.* Agreeable to which is the Saying of *Socrates*, who (from his being an *Advocate*) was stiled *Scholasticus*; who says of *Maxentius*'s illegal Outrage, *killing without Process*, and otherwise illegally oppressing the *Romans* by a Yoke of *Tyrannical Servitude*; that it was (*c*) *treating them in the way of a Tyrant, not of a* Roman *Emperor.* And that also of *Tertullian*, well skilled likewise in the *Roman* Laws; who tells the illegally oppressive Magistrates and *Grandees of* Rome, (*d*) *This Empire, whereof you are the Ministers, is a Civil or Politick,* (*viz.* as proceeding by Laws and Right) *not a Tyrannical Domination*, wherein all is left to the Lust of those that administer it.

The Power of the Emperor was a *Complex Thing*, integrated of the *Consular* and *Proconsular*, the *Tribunitian*, the *Censorian*, the *Imperatorian*, the *Pontifical*, and other Branches, whereinto the Power and Polity was divided, under the *Democracy* or *Commonwealth. All these Powers*, saith (*e*) *Dio, as they were by Law established in the Democracy, do the Emperors take to themselves, together with the Names; that they may appear to have nothing, but what is freely given to them;——and to hold them, not by Force, but from the Laws.*

Now all these were Legal Powers, and to be administred according to the Direction of the *Standing* Roman *Laws.* (*f*) *As the Magistrates are to rule the People, so are the Laws to rule them*, says *Cicero.* They (*g*) *are bound to go by Laws*, says he again. And the better to secure their Maintenance of Laws, they *took an Oath to proceed by them*, when intrusted with the Execution thereof. *The Judges must observe the Laws, being obliged by Law to swear they will do so, before they can take their Place in Court*; as (*h*) he elsewhere observes. *The Foundation of the* Roman *Liberties*, says (*i*) he, *was laid on this, That they were Masters and Disposers of their own Rights.* And these Rights they could not be deprived of by Will and Pleasure, but by *Judicial Process.* (*k*) *This we have received from our Ancestors, and this is the Property of a free City, That nothing shall be diminished from the Lives or Goods of any Citizens, without Judgment or Sentence first pass'd, either by the Senate, or People, or others, who in any Matter are the established Judges.* Which Judges (in passing those Sentences or Awards about them) were bound, as he has told us, to proceed by the known and stated Laws.

(*a*) Digna vox est Majestate Regnantis, Legibus alligatum se Principem profiteri. *Cod. l.* 1. *Tit.* 14. De Legibus, &c. *l.* 4.

(*b*) Nihil tam proprium Imperii est, quam Legibus vivere. *Cod. Lib.* 6. *Tit.* 23. De Testam. l. 3.

(*c*) Τυραννικῶ μᾶλλον ἢ Βασιλικῶ ζόπῳ χρώμενον καθ' αὑτόν. Soc. Hist. Eccl. *l.* 1. *c.* 2.

(*d*) Hoc Imperium, cujus Ministri estis, Civilis, non Tyrannica Dominatio est. *Apol.* c. 2.

(*e*) Ταῦτα μὲν ἐν τῆς δημοκρατίας, &c. Dio, *l.* 53. *p.* 581, 582.

(*f*) Ut Populo præsunt Magistratus, ita Magistratibus Leges. *Cic. de Legib.* l. 3. initio.

(*g*) Ipsi Legibus teneantur. *Id. Orat.* 8. *quæ est in Verrem*, l. 3. in fine.

(*h*) Judice, qui ex Lege jurati judicatis, Legibus obtemperare debetis. *L.* 1. *De Inventione*, §. 60. *So called* Juratorum Hominum Orat. 5. *because* jurare in Legem judicaturi solebant. *Gothofred Not. in loc.*

(*i*) Hæc sunt fundamenta firmissima nostræ Libertatis, sui quemque juris, & retinendi, & dimittendi, esse Dominum. *Orat.* 35. *pro* Cornel. Balbo.

(*k*) Hoc nobis esse à majoribus traditum, hoc esse denique proprium liberæ Civitatis, ut nihil de capite civis, aut de bonis, sine judicio Senatus, aut Populi, aut eorum qui de quaque re constituti judices sint, detrahi possit. *Id. Orat.* 29. *pro Domo suâ ad Pontif.*

And therefore, when the Emperors received all these Powers, as *Consular*, *Proconsular*, *Tribunitial*, &c. they received such Powers as were under the Regulation of Laws. And accordingly *Dio*, speaking of that *Plenitude* of *Power* carry'd in the forementiond *Titles*, whereby *they had Authority*, as (*a*) he says, *to raise Men and Money*, *to make Peace and War*, &c. *yea*, *to put to death even Knights and Senators themselves*, *and that within* the *Pomœrium*, or Precincts of the City; notes, That this was not lawful for them, in like sort, and under like Regulation only, as before it had been lawful for the former Magistrates. *They may by Law do all these Things*, saith (*b*) he, *and all other Things*, *which it was before lawful for the* Consuls, *and other Magistrates that had full Power*, *to do.*

They were *Sacrosanct*, indeed, as he there says, *and so without Process could slay any Man* ὡς ἐναγῆ, as a *Piacle*, or *devotum Caput*, *that hurt them either in word or deed.* But this was a Privilege under the Regulation of Laws, not superceding Process in ordinary Course of Justice, but only in case of Violence to their own Persons; and had formerly appertain'd to the *Tribunes*, (as now from them it must to the Emperors, since on them the *Tribunitial Power* was devolved) whilst the Laws are allow'd to have been in force, and the ordinary Course of Administration to have been according to them. It *being stood upon by the Commons*, and *per sacratam Legem*, *by the Sacred Law establish'd*, as (*c*) *Livy* says, at the *first Creation* of the *Tribuni Plebis*, that they should be *Sacrosancti Magistratus*, a *Sacrosanct Magistracy*: That is, such as no Man could violate; but the *Sacrata Lex* did (*d*) *sacrare Caput cum bonis*, as the same (*e*) *Livy* says was *decreed against the Affectors of Empire by the Popular Law of* Valerius; viz. (*f*) *Cursed him to Hell as a devoted Man*, *so that it might be lawful for any one to kill him.*

They were also *loose from the Laws*: Λέλυνται γὰρ οἱ τῶν νόμων, (*g*) says *Dio*; and *Princeps Legibus solutus est*, saith the (*h*) *Law.* That is, they were loosed from all such *Laws of the Popular State*, as were against *Monarchy*, and inconsistent with their *Imperial Sovereignty*; but not from those Laws which concern'd it in all the Parts thereof, and ordered how each of them should be administred. So in one Clause of the *Lex Regia* it self, as it is in the foresaid *Lateran Table*, as on the one hand it is decreed, That (*i*) *from what Laws and* Plebiscita *it was ordained that the Emperors* Augustus, Tiberius *and* Claudius *should be loosed*; *from those Laws and* Plebiscita *let the Emperor* Vespasian *be loosed*: So is it decreed on the other, That *what Things soever*, *by what Law or Asking soever*, *the Emperors* Augustus, Tiberius, *and* Claudius [facere oportuit] *was bound to do*; *let it be lawful* [facere liceat] *for the Emperor* Vespasian *to do them all.* It puts *liceat* in *Vespasian*'s Case, for *oportuit* in *Augustus*'s, &c. for Deference and Respect sake; and to note, that tho' equally bound as they, yet if he fail'd, he was not under Coercion, or by any Superior compellable thereto.

Or the Emperors were *loose in respect of other Laws*, from the Restraint thereby as Subjects in their *private Actions.* To this, I think, that Rule of *Princeps Legibus solutus est* refers. And therefore in that Law it is de-

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(*a*) Lib. 53. p. 582. (*b*) Ibid. (*c*) Dec. 1. l. 2.

(*d*) Sacrosanctum-sanctione pœnæ, cum caput ejus, qui contra facit, consecratur. *Cicero pro* Cornel. Balbo, *Orat.* 35.

(*e*) Ibid. *l.* 2. (*f*) Vid. Macrob. Sat. *l.* 3. *c.* 7. *p.* 319, 320.

(*g*) Ib. *p.* 582. (*h*) Digest. *L.* 1. *Tit.* 3. *l.* 31.

(*i*) Utique quibus Legibus, Plebeive scitis scriptum fuit, ne Divus Augustus, &c. tenerentur; iis Legibus, Plebisque scitis, Imp. Cæs. Vespasianus solutus sit: Quæque ex quaque Lege, Rogatione, Divum Augustum, &c. facere oportuit, ea omnia Imp. Cæs. Vespasianus facere liceat.

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clared, not only to be the Privilege of the *Emperors*, but to be communicable by them to the *Empresses*. (*a*) *The Prince is loose from the Laws: But the Empress, tho' she is not loosed from the Laws, yet the Princes give her the same Privileges which they have themselves.* Thus, as to *Place of Sepulture*, when *not allow'd by* (*b*) *Law within the City*; yet *Imperatores & Virgines Vestæ, quia Legibus non tenentur, in Civitate habebunt Sepulchra: The Emperors and Vestal Virgins, being they are not bound by the Laws, shall have their Sepulchres in the City*, says (*c*) *Servius*. Or, their *Looseness from Laws*, was *from the Punishment of Laws*, or *not being coercible by their Penalties*. Thus *Harmenopulus* expounds it, by ἀμαρτίνας ἢ κολάζεται; *i. e. The Prince is loose from the Laws, because not punishable by any on Earth when he breaks them.* And so as (*d*) *Grotius* observes, doth St. *Ambrose* too, who had been a Judge of the Empire, in his *Apologia Davidis. Rex utique erat*, &c. i. e. *He was a King, and so not bound by the Laws; because Kings are free from the Bond of their Offences: For they cannot be called to Punishment by any Human Laws, being secure by the Authority of Empire.*

But tho' thus loosed from the direct Authority and Restraint of Laws in their private Actions, yet were the Emperors ty'd to Laws as well as others, and to have only what the Law gave them, in any *Claims of Rights and Properties.* (*e*) *If the Testament is imperfect, and not valid, the Emperor himself cannot claim the Inheritance thereby; as has often been determined*, says the *Law*. Tho' loose from all Coercion, and suffering Punishment by them, as Subjects; yet were they not loose from the Tye of administring by them, as Rulers; it being a *Voice worthy of the Majesty of one that reigns*, as to this Matter, (as I noted from the Law before) *to profess himself a Prince*, not left to rule at Will, but *ty'd to the Laws*. The Emperors were to rule, and administer Justice, not *after their own Will* and arbitrary Pleasure, but *ut Dominatio Civilis*, as I observed from *Tertullian*, or *according to Laws*, till they were taken off by regular Repeals. And what Possession they had of the Legislative, was to be Legislators to a free People. Tho' altering in other Matters, as might make most for the Good of their Subjects; yet having no Power to vacate those Laws, which were the Guard of *Roman* Liberty and Property. They were not free, by Law, to make the *Free-born* Romans *Slaves*; or to ordain any Thing, but what was suitable to a People of free Condition.

For the *Roman Subjects* had both their *Laws* and *Customs*, their *Jus scriptum* and *non scriptum*, *written* and *unwritten Laws*, as (*f*) *Justinian* calls them. They were not as the Emperor's *Slaves*; who, as 'tis in the (*g*) *Institutes*, *have no Head in Law, nor can acquire or receive any Thing for themselves, but all for their Masters.* But, as *Freemen* had their *several Properties*, and were Masters of Estates; some vastly great, and others less, according to their several Degrees and Qualities; (whereof they could dispose as *Proprietors*, by *Sale* or *Gift*, either in their Lives, or by their *Testament* at their Deaths;) they had their Rights and Freedoms, and distinct Steps and Degrees of Immunity and Privilege: Some having

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(*a*) Princeps Legibus solutus est: Augusta autem, licet Legibus soluta non est, Principes tamen eadem illi Privilegia tribuunt, quæ ipsi habent. *Lib.* 1. *Dig. Tit.* 3. *l.* 31.

(*b*) ——— Experiar quid concedatur in illos
Quorum Flaminia tegitur cinis atque Latina. *Juv. Sat.* 1.

(*c*) Ad Æn. 11. (*d*) Florum Sparsio ad jus Justin. *p.* 87.

(*e*) Ex imperfecto Testamento nec imperatorem hæreditatem vindicare posse sæpe constitutum est. *Cod. Lib.* 6. *Tit.* 23. *de Testam. l.* 3. (*f*) *Instit.* L. 1. Tit. 2. (*g*) L. 1. Tit. 16. & L. 2. Tit. 9.

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the *Rights of Liberty*; others, of *Citizens*, or *of the City*, which (*a*) *Auguſtus* was careful to *keep in great Price*, and *diſpens'd ſo very ſparingly*; others, of *Dignity*. And in *Dignities*, the ſeveral Degrees had their proportionable Privileges and Exemptions. And indeed, ſince the *Romans* were ſuch unmeaſurable *Affecters of Liberty*, and prided themſelves above all the World, on the Score of their Freedoms and Privileges; when on *Auguſtus*'s Offer to reſtore the Power and Authority back into their Hands, both *Arms*, *Laws* and *Provinces*, (as (*b*) *Dio* ſays) they choſe rather to erect the *Imperial Power* by the *Lex Regia*; no Man can imagine, that by this Law they would paſs away not only their former Power as Rulers, but alſo their Freedoms and Immunities as Subjects; and make themſelves and their Poſterities, inſtead of *Privileg'd* and *Freeborn* Romans, to be all thenceforward mere *Slaves*. The *Freedoms* of *Romans* they ſtill kept on; and a great Price was ſet upon theſe Freedoms, to thoſe who needed to purchaſe, and were not born to them, as well under the Emperors, as it had been before their Time. *With a great Sum of Money obtain'd I this Freedom*, (*viz.* of being a *Roman*) ſaith the *Chief Captain*: *But I*, ſays St. *Paul*, *was free born*, Acts xxii. 27, 28.

Among theſe Freedoms and Immunities of *Roman Citizens*, one was, That they *ſhould not be put in Bonds*: Another, That they *ſhould not be puniſh'd with Stripes and Scourges*: A Third, That *it was not lawful to fix any of them upon a Croſs*; which were *Servilia Supplicia*, or Puniſhments appointed for their Slaves. (*c*) *'Tis a great Offence to bind a* Roman; *a more heinous one to ſcourge him*; *and what Name can be hard enough for the Crucifixion of him?* ſays *Cicero*. *What Cauſe*, adds (*d*) he, *could* Verres *have*, *for treating any Citizen of* Rome *thus? Tho' indeed, in asking for what Cauſe, I do an Injury to the Common Cauſe, and to the Rights and Liberties of the City: As if there could be any Cauſe, for which the Magiſtrate might deal thus by* Roman *Citizens*. (*e*) *This*, ſays he again, *is the Sweet of Liberty, and the ſingular Right and Privilege of our City, ſecured to us by the* Lex Porcia *and the* Leges Sempronia, *which no* Prætor, *or other Perſon whomſoever, ſhould impunely tranſgreſs*. Another of their Rights and Privileges, was, *Not to be condemn'd unheard, or ſuffer without a Trial*; which was not only the Law of *Rome*, but of all Civiliz'd Nations. (*f*) *No Malefactor is to be condemn'd, till he has firſt been accuſed, and had his Trial*, ſays *Cicero*. And *the Law* of the *Twelve Tables* forbids *interfici indemnatum quemcunq; Hominem, any Man to ſuffer before Hearing and Condemnation*, as (*g*) *Salvian* notes. Not to mention the *Lenity* and *Temper* in other reſpects, which (*h*) *Cicero* obſerves of the *Roman Law* towards *accuſed Perſons*.

Theſe were Popular Rights and Immunities, not only under the *Commonwealth*, but afterwards under the Emperors. St. *Paul* pleads them under *Nero*; and tells the *Chief Captain*, he had infringed his *Roman Privileges*, and acted illegally by him, both in *binding* and *ſcourging* him being a *Roman*, and in inflicting all this upon him *unheard*, and *before Condemnation*. *Is it lawful for you*, ſays he, (as they bound him with Thongs) *to ſcourge a Man that is a* Roman, *and uncondemn'd? And the Chief Captain was*

(*a*) Suet. in Aug. *c.* 40. (*b*) L. 53. p. 570.

(*c*) Facinus eſt vinciri civem Romanum; ſcelus verberari; quid dicam in crucem tollere? *Cic. Orat.* 10. *quæ eſt in* Verrem, *l.* 5.

(*d*) Ob quam cauſam, Dii immortales? Tametſi injuriam facio communi cauſæ, & juri civitatis. Quaſi enim poſſet eſſe ulla cauſa, cur hoc cuiquam civi Romano jure accidat. *Ib.*

(*e*) O Nomen dulce Libertatis! O Jus eximium noſtræ Civitatis! O Lex Porcia, Legeſque Semproniæ, &c.! *Ib. Vid. & Orat. pro* C. Rabirio.

(*f*) Nocens, niſi accuſatus fuerit, condemnari non poteſt. *Orat.* 2. *pro* Sexto Roſcio.

(*g*) De Provid. *l.* 8. in fine. (*h*) Pro Domo ſua ad Pontif. *Orat.* 29.

afraid,

afraid, because he was a Roman, and because he had bound him, Acts xxii. 25. 29. The like Plea of Privilege he also makes, and therewith put the Invaders thereof in Fear, upon a like Violation of these Rights of a *Roman Subject*, before *the Magistrates of Philippi*, Acts xvi. 37, 38.

Another Privilege of the Free Subjects and Citizens of *Rome*, was that *Persons of Honour*, as the *Decurio*'s or *Senators in any of the municipal Courts*, but especially *the Chiefs of the City*, as those of the Title of *Egregij* and *Perfectissimi, should not*, unless in some special Cases, as of *Treason, be examined by Torture.* As it was moreover, that a *Man's Servant should not be put to the Torture to confess against his Master.* Both which, as well as *Bonds*, and *Stripes*, and *Crosses*, towards *Romans*, *Lactantius* cries out of in *Valerius*, as *Violations of Roman Liberties*, and (*a*) calls a treating of them by a *Right of War as Captives*; not as *Roman Subjects*, but as *Persian Slaves.* And the like might be shown of others; but it would be too tedious to recount Particulars.

Thus, to insist on no more Instances, which were very numerous, both to Persons and Places, were the Subjects of the Empire under the Protection of Laws, and in the legal and customary Enjoyment of Freedoms and Privileges. The Administration of the Emperor, was to be according to the Laws and Liberties of the Empire. He owed his Power to the Law. (*b*) *On the Authority of Law hangs our Authority: So that 'tis a Voice worthy of the Majesty of one that Reigns, to profess himself tied to Laws*, say the Emperors *Theodosius* and *Valentinian.* And as he had his Power by Law; so had they too their Rights and Privileges, in these, and many other Instances. Yea, these Rights, the Law would defend them in, against the Emperor himself. For, by the Rule of the *Roman* State, and by the Practice of it, not only all the Days of *Augustus*, but all the best Days of the Reign of *Tiberius*, they had the Protection of Law for their Rights and Properties, against their Prince, as well as against their Fellow Subjects. *If the Emperor* [*Tiberius*] (*c*) says *Tacitus*, *and any private Man had any Dispute, the Law and Courts were to decide it.* He was to have no more than what the Law allowed him. (*d*) *If the Testament be illegal, the Prince cannot inherit by it, as has often been decreed*, says the *Law.* So that although the *Imperial Power* was very large, yet was it not without its Bounds, and by Law should comport with popular Rights and Immunities. And this Point, of the *Romans* being *Free Subjects*, that have Rights and Properties, under a *Civil and Politick Power*; not *Slaves*, which have none under a *Despotick*; made a wide Distinction betwixt the way of *Roman Emperor*, and a *Persian Monarch*; as *Lactantius* (*e*) notes against *Valerius*, who *affected to Rule the Free-born* Romans *in way of Servitude, like Eastern Kings.*

And therefore, when the Emperors, after all the Powers of Senate and People, had by Law been transferr'd on them, were stiled *absolute*: That is, not as being loose in their Administration, from all Laws, or popular Immunities: But from that Dependance, wherein others for a limited Time had held these Powers, whilst they were parcell'd out among many Magistrates, in the Freedom of the *Roman* State; and from all Sharers and Partnership, either of People or Senate, in their Imperial Sovereignty and Government. Yet still so, as to be Governors of Free-born Subjects, not

(*a*) De Mort. Persec. *C.* 21. 23.
(*b*) Digna vox est Majestate regnantis Legibus alligatum se Principem profiteri. Adeo de auctoritate juris nostra pendet Auctoritas. *Cod. L.* 1. *Tit.* 14. de Legibus, *&c. L.* 4.
(*c*) Si quando cum Privatis disceptaret, forum & jus. *Tacit. An. L.* 4. *P.* 191. Ed. Gryphij.
(*d*) Ex imperfecto Testamento nec imperatorem hæreditatem vindicare posse sæpe constitutum est. L. 3. de Testam. Cod. *Lib.* 6 *Tit.* 23.
(*e*) De Mort. Persec. *C.* 21.

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of Slaves. And to Administer the several Parts of their Power by the Laws of the Empire; as the other Magistrates, e're it was taken out of their Hands, had done before. Especially whilst those Laws were in Force; and before they themselves, when possessed of the Legislative in such Sort as might consist with the Liberties of a Free People, had alter'd or revoked any that were legally revocable, by *Regular Repeals*. Whilst any Laws were in Force, those Laws, as I noted from *Cicero*, were to model the Courts, and guide the Sentences. And St. *Ambrose* afterwards, who had himself been first an *Advocate*, and then a *Judge of the Empire in Civil Affairs*, (*a*) says, *A good Judge doth nothing of his own Will or private Choice*; sed juxta Leges & jura pronunciat. Sicut audit, ita judicat—— obsequitur Legibus, non adversatur, i. *e. but pronounces according to the Laws. As he hears, so he judges——he follows the Laws, never opposes them.*

Yea, even the *Persians* themselves, whose Princes did so exceed in Prerogative; yet in the Height of their absolute Power, were not loose from inviolable Laws, however few those Laws were, or free they were from being call'd to Account for any Breaches of them. For the Scripture tells us, of *the Laws of Medes and Persians, which alter not*, Esth. i. 19. and Dan. vi. 8, 12, 15. And when the *Princes* had got one of these Laws, *to destroy Daniel*; we see, when his Heart was *the most set upon it*, it was not in the Power of the *King himself to save him*, Dan. iii. 14, 15, 16.

Thus were the *Roman Emperors*, not merely *arbitrary*, but *limited Governors*, who were to Rule their People according to *stated Laws*. And the *Roman Subjects*, were *privileged Subjects*, who lived under the Benefit and Protection of *Legal Rights, Freedoms, and Properties*; for which they had as good Law, as the Emperor had for his Prerogatives, and whereof they could not be despoiled, without Violence to the Law, and legal Constitution, whereupon the Emperor himself stood. And this I have taken the more Pains to clear, because one main Foundation of the Advocates for Resistance, is, the *supposed absolute Power of these Emperors*. They own the Scripture Prohibitions of Resistance, which no Man certainly can deny, till he has either lost all Modesty or Understanding. But (*b*) they say, *they are not to our Purpose*, nor *suit our Case, because their Kings and Emperors Wills were their Laws, and their People had no* Magna Charta's, or Records of Liberties *to show*, as we have. So that *the Frame of the Government warranted all those Commands that had the Royal Pleasure*, and the *People could plead no* legal *Injustice*. Whereas in Truth their Emperors, as I have shown, were tied to Laws; and the Subjects had Legal Rights, (yea, and those not coming from the Emperor's Grants, but antecedent to them in Virtue of their Ancient Laws, which were still reserved and kept on when his Imperial Power was first given;) and so were capable to suffer illegal Injustice, as any other privileged Subjects of Legal and Limited Governments may do.

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(*a*) *In Psal.* 118. *Octon.* 20. p. 500. 1 Vol.
(*b*) *Discourse about the Justice of the Gent. Undertaking at* York, p. 6.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of Invaſion of Legal Rights, under the perſecuting Emperors.

HAving ſaid thus much in the foregoing Chapter, to prove *the Subjects of the Empire had legal Rights*; I now proceed in this to ſhew *what Invaſions were made upon them*, to try their *Paſſive Obedience* under theſe Emperors.

Now the foremention'd Rights and Immunities of the Chriſtians, as they were *Roman* Subjects, and the common Benefit and Favour of the ſtanding *Roman* Laws, were invaded in the Primitive Perſecutions. I do not mean Laws for Chriſtianity, our Holy Religion not being like to have any Eſtabliſhment of Laws, whilſt the Emperors were Heathens. But Laws for Liberty, and Property, and common Juſtice, as *Roman* Subjects. Admit it was Criminal by the Conſtitutions of the Empire, and that the Chriſtians did not only want Laws for Religion, but had Laws againſt it; yet had they juſt Ground for this Complaint, becauſe, *when Indicted as Criminals, they were not permitted*, as (*a*) *Tertullian* ſays, *to ſuffer only according to Law, as other Criminals, or vouchſafed the Juſtice of legal Tryals.* For the cruel Emperors, and their Preſidents, in perſecuting the *Martyrs* and *Confeſſors*, infringed their Civil Rights, denying them the Juſtice of Laws, and Legal Claims, and treating them contrary to all Forms of Juſtice, which were as much their Birthright, as any of their Fellow-Subjects.

1. To be *tortured for Chriſtianity, when they confeſs'd it, was abſolutely againſt Law.* For the Legal Uſe of Torture, was only as a *Means of Inquiſition*, to force Confeſſion. It was not the Legal Puniſhment of the Fact, but only the Legal Means of Diſcovery, and bringing it to Light. *By your Law, Torments are not uſed for Puniſhment, but only for Inquiſition*, ſays (*b*) *Tertullian.* Their Intent was only to *extort the Truth*; and the *Miniſters of Law*, who made Uſe thereof, were only (*c*) *Veritatis extorquendæ, Præſides*, or *Preſidents that ſate thereby to force out the Truth.* So that by Law, they were never to Torture *Confeſſors*, but *Deniers.* (*d*) *If you would keep to your own Laws*, ſaith he, *to the Orders of Senate, or Conſtitutions of Princes, you ſhould torture no Man longer, than till you have made him confeſs.* And therefore when the Chriſtians confeſſed their Accuſation, as they frankly did, when brought in Queſtion for the Faith of Chriſt, to torment them on ſtill, was moſt Illegal. It was an utter *perverting of Law.* And accordingly (*e*) *Minutius*, who was himſelf an Advocate and Pleader in their Courts, calls it exerciſing *perverſam Quæſtionem*, *perverting the real Deſign, and legal Uſe of Inquiſition.* And before him *Tertullian*, expert alſo in the *Roman Laws*, (*f*) tells them, this Courſe was, *Tormentorum officia mutare*, to *change the Office and Uſe of Tortures.* It *is ſuch a Perverſeneſs*, (*g*) ſays he, *as makes the very Miniſters of Law and*

(*a*) Cum accuſati ut nocentes, à vobis aliter tractamur, quam pares noſtri, id eſt, cæteri nocentes. *Tert. Apol. C.* 2.

(*b*) Tormenta non pro pœna adhibentur, ſoli quæſtioni temperantur. *Apol. C.* 2.

(*c*) Ib. & ad Nationes, *Lib.* 1. *Cap.* 2.

(*d*) Veſtram illis ſervate Legem, uſque ad Confeſſionem. Hoc leges jubent, hoc Senatus Conſulta, hoc Principum mandata definiunt. *Apol. C.* 2.

(*e*) In Octav. p. 31. (*f*) Ad Nationes, *L.* 1. *C.* 2.

(*g*) Iſta Perverſitas ——— quæ vos adverſus Formam, adverſus Naturam judicandi contra ipſas quoque Leges miniſtret. *Apol. Cap.* 2.

Juſtice to miniſter againſt both, to overthrow Laws, and the true Nature and common Form of Judicature.

But this moſt Tyrannical and Illegal Method, was the way they took with the *Primitive Confeſſors.* When they profeſſed themſelves Chriſtians, upon Judicial Accuſations, their Perſecutors tortured them to make them deny it: And ſtill, the more bravely and reſolutely they Confeſſed, the more barbarouſly were they tortured. When, in the Caſe of all other Criminals, (*a*) ſays *Tertullian, you urge the Deniers by Torture to Confeſſion; the Chriſtians, when they confeſs of themſelves, you preſs by Torture to deny their Accuſation. Crudelius ſæviebamus,* (*b*) ſays *Minutius, ut torqueremus Confitentes ad Negandum. Quite contrary to what they did with others when accuſed, they put them to the Queſtion for Confeſſing; and the more they Confeſſed, the more barbarouſly the others raged, and the more cruelly they tortured them.* Here then, the *Prætors,* and the *Preſidents,* in all the Cities and Provinces, who in the Perſecutions ſate to Judge the Chriſtians by Law, Tortured them againſt Law. And this Breach of Law and Privilege, was in a Point the moſt dear and tender of all others. For Life, and Member, are by far the moſt valuable Rights and Freeholds. And under theſe illegal Tortures, many expired, being Murdered by theſe wrongful and illegal Executioners. And if they ſurvived the Torture, to Die by a more formal Stroke, the illegal Torture was much worſe, and more terrible to bear, than the Death it ſelf was. The Pains of Torture were not leſs exquiſite than the Pains of Death, but much longer. And it was a greater and more tedious Tryal of Patience, to bear the Rackings, and Tearings, and Burnings of the Fleſh, and other moſt exquiſite and ſtudied Pains of the Tormentors; than, in the laſt and Capital Puniſhment, to endure the ſudden *Stroke of the Sword,* or the *Teeth of the Bears* and *Lions.*

2. Again, in Judicial Trials, *Not to be heard in their own Defence, and permitted to ſpeak for themſelves, was abſolutely againſt Law. Inauditos, & indefenſos,* as *Tertullian* (*c*) tells them, *non licet omnino damnari. It is not the Manner of the* Romans, ſaid *Feſtus* to the *Jews, to deliver any Man to die, before he which is accuſed, have the Accuſers Face to Face, and have Licenſe to Anſwer for himſelf, concerning the Crime laid againſt him,* Acts xxv. 16. Nay, to deny them not only the Liberty of ſpeaking for themſelves, but *the Benefit of Advocates* to ſpeak and plead for them, was *an illegal Thing.* This was a Proviſion and Allowance which Law, and the Cuſtom of the Courts, had made for the greateſt Criminals. *We were uſed to undertake the Patronage and Defence of the Inceſtuous; yea, of the Sacrilegious, of Murderers and Parricides themſelves,* ſays (*d*) *Minutius* the *Lawyer.* (*e*) *Whatever Ill is charged on us,* (as the *Heathens* preſumed the *Chriſtians* Guilty of *Impiety, Sacrilege, Treaſon,* and *inceſtuous Mixtures,* &c.) *when the ſame is judicially charged on others, they have Liberty both to ſpeak for themſeves, and to Fee Advocates to make out their Innocence; there is Freedom to anſwer, to plead and debate the Matter: And all this, becauſe it is by no Means lawful to condemn any, till he has been heard, and made his Defence,* ſays *Tertullian.* And ſuch was the Care of Law, and the Courſe of Judicature, for all accuſed Perſons; that the Cognizance and Diſquiſition of Court, reſted not in the Confeſſion, or Manifeſtation of *General Names:* But, before Sentence proceeded further, to diſcuſs the

(*a*) Ad Nationes, *L.* 1. *C.* 2. (*b*) In Octavio, p. 31.
(*c*) Apol. C. 2. (*d*) In Octav. *Page* 31.
(*e*) Quodcunque Dicimur, cum alii Dicuntur, & proprio ore, & mercenaria advocatione utuntur, ad innocentiæ ſuæ commendationem reſpondendi, altercandi facultas patet; quando nec licet indefenſos & inauditos omnino Damnari. *Tert. Apol. C.* 2.

Quality

Quality and *Circumſtances of Actions.* (z) *When you take Cognizance of any Criminal's Caſe,* ſays *Tertullian, you do not think it enough to proceed to Sentence, on a bare Confeſſion of the Name of Homicide, Sacrilegious, Inceſtuous, Publick Enemy, (to inſtance in the Titles you give us;) but ſtay till you have diſcuſſed the Conſequences, the Quality of the Fact, the Place where, the Time when, the Manner how, the Inſtruments wherewith it was committed, who were Parties, and who were privy to it.*

But now all theſe were carried contrary, in their Proceedings with the Chriſtians. They were uſed to condemn them, without giving them the Juſtice of a Hearing: Not permitting them to plead their own Cauſe, nor admitting Advocates to plead it for them. When *all this Liberty of Pleading, either for themſelves, or by their Council, is allowed by you* to other Criminals; yet, ſays *Tertullian* (*a*), *to the Chriſtians alone there is no Permiſſion to ſay any thing, that may purge the Crimes they are preſumed guilty of, or defend the Truth, or prevent the Judges paſſing an unjuſt Sentence. You do not allow them Time,* ſays (*b*) he again, *to hear their Accuſations, and to refute them. Tho' we were ready to be Advocates for Sacrilegious and Parricides; yet, as for theſe,* ſays (*c*) *Minutius, we did not think fit to afford them any Hearing.*

Or, if they did hear them at all, it was not *Diſcutere de qualitate, circumſtantiis, & ordine admiſſi*; i. e. *to diſcuſs and take cognizance of the Quality, Circumſtances, and Order wherein they perpetrated the Crimes alledged,* as was always done with other Criminals: *But that only you look after,* ſays (*d*) *Tertullian, which is neceſſary to expoſe us to the Publick Hatred, the Confeſſion of the Name* [of Chriſtian,] *not the Examination of any of thoſe Crimes, which you groundleſly preſume to be practiſed by thoſe who profeſs that Name.* They *preſumed the Name* to carry with it a *ſufficient Conviction* of the moſt horrid Crimes: As of (*e*) *Slaying of an Infant,* and a *Thyæſtean Banquet,* or Feaſting upon it; of all Sorts of *Laſciviouſneſs,* and *Inceſtuous Mixtures* at their Meetings, *after the Dogs tied to the Candleſticks, by leaping at a Cruſt caſt before them for that purpoſe, had thrown down, and put out the Lights: Of Traiterous Conſpiracies againſt the Emperor*; and the like. But the Accuſers never offered, nor did the Judges ſtay, for any other Evidence of all this, than their mere owning themſelves Chriſtians. They were always *Præſumpta,* never *Probata Crimina*; *mere preſumptions without Proofs,* as * *Tertullian* ſays. *Cum præſumatis de ſceleribus noſtris, ex nominis confeſſione,* ſays † he again: And ‖ *ut inimicum nomen, ſub præſumptione Criminum puniatur*; that is, *your way is to preſume the Crimes, from the Denomination of Chriſtians; and to puniſh an hated Name, under a Preſumption of Crimes, which it knows nothing of.* The utmoſt that ever was alledged in Proof of theſe Crimes, was only *uncertain hearſay,* as * *Tertullian* notes, or common, but ungrounded *Fame*; which no Judge, that pretends to Juſtice, will ever condemn a Man, or take away his Life upon. All which was moſt contrary to the regular Courſe of *Roman* Juſtice, which went not by uncertain Hearſays, that can make no Evidence; but by Proofs, which could aver the Crime to the Perſon's Face: *Condemning no Man,* as *Feſtus* ſaid, till he had confronted the Evidence,

* Apol. c. 2.
† Ibid.
‖ Id. ad. Nation. l. 1. c. 3.
* Apol. c. 7.

(z) Si de aliquo nocente cognoſcitis, non ſtatim confeſſo eo, nomen homicidæ, vel ſacrilegi, vel inceſti, vel publici hoſtis (ut de noſtris elogiis loquar) contenti ſitis ad pronunciandum, niſi & conſequentia exigatis, qualitatem facti, locum, modum, tempus, conſcios, ſocios. *Apol. cap.* 2. *& ad Nationes, l.* 1. *c.* 2. *& c.* 6.

(a) Sed Chriſtianis ſolis nihil permittitur loqui, quod cauſam purget, quod veritatem defendat, quod judicem non faciat injuſtum. *Apol. c.* 2.

(b) Neq; accuſationi, neq; recuſationi, ſpacium commodetis. *Ad Nation, l.* 1. *c.* 2.

(c) Hos nec audiendos in totum putabamus, *p.* 31. (d) Apol. c. 2. & ad Nation. l. 1. c. 2, 6.

(e) Tertull. Apol. c. 7. Minut. Fel. p. 9.

there to make his Exceptions, *and had his Accuſers Face to Face.* (*f*) *The Preſident of the Province is to follow what is fit, proceeding by the Faith of what is proved,* ſays the *Law.*

Such, in theſe Points, was the illegal Uſage of the Martyrs and Confeſſors: And that, when they came upon their Tryal, not only for their Eſtates; but alſo for what is more to be valued, and what, when once injuriouſly taken away, is never to be reſtored or compenſated, their Lives too.

3. Moreover, *in Judicature, not to have any Regard to Law, but all to his own Will and Pleaſure,* is not only illegal, but *an utter Overthrow of Laws,* making them of no Uſe to the Subject: Which is the ſame for the Time, as if there were no ſuch Things; and, inſtead of publick Laws, ſubjecting them to private Diſcretion, Inclination, and Affections. Now this was ſometimes the Caſe, both of the Chriſtians and other Subjects of the Empire, under ſome of the perſecuting Emperors. *Galerius,* one of the bloodieſt of them, *diſſolving all the Laws,* ſays (*g*) *Lactantius, aſſumed and gave a Licenſe of all things to his Judges.* Here was a turning Laws out of Doors, and acting all by Diſcretion. And leſt the Law ſhould make any Part of thoſe Judges Diſcretion, he ſent out ſuch into the Judgment-Halls as did not know Law; and removed thence ſuch as were capable to plead, and lay it before them. (*h*) *He ſent out Military Judges,* adds he, *that were ignorant of the Laws and Learned Studies, and that too without Aſſeſſors,* whoſe Part it would have been to have given them Direction therein, *into the Provinces. He took away all Pleaders or Advocates; and either killed, or baniſhed the Learned Lawyers.*

4. Further yet; to be thrown off as *Out-Laws,* and *denied all Benefit of Law and Juſtice,* is to ſuffer the higheſt Invaſion of Claims and Properties, and to be *deprived of all Rights* and *Laws,* which are the Guard thereof, at once. To invade even *one Law* that is of main Importance, and a chief Security to the Subjects, is thought by the Advocates for Liberty, a ſufficient Ground for Reſiſtance againſt a Prince. This invading of a Law amounts to no more, than denying us the Benefit of that Law. And if it give ſuch Warranty, to be thus unjuſtly denied the Benefit of one Law in ſome concerning Caſe; how much ſtronger is the Argument, and greater the Warranty for Arming themſelves, when they are unjuſtly denied the Benefit of all Laws, and not allowed the Protection or Claim of Law in any Caſe? But under *Diocleſian,* this was the miſerable, the unrighted, and expoſed State of the Chriſtians. The Emperor *ordered,* as (*i*) *Lactantius* relates, *by an Edict, That againſt them all, any Man might bring an Action: But as for them, they ſhould be capable to bring none, neither on the Score of any Injury, nor of Adultery, nor for any thing that had been taken from them.*

5. Laſtly, When a People ſuffer Invaſion of Rights, and groan under heavy Oppreſſions and Perſecutions; *to be denied the Liberty of Petitioning their Prince,* or of *modeſtly ſetting out to him their Sufferings,* and *humbly* and *dutifully praying Redreſs*; is againſt the common Liberties of Humanity and Nature, and the Allowance of all juſt and equal Governments: Eſpecially to make ſuch Petitions Capitally criminal, and animadvert upon the Petitioners, by extreme Barbarity, and unheard-of Ways, is monſtrous il-

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(*f*) Et ideo Præſes Provinciæ id ſequatur, quod convenit eum ex fide eorum, quæ probabuntur. *Digeſt. lib.* 1. *tit.* 17. *l.* 6. §. *veritas.*

(*g*) Licentia rerum omnium ſolutis Legibus, aſſumpta, & judicibus data. *De Mort. Perſec. c.* 22.

(*h*) Judices militares humanitatis Literarum rudes, ſine aſſeſſoribus in Provincias immiſſi. Cauſidici ſublati, Jure-Conſulti aut relegati, aut necati. *Ibid.*

(*i*) Edictum quo cavebatur, ut adverſus eos omnes actio caleret; ipſi non de injuria, non de Adulterio, non de rebus ablatis agere poſſent. *De Mort. Perſec. c.* 13.

legality

legality and Injuſtice. But in the *Arian Perſecution* under *Valens*, when the *Chriſtians knew of no other Weapons againſt Perſecutors, but Prayers and Tears*, to uſe the Speech of * *Gregory*, a ſtout Aſſertor of the Orthodox Faith in that Perſecution; this was their Caſe. For no fewer than *Eighty Clergymen, whereof* Urban, Theodorus, *and* Menedemus *were the chief, being ſent by their Suffering Brethren to petition the Emperor* Valens *at* Nicomedia, *and humbly to repreſent the Violences and Miſeries they ſuffered from the Perſecuting* Arians: *To prevent Tumult and Sedition*, as the Story is related by † *Socrates* and || *Sozomen*, *by openly murdering, againſt all Right and Reaſon, ſo many Pious Men, who had done nothing amiſs; under Pretence of Baniſhment, he ordered them all to be put on Board a Ship*, as if they were to be Tranſported: *And then commanded the Mariners, when they had got them into the midſt of the Sea, to ſet the Ship on Fire, (making their own Eſcape by their Boat;) that this Way they might not only all die a miſerable Death, but when dead, be deprived of Sepulture.*

* Invect. p. 91.

† Hiſt. Eccl. l. 4. c. 16.

|| Hiſt. Eccl. l. 6. c. 14.

CHAP. IV.

The Chriſtians Paſſive Obedience under theſe Invaders of Legal Rights.

SUCH as we have ſeen, were the Civil Rights; and ſuch was the Invaſion of them, and Violation of Laws, practiſed upon the Primitive Chriſtians, in the firſt Perſecutions. Which I have been thus large upon in the preceding Chapters, thinking nothing can ſerve more to clear up this Point, and ſhew what Sort of Obedience and Non-Reſiſtance that was, which the Apoſtles ſo ſtrictly enjoined, and the Chriſtians ſo conſcientiouſly paid, to the Powers of the Empire in the firſt Ages.

For what now ſaid the Holy Biſhops and Fathers to their Flocks, in Point of Paſſive Obedience, or Non-Reſiſtance, to theſe Illegal Oppreſſors, and Invaders of Civil Rights and Immunities? The foremention'd Precepts of Chriſt and his Apoſtles, they make their Rules, eſteeming them, as all Chriſtians ought to do, for *Catholick Precepts*, given to guide Chriſtians of every Time and Place, and that ought to bind up their own Hands, in thoſe hard and trying Days; as, in foregoing Times, they had bound up the Hands of their Predeceſſors. When perſecuted under one, ſo far were they, in hopes of Eaſe or Quietneſs thereby, from ſetting up, or turning over to another, that, as (*a*) *Tertullian* declares, they did not ſwerve from him ſo much as by a ſecret Prayer, or *wiſh for a New* Cæſar.

Many had been the Defections from the Emperors, and the aſpiring Spirits, who had affected the *Purple*, and ſet up themſelves againſt them in all Parts of the Empire, to try the Chriſtians Loyalty and Adherence to their Rightful Princes; yea, to thoſe that either already had been, or afterwards proved, their bloody Perſecutors. Such was *L. Antonius*, who, as (*b*) *Spartianus* ſays, was declared Emperor by the Army againſt *Domitian*, who was the Author of the Second Perſecution: Whom *Parthenius*, and *Sigerius*, and their Complices, afterwards *murdered*; *having firſt agreed with* Nerva,

(*a*) Chriſtianus non novit, de novo Cæſare optare. *Apol. c.* 35.
(*b*) In Peſen. Nig. p. 218. 3. Par. Hiſt. Aug. Script. vid. Suet. in Domit. *c.* 6. 10.

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as (*) *Dio Xyphilinus* reports, *to take the Empire upon him.* Such also were those *many*, whom the Emperor *Marcus Antoninus* (†) speaks of, that had rebelled, and set up against the Emperors *Trajan*, and *Hadrian*, and his Father *Pius*; under whom were the Third and Fourth Persecutions. And likewise that against *Marcus* himself, (under whom was the Fifth Persecution of the Christians) by *Avidius Cassius*, on (*a*) Pretence of *Marcus's Remissness and Neglect of the Publick*, and *the Luxuriousness and Rapaciousness of his Ministers*; *all which*, as *Cassius* alledged, *endangered the Commonwealth.* Such also was the Affectation of Empire, and setting up for *Emperors in Fact*, of *Pescenninus Niger* in *Syria*, and of *Clodius Albinus* in *Gaul*, against the Emperor *Severus*; in whose Time *Tertullian* writ his *Apologetick*, upon the setting on the Sixth Persecution: And afterwards, that of (*b*) *Bonosus*, as also of *Proculus* and *Saturninus*, against the Emperor *Probus.* And after that again, the Defections of *Achilleus* in *Egypt*, and of *Carausius* in *Britain*, (as (*c*) *Eutropius* relates) who set up against *Diocletian* before; as others did, (says (*d*) *Eusebius*) some in *Armenia*, others in *Syria*, after his setting on of the Tenth Persecution.

Yet under all these Attempts for Change, even when the right Emperors were most unjustly oppressive, and illegally hard upon them, (as has been abundantly shewn) the Christians never run in among those that took up Arms, or swerved from their Duty and Allegiance. They still adhered to the right, even when they suffer'd most by it; and never turned, in hopes of Ease thereby, to the wrong side. Which they did so constantly, in all Places of the Empire, under all these Insurrections and Oppositions of Powers, that the Christian *Advocates* and *Apologists* could challenge all their industrious Enemies and Accusers, to shew wherein they had ever been seditious, or sided with a rebellious and wrong Power against the right, in any instance.

(*e*) *Whence came they*, says *Tertullian*, *that in his Country Recess laid wait for* Cæsar? *Viz.* with *Parthenius* and *Sigerius*, who conspired against *Domitian. Whence were the Adherents of* Cassius, *and* Niger, *and* Albinus? *Were they not all from among your selves*; *Heathen* Romans, *but no Christians?* These Two last Insurrections, under *Niger* and *Albinus*, were fresh at the Time of his Writing; and a strict Inquisition had been made after all the Partners that abetted, or adhered to them. (*f*) *Even at this time*, says he, *there is still an Inquisition going on to discover them*; *like a Gleaning of Grapes, after the great Clusters were gone.* And yet so clear were the Christians from any Share therein, that he challenges the *Heathen Priests*, after all this Search for those that followed and sided with these Usurpers against their Lawful Prince, out of any of their Records, to produce one Christian among them. After this, *Origen* (*g*) tells *Celsus*, when he objected *a Seditious Rise to the* Christians, *That neither he, nor any of his Party, would ever be able to produce any Work of Sedition, that had ever been acted by any* Christians. And when any *Tyrants in Title, and unjust Invaders of another's Power*, have made themselves

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(*) In Domitiano.

(†) *In his Letter*, ap. Vulcatium in Avid. Cassio, *p.* 120, 121, 123. 3. *Part Hist.* Aug. *script.*

(*a*) Vid. Vulcat. Gallic. in Avid. Cass. *p.* 127. (*b*) Vid. Vopisc. in Bonoso, *p.* 721. *Part* 3. *Hist.* Aug. *script.* & in Probo ib. *p.* 698, 699.

(*c*) Lib. 9. (*d*) Lib. 8. c. 6. Hist. Eccl.

(*e*) Unde Cassii, & Nigri, & Albini? Unde qui inter duas Laurus obsident Cæsarem? De Romanis (nisi fallor) id est De non Christianis. *Apol.* c. 35.——Nunquam Albiniani, nec Nigriani, vel Cassiani, inveniri potuerunt Christiani. *Ad Scap.* c. 2.

(*f*) Sed & qui nunc Sceleſtarum Partium Socii aut Plausores, quotidie revelantur, post vindemiam Paricidarum racematio superstes. *Id. Apol.* c. 35.

(*g*) Οὐδὲν γὰρ τάπητος ἔργον ὀπιδεῖξαι χριστιανῶν ὁ Κέλσος, ἢ οἱ ὁμονοοῦντες αὐτῷ δυνήσονται. Contra Celsum, *Lib.* 3. *p.* 115.

Maſters of any Place or Country; ſo far is he from thinking that all the Subjects thereof are bound in Conſcience to pay them Allegiance againſt the rightful Owners, and to turn over to their Obedience and Subjection; that, on the contrary, he aſſerts, (*h*) *It is well done, if they enter into Conſpiracies among themſelves to kill them.* Soon after this, St. *Cyprian* in like manner tells *Demetrian*, how paſſive they were under the moſt bitter Perſecutions, not ſtanding up by Force to right themſelves, but referring it to God, as a moſt juſt Judge, to right their Cauſe. For *thence it is*, (*i*) ſaith he, *that when we are apprehended, and ſuffer the moſt unjuſt Violence, we make no armed Reſiſtance, tho' we have Numbers more than enough for that Purpoſe. The City of Chriſt*, ſays (*k*) St. *Auſtin*, (ſpeaking of their *numerous* and *coſtly Confeſſions*, and how they carried themſelves under all the foregoing Perſecutions) *when as yet it only ſojourn'd in the Earth, and could have ſet out ſuch Troops of great Nations againſt the impious Perſecutors, did not fight for their Temporalties; but rather, that they might obtain Eternal, they ſuffer'd all without Reſiſtance. They were bound, impriſon'd, beaten, tortured, burnt, torn in pieces, ſlain; and multiplied notwithſtanding. But amidſt all this, they would not take Arms to defend themſelves in theſe Temporals; but contemn'd Things Temporal, in regard to their Saviour, and to ſecure Eternal.* Nay, laſtly, even *Julian* himſelf, their moſt induſtrious and ſpiteful Accuſer, gives this Teſtimony to them; That inſtead of ſiding with any that were going to make Inſurrection, they were for ſuppreſſing them. (*l*) *If they ſee any mutinying, or moving Tumults againſt the King, they preſently puniſh him ſeverely.*

Such were the Principles of Patience and Non-Reſiſtance which the Chriſtian Doctors taught, and the People practiſed, during all the Primitive Perſecutions; when they ſuffer'd, as the moſt cruel and barbarous, ſo the moſt illegal Things. And therefore, upon the Conſpiracy of *Magnentius* (a Chriſtian General) againſt the Emperor *Conſtans*; *Here firſt, alas! the* Chriſtian *Captains*, ſays (*m*) *Baronius*, *ſpurr'd on by a Luſt of Government, conſpire againſt a* Chriſtian *Emperor*; *when in former Times, not ſo much as a common Soldier*, as *Tertullian* teſtifies, *could ever be found to ſide with any Upſtarts or Uſurpers againſt the lawful Emperors, tho' they were* Heathens, *and cruel Perſecutors of the* Chriſtians.

Indeed, I think no Times have afforded better Pleas for Reſiſtance, than thoſe under the *Primitive Perſecutions*: Which yet were ſo eminent for *Paſſive Obedience*, or *Faith* and *Patience*, without taking Arms againſt their Governors to defend themſelves. For,

Under *Diocleſian* and his Partner *Maximian*, but eſpecially under *Galerius*, there were the greateſt *Rapes committed upon Property*, and the moſt *inſupportable Taxes raiſed by the moſt illegal Ways: Enquiring illegally by*

(*h*) Εἰ γὰρ τὸ τύραννον φθλαβόντα τὰς τῆς πόλεως σωθήκας, ἀνελεῖν τινες κρύβδην ἐπόιευ, τὸ κακῶς ἂν ἀπόιευ. Ib. l. 1. p. 5.

(*i*) Quos læſos [Perſecutionibus] ultio divina defendit. Inde eſt enim, quod nemo noſtrum, quando apprehenditur, reluctatur; nec ſe adverſus injuſtam violentiam veſtram, quamvis nimius & copioſus noſter ſit Populus, ulciſcitur. *Ad Demet. p.* 192. Ed. Oxon.

(*k*) Neque tunc Civitas Chriſti, quamvis adhuc peregrinaretur in Terris, & haberet tam magnorum gmina Populorum, adverſus impios Perſecutores, pro temporali ſalute pugnavit; ſed potius, ut obtineret æternam non repugnavit. Ligabantur, includebantur, cædebantur, torquebantur, urebantur, laniabantur, trrucidabantur, & multiplicabantur. Non erat eis pro ſalute pugnare, niſi ſalutem pro Salvatore contemuere. *Aug. de Civit. Dei*, Lib. 22. Cap. 6.

(*l*) Πλὴν εἰ τις εἰς τ Βασιλέα ὁπίδοιεν ἀτακ[ῦντας τινὰς αὐτῷ μάλα κολάζουσιν. Fragment. Epiſt. Jul. Imp. Operum *p.* 528.

(*m*) Hic primum (proh dolor) dira perciti regnandi Libidine, Chriſtiani Duces in Chriſtianum conſpirant Imperatorem, cum olim ne Gregarius quidem Miles (teſte Tertulliano) inveniri poſſet, qui adverſus Imperatores, licet ethnicos, & Chriſtianorum quoque Perſecutores, à Partibus aliquando ſteterit inſurgentium Tyrannorum. *Annal. Baron. ad An.* 350.

Torture into Eſtates, for the heightning of Payments: Nay, *putting Servants to the Queſtion againſt their Lords*; contrary to the Law, which *forbids Servants to be tortured againſt their Maſters*: Yea, *torturing even Children to confeſs againſt their Parents, and Wives againſt their Husbands*, as (*a*) *Lactantius* relates. Here was another Sort of Invaſion of Property, than that ſo much inſiſted on in the *Great Rebellion*; *viz.* of *enforced Loans*, *Privy Seals*, and *Ship-Money*. And if Invaſion of Properties can diſcharge Allegiance, the Chriſtians were at Liberty, and might have taken Arms in thoſe Days.

There was alſo a *Denial of Law*, and of the *Courſe of Juſtice*, unleſs they would purchaſe it by unlawful Worſhip and Sacrifices. For Heathen *Altars*, as the (*b*) ſame Author notes, *were erected before the Tribunals, that the Litigants might firſt ſacrifice, before they could bring on their Cauſe. An* (*c*) *Edict alſo had order'd, that againſt them any one might bring an Action; but that they, on any Injury, ſhould not be allow'd to bring any*, as I obſerv'd before. This was a *Denial of Protection*. And if Subjects are under no Obligation to Allegiance, where they are denied Protection; yea, or even where they miſs of it againſt their Rulers Wills, thro' their Incapacity for the preſent to afford it; (according to ſome preſent Caſuiſts Way of ſtating this Queſtion) Why might not the Chriſtians have thought themſelves diſcharged from paying any Thing to theſe Emperors?

There was *nothing of Law*, but *Arbitrarineſs in all their Courts*; where *Galerius*, as I (*d*) noted above, *diſſolving all the Laws, aſſumed and gave a Licenſe of all Things to his Judges*. And if Men that have Laws and Birthrights, may riſe up for their Laws and Liberties, againſt Governors who will invade both, and be arbitrary and illegal in their Adminiſtrations; how could the Chriſtians ſtand obliged to be quiet and paſſive in this very Caſe?

There was a *murdering Men for Poverty*; the ſame *Galerius*, in the illegal Courſe of raiſing his inſupportable Tax, (*e*) *commanding all the Beggars, who were unable to pay any Thing towards it, to be gathered together; and then*, to deter any from pleading Poverty, *being exported in Ships, to be drown'd in the Sea*. This is not only againſt all Human and Divine Laws, but is ſuch a *Degree of Madneſs*, as methinks might much better paſs for a Proof of one not *mentis compos*, or beſides himſelf, than the King of *Portugal*'s bloody Acts and Barbarities, which of late have been made Uſe of by ſeveral in this Diſpute. And if no Allegiance is due, in caſe of *Frenzy*, or *moral Incapacity*, appearing not in the ordinary Crazedneſs and Inconſiſtence of a Man's Carriage, but only by ſuch Actions; and there too, from the Extravagance of unjuſt Cruelty, or furious Paſſion in thoſe Acts, not from any Whimſical Silline ſs and Ridiculouſneſs of the Reaſons and Pretences for them; there would not, in my Opinion, have been much due to him. Nor to *Valens*, who, like a frantick Man, did the ſame, as I noted, to no leſs than *Eighty Clergymen*, who were ſent by their ſuffering Brethren humbly to Petition him. Nor to *Nero*, who for his Sport, and the more lively humouring of a Song, *viz. the taking of* Troy, which, as (*f*) *Suetonius* relates, *he joyfully ſung over it in his ſcenical Habit at that Time, ſet the City of* Rome *it ſelf all in a Flame*.

There was a Subverſion of the *Roman* Conſtitution, as I hinted before; *Galerius* turning the State of *Subjects* into that of *Slaves* or *Captives*, with whom he might take any Liberties, and uſe what Violence he pleaſed. He

(*a*) De Mor. Perſec. *C.* 7, 8, 23. (*b*) Ib. C. 15. (*c*) Ib. C. 13. (*d*) Ib. C. 22. (*e*) Ib. C. 23. (*f*) In Ner. C. 38.

alter'd,

alter'd, as the (*b*) *Romans* complained, their *Form*, which was *Potentia Civilis*, as *Tertullian* says, a Power *Legal* and *Politick*, into one that was *Arbitrary* and *Despotick*; affecting to Rule like the *Persian* Kings, who treated their Subjects, (*c*) says *Lactantius*, *tanquam familia*, merely at Discretion, and in a *Despotick Way*. Here, as some would have told them, was a Legal Government laid aside, and an Illegal set up instead thereof. And if there is no Allegiance due to a Lawful Governor, when he lays aside the Laws, and breaks in upon the Constitution it self, such an one being no longer the Governor their Law and Constitution owns, the Christians might have been free in Conscience to look to themselves, and to stand up with others for their common Defence, against all his barbarous and illegal Usage.

I will add but one Plea more. There was a treating of the *Romans*, and other Subjects of the Empire, more like *Enemies* than *Subjects*. Thus *Lactantius* (*d*) complains of *Galerius*, that he treated *them* after the *same Manner*, as he would have done to *any others*, *by the Right of War*; using these *Free-born Subjects*, as *their Ancestors were wont to use their Captives*. Yea, *at his first coming to the Empire*, as (*e*) he observes, *he professed himself an Enemy of the Roman Name, and would have changed the Title so, as to be stiled not the* Roman, *but the* Dacian *Emperor*. Thus also under *Diocletian*, *Eusebius* (*f*) says that *the Martyrs were oppugn'd, not by common Way and Form of Law*, as Subjects, *but by Right of War*, as if they had been publick Enemies. *License was given*, as *Phileas the Martyr* reports, (*g*) in his Epistle *sent from Prison to his Church, to any one that would to abuse them*; *which some did, beating them with Clubs, some with Rods, some with Whips. The President telling them, to have no Care or Regard at all, what they did to them, but to look upon them, and use them, as if they were not Men.* Thus likewise *Maxentius, upon a very light and small Pretence*, as (*h*) *Eusebius* tells us, *set the Guards one Day to fall upon the* Roman *People, to cut them off*, as they would an Enemy in Heat of Battle. *And so slew an innumerable Multitude of* Romans, *not in fighting against Foreign Foes, by the Arms of* Scythians *and* Barbarians, *but by the Hands of their own Citizens, and in the midst of the City it self.* Here would some have been apt to suggest, instead of an *Head* and *Governor*, did each of these bloody and persecuting Emperors, put on the Person of an *Enemy of his People*. As *Nero* also would have been thought by them, when he designedly, and (*i*) *but too openly*, as may be seen in *Suetonius*, *set Fire to the City*, which was as much as the *conquering Gauls* did, or would have been done on the Irruption of any Foreign Foe. And if no Allegiance is due to a Prince, when, not by open Professions, but only by the Mischievousness of his Counsels or Actions, he may be interpreted to turn Enemy of his People; the Christians under these, and many other Monsters of Blood and Cruelty, might in Conscience have been at much more Liberty than ever they believed themselves to be.

Thus, had they lived in those Days, might the *modern Casuists* and Advocates for Resistance have urged all the Pleas of *Invasion of Liberties and Properties*; *of ceasing of Protection, from unjust Powers*; of *Breach of Laws, and Alteration of very Forms and fundamental Constitutions*; of *Rulers ceasing to be mentis compotes*, or falling under Mental or Moral Incapacities, or *their turning publick Enemies*, and the like; against the now exploded Doctrine, of *Faith* and *Patience*, and *Non-resistance*, under the *fiery Tryal*

(*b*) Lact. Ib. C. 21. (*c*) Ib. (*d*) Ib. C. 23. (*e*) C. 27.
(*f*) ἐκεῖ μὴ κοινῷ νόμῳ, πολέμιε ὃ δόπῳ πεπολιορκημένων. Eus. Hist. *L.* 8. *C.* 10. p. 304.
(*g*) Ib. ap. Euseb. (*h*) Hist. *L.* 8. *C.* 14. (*i*) Suet. Ner, *C.* 38.

of the Primitive Perſecutions. But thoſe Bleſſed Martyrs and Confeſſors, *had not ſo learned Chriſt.* Theſe illegal Invaders of Rights, and bloody Perſecutors of Religion, they ſtill own'd and ſuffer'd as *God's Vicegerents.* And, as our Lord himſelf, and his Bleſſed Apoſtles taught, and practiſed; ſo theſe their true Followers took Care, even in ſuch Violators of Rights, never *to reſiſt the Ordinance of God*, which by St. *Paul* has *Damnation* annex'd to it; but to *ſubmit to them, not only for Wrath, but alſo for Conſcience Sake.* They ſtuck to the *Faith* and *Laws of Chriſt*, with Courage and Reſoluteneſs; and bore, and broke all the unjuſt Violence of the perſecuting Powers, with Patience; and never countenanced or joyn'd in any of the numerous Inſurrections made againſt them, though they had ſo much Temptation to it for their own Fleſhly Eaſe; as appears from *Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian*, &c. in the forecited Teſtimonies. And the like will be done by all others, who are for truſting their Souls with theirs, and think them ſafer in thoſe Primitive and firſt taught Ways, than in any of the ſo much fancied and magnified new Inventions.

Of Paſſive Obedience under Invaſions of Legal Rights among the Jews.

AGreeable to this Belief and Practice of the *Chriſtians* under the *New Teſtament*; was that alſo of the *Jews* under the *Old Teſtament*, in this Caſe.

This was ſeen in their Carriage towards thoſe Kings, both in *Judah* and *Iſrael, who introduced and ſet up an Idolatrous Worſhip.* To bring in, or to maintain *Idolatry*, was an Invaſion upon the *Law of their Land*, as well as upon the *Rights of God.* Yea, and that in a Point, which may ſeem the very Ground and Bottom of their Law, and among the moſt Fundamental, as many now to move Stirs would have taught them, in the *Jewiſh Conſtitution.* For the *Civil State of Jury*, was at firſt a *Theocracy.* The true God, was not only their God, whom they were to obſerve in regard to another World; but their King too, under whom they were Incorporated, and to unite together as a Society of this World. As a *Polity* of this World, they were *God's People*, who modell'd their Conſtitution, and preſcribed them their Laws, from whom, and in whoſe Name, was Legiſlation and Judicature, and who, as their Supreme Orderer and Director, was to be conſulted for Peace and War. The *Law of Moſes*, whom *Longinus* calls *the* (*a*) *Legiſlator of the Jews*, was the *Law of their Land.* And this Law was a *Political Covenant* betwixt them and the true God, all to be obſerv'd in keeping under him, not in Defection from him. Hence, the *going to ſerve other gods*, is by way of Eminence call'd *working Wickedneſs*, in breaking or *tranſgreſſing his Covenant*, Deut. 17. 2, 3, *&c.* And accordingly *Moſes, having the Two Tables of the Law in his Hands*, which he (*b*) calls *the Tables of God's Covenant with the* Jews; *brake both the Tables before their Eyes*, when *he ſaw them fallen from the Worſhip of God, to the Golden Calf.* Thereby noting the Covenant to be broken by Idol-Worſhip, and that theſe Laws or Tables, were a Charter or Covenant, to incorporate them under the true God, not under Idols, *Deut.* 9. 17. And

(*a*) Τῶν Ἰουδαίων νομοθέτης ὁ θεῖος ἀνήρ, p. 34. (*b*) V. 9, 11.

anſwe-

nſwerably, on any ſuch Defection, ſuch Inquiſition and Procedure, both owards *Seducers* and *Seduced*, was appointed thereby, without any Allownce of Miſpriſon or * *Concealment* even of the deareſt Perſon, as is pro- C. 13. 8.
er for the higheſt *State Crime*, *C.* 13. and *C.* 17. So that for any King, 9.
o go to *ſet up other Gods in Jury*, was not only to act illegally, or break hrough Laws and Statutes among them; but to undermine the very bottom f all their Laws, and break in upon the main and moſt important Things in he *Jewiſh* Law or Conſtitution.

Now *Ahab* ſuppreſſed the *Worſhip of the true God* in *Iſrael*, which was he Legal and Eſtabliſh'd Religion; baniſh'd and *put to Death the Prophets*, xtirpated the Profeſſors in Appearance ſo far, as that they ſeem'd even *clean one, to* † Elijah *himſelf*. And having pull'd down the *Worſhip of God*, 1 Kings
reſcribed by Law; ſet up the *Worſhip of Baal*, that was forbid by Law, xix. 14.
nd all by his own Authority. Here was mere Will and Power over-ruling aws; and Illegal Invaſion, and Arbitrary Power, in the moſt Tender and undamental Points; and all this acted to the higheſt Extremities, and with reateſt Outrage. But yet all this would not authorize their levying War, nd riſing in Arms againſt this Impious and Illegal Invader of Religion and aws. Even *Elijah*, whoſe *Spirit* goes further in Oppoſition and Return f Ill, than ∴ *Chriſt*'s doth, *calling down Fire from Heaven to conſume hoſe that were ſent to take him*; yet oppoſes all this, only by Freedom of ∴ Luk. ix.
onfeſſion, and ſaves himſelf by Flight, and enjoys his Soul in Patienee, 54,55,56.
nd ſeeks Redreſs by Prayers and Truſt in Providence. But never ſollicits, or ſeeks to ſtir up the *many Thouſands in* Iſrael, both *Prieſts and People*, who poſſibly might have ſome Remains of Faith and Zeal for the Lord of oſts, to defend their Legal and Eſtabliſh'd Worſhip, and keep out Heaheniſm againſt their King, by Inſurrection and Rebellion. But wicked, dolatrous, and illegal Adminiſtring *Ahab*, and his *Houſe*, was to hold his rown till God himſelf, who is the rightful Judge of Princes, expreſly epoſed and diſauthorized them; and not by mere Courſe of Providence, ut by ‖ *particular Nomination*, and the *anointing of a Prophet*, ſet *Jehu* ‖ 1 King.
pon his Throne. xix. 16. &
2 King. ix.

What more common among the Kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah*, than to per- 5,6,12,13.
ecute the true Worſhip of God; and to ſet up, and impoſe a falſe one, in ts ſtead? All the *Kings* of *Iſrael* were open and plain Idolaters: And ſo were ſeveral of the *Kings* of *Judah*. Particularly, * *Ahaz ſhut up the* * 2 Chron.
oors of the Houſe of the Lord, fell to the Abomination of the Heathen, and xxviii. 2,
nade him Altars in every Corner of Jeruſalem. And † *Manaſſeh* brought 3, 24.
he *Heathen Idols* into the very Temple of *Jeruſalem*; excluding and ba- † 2Chron.
niſhing the true God, whoſe Worſhip was ſettled by Law, from his own xxxiii.
Houſe; and ſetting up the Abomination of Idols, which the Law forbad, n the moſt publick Places. Here is legal Truth arbitrarily turned out; nd illegal Error as arbitrarily ſet up, even in the authorized and moſt pubick Places, the Churches and Temples of the Land. And this againſt all Religion, and National Laws; even thoſe, that in the Style of many now o ſtir up Inſurrection, would be call'd moſt eſſential to the Civil Conſtitution it ſelf; and which were not dependant on the King, either to make, or o repeal them. But *Elijah* and *Eliſha*, *Micah* and *Iſaiah*, and all the other Holy Prophets, who, of all Perſons, were the fitteſt, as the Trump of God, to ſound to Arms, and call Men to riſe in God's Cauſe; yet, when ſent to cry out againſt this Diſhonour of God, and Breach of Laws, they did it only as Confeſſors, not as Ringleaders to Rebellion. They never attempted this Courſe for Redreſs, nor ſtirr'd up the People to defend God and the Laws againſt their Kings by armed Reſiſtance, or by depoſing of thoſe Impious and Arbitrary Princes.

To deſcend now from *Religion*, when taken into the Law and made a *Civil Right*, to *Property*. *Saul* perſecuted *David*, not in any way of Law and Juſtice, but of mere wilful Fury and Cruelty, to ſhed his *innocent Blood* as he had already done, by the Blood of a ‖ *Number of Prieſts*, without any Regard either to the Innocence of the Men, or the Sacredneſs of their Function. This ſure was an Invaſion of Rights, not only the common Rights of Humanity, but of their *Civil Rights* of the *Sixth Commandment* ſaying, *Thou ſhalt not kill*; which was not only the Law of God, but the Law of their Land, or of *Jury*. Now whilſt *Saul* was acting thus againſt Law, and invading Rights; doth *David* think he has loſt all Claim to his former Submiſſion, and may be looked on thenceforward, and oppoſed, as a mere unauthorized Perſon? No, but owns him for the *Lord*'s *Anointed* at that very Time; and thereupon that he could not do againſt him, what was unlawful againſt one of that Character and Denomination. *How can I ſtretch forth my hand againſt him, and be guiltleſs, ſeeing he is the Lord's anointed?* 1 Sam. xxvi. 9. Like as afterwards, whilſt *Pilate* was paſſing an unjuſt Sentence in a *Caſe of Blood*, and that againſt his own Conſcience and Confeſſions; our Lord ſtill owns him as one that *had Power over him from above*, Joh. xix. 11.

‖ 1 Sam. xxii. 18.

Such likewiſe was the Breach of Property, when *Ahab*, againſt all Law and Juſtice, *ſeized Naboth*'s Vineyard, together with his Life, which was a much more valuable *Freehold*. And when *Jezabel* fill'd all Places with illegal Executions, keeping alive the *Prieſts* of *Baal*, whom the Law utterly and inexorably deſtroy'd; and *deſtroying all the Prophets of the Lord ſhe could find*, *good Obadiah* venturing his Life to *hide and maintain an Hundred of them by Fifties in a Cave* from her Fury; all whom the Law protected. And when the Kings and Princes of *Judah* and *Iſrael* were complained of by * *Iſaiah*, for *Exactions*, and *Oppreſſions*, and *perverting Juſtice*. As others were by † *Jeremy*, ‖ *Ezekiel*, ·.· *Hoſea*, * *Amos*, † *Micah*, ‖ *Zephaniah*, &c. for *grinding the Faces of their Subjects*, *ſhedding innocent Blood*, *and turning aſide the Poor in the Gate from their Right*. But tho' here was Breach of Laws, and Legal Properties; yet was this never allow'd as a juſt Pretence for the injured Subjects, by Force of Arms to do themſelves Right, and rebel againſt ſuch invading Princes. The Holy Prophets talked of no Forfeitures of Crowns, or Depoſitions of Kings, or Diſcharge of Duty and Allegiance, on theſe Accounts; but referr'd them to God, the Supreme Judge, to right them againſt their invading Sovereigns. This in thoſe Days was their Maxim, as it is in the Words of Rabbi *Jeremiah*; *No Creature may judge the King, but the holy and bleſſed God alone.*

* C. iii. 14, 15.
† Jer. xxij. 17.
‖ Ezek. xxii. 27.
·.· Hoſ. vi. 9.
* Am. v. 12.
† Mic. iii. 1, 2, 3, 9, 10, 11.
‖ Zeph. iii. 3.

* Some indeed think to turn by the Scriptures of the *Old Teſtament*, forbidding this Reſiſtance among the *Jews*, as of no Force with us, becauſe *they had Kings immediately delegated by God, either in Anſwers from the Cloud of Glory, or Unction by Prophets.* And what was there forbid againſt ſuch a King, they think is only of Force under others, who come in by like ſpecial prophetical Delegation.

* See *An Enquiry into the Meaſ. of Submiſ. to the Sup. Authority*, Art. 8.

Now as to this, it ſolves not the Argument from the Dueneſs of Non-Reſiſtance to *Jewiſh* or *Iſraelitiſh* Kings; for that was as due to thoſe that wanted, as to thoſe that had theſe immediate Nominations: It was as due to *Ahab*, and all thoſe other Kings of *Iſrael* that were ſuch Invaders of Laws and Rights, as I obſerved, as to *Jeroboam*, or to *Jehu*. And yet, among the Kings of *Iſrael*, *Jeroboam* and *Jehu* alone had this prophetical Nomination; all the reſt coming in by human Titles, like the Kings of other Nations. And as due to *Hezekiah* and *Joſiah*, and all the other Kings of *Judah*, that were Kings by Deſcent; as to *Saul* or *David*, who were ſet up by immediate Meſſage from God. And yet, after *David* and *Solomon*, the Crown in *Judah* went by the Courſe of Deſcent in the Royal Blood, with-

out any Interpoſition, ſo far as we can ſee in Scripture, of God's perſonal Nomination. Even in *Joaſh*'s Caſe, who was ſet up againſt *Athaliah* after *Six Years* Poſſeſſion, no ſuch thing was pretended. *Jehoiada the Prieſt*, who managed that Revolution, not pretending for young *Joaſh* any Meſſage of a Prophet, or Anſwer from the Cloud of Glory; which, had that been their Method of ſetting up Kings in thoſe Days, he, as *Chief Prieſt*, ſhould have conſulted; but only his heritable Right according to the Conſtitution of *Jury*, or being of † *the Houſe of David*.

Beſides, Non-Reſiſtance, and other Duties to Sovereign Governors, do not depend upon the Method, or Way of coming into Power; but only on that rightful Power and Authority they are come into. *Honour thy Father, obey Magiſtrates, ſubmit to the King as Supreme, be ſubject to the Higher Powers*, and other like Sayings of Scripture requiring theſe Duties, look only at the *Authority*. If a Man is the true Father, the rightful Power, and the lawful King, they ask no more to make all theſe due to him; making no Difference, whether he comes to have this Right by an Human Title, or by a Divine.

* 2 Chron. xxiii. 3.

Now all that God's perſonal Nomination doth, is, as other perſonal Titles do, to fix the Power in a certain Perſon. It gives no Enlargement of Power, or greater Extent of Prerogative. And not widening or enlarging the Authority, it can make, or call for no more Duty. And accordingly theſe Duties were as much the Due of thoſe Kings, that came in by human Titles among the *Jews*; as of thoſe, who were perſonally named by God himſelf: And they are as due to any Kings of other Nations, as they were to *Jewiſh* Kings. For Government is inſtituted of God for all Nations, as well as *Jury*: And Obedience to Governors is a natural Duty. So that Subjects of all Governments are call'd to pay theſe Duties, as much as the *Jewiſh Subjects* were. Now to bid Men be *ſubject*, and *ſubmiſſive*, and *obedient*, and *not to reſiſt*, and the like, are as plain and full, as I noted at firſt, as the moſt ordinary Underſtandings need to be taught, againſt all Reſiſtance. What ſaid God more than this againſt Reſiſtance to the *Jews*, when he named any King himſelf? Nay, if we come to make Compariſons, where are the Sayings againſt it, under any ſuch Kings, ſo numerous and expreſs? And theſe are as plain, if Men are willing to underſtand what God plainly tells them, when ſpoken in Caſe of a *Roman* Emperor, who had a Human Title; as they would have been in Caſe of *Saul*, who had a Divine Title.

They are due to any Perſons, as having *God*'s *Authority*, and being his Vicegerents. Thus † St. *Paul* notes of *all Duties of Subjects*, and particularly of *Non Reſiſtance*, ſaying, *They that reſiſt ſhall receive Damnation*, as reſiſting *the Powers that be of God*, and *the Ordinance of God*; and requiring *Subjection out of Conſcience*, becauſe *they are God's Miniſters*. So that as to Matter of Reſiſtance, any other King has the conſcionable Bar againſt it, as much as a King of God's own naming, if he be but *God's Miniſter*, and *Ordinance*. But now the Power of Kings by human Titles is God's Power, and God owns this Way of coming in, and empowers them as much as thoſe that come in by his own perſonal Nomination; declaring, That their Power is his Power, and that they are *his Miniſters* and *Ordinance*. All which St. *Paul* ſays as expreſly of the *Roman* Emperor, as he could have ſaid of any Prince immediately call'd out, and commiſſion'd by God himſelf.

† Rom. xiii. 1, 2, 4, 5.

The ſeditious *Jews*, I conceive, were of this Opinion, That the Heathen Powers, not ſet up by any Revelations, but left to human Claims, were not *Kings of God's making*: And ſo were wont to deſpiſe, and ſpeak ſlightfully of them; *deſpiſing Dominion, and ſpeaking evil of Dignities*, as St. *Jude* ſays of the *Seditious Judaizers*, v. 8. But St. *Paul* tells ſuch Men, that

that theſe Powers were as truly *of God*, as any of their own Nation; and that God's Command for obeying Powers, was as much for obeying theſe, as it had been for obeying them. *There is no Power*, ſaith he, *but of God: And he that reſiſts the Power, reſiſts the Ordinance of God*: διατάγῃ, the Divine Precept; *viz.* the *Fifth* Commandment, or other Precepts, that oblige Subjects, and empower Princes, and give as much Duty to theſe *Heathen* Powers, as they had done to any among the *Jews*, *Rom.* xiii. 1, 2.

And like to this, *of the different Ways of their coming in, making no Difference in our Duties to them, we find in other Inſtances.* In Point of *Property*, we come into our Lands and Poſſeſſions by an *Human Law and Allotment*; but they came into theirs, in *Canaan*, by (*a*) a *Divine.* But yet there is as much *ſtealing*, and a Breach of the *Eighth Commandment*, in taking away our Things from us, as there was in taking away theirs from them. And in caſe of *Servitude*, the Primitive Maſters came by their *Servants* either as their *Captives taken in War*, or as their *Purchaſe*, bought with Money, like their Cattle in the Markets; but we by *Contract*, all our Servants voluntarily ſubmitting themſelves to us, and at their own Choice. Yet for all this different Riſe of Maſters Powers, when once Servants are got under them, the ſame Goſpel Precepts of *Diligence*, *Fidelity*, and *not anſwering* again, *&c.* do equally oblige in both Caſes. The Duties reſpecting either *Power* or *Property*, depend not on the particular Manner of coming in; but only on the *Rightfulneſs* and *Degrees* of that Power and Property, which any Perſons are come into. More Power, I grant, there is in ſome Princes, and more Liberties to ſome Subjects, than to others, according to the Difference of Civil Governments and Conſtitutions. But ſince the Power of the *Jewiſh* Kings was a Power *limited by Laws*, (as ours is) an Invaſion of Laws and Rights can no more juſtify Reſiſtance in our Caſe, than it did in theirs. And to ſay they did not come into this Limited and Legal Power the ſame way, makes no Difference as to this Buſineſs.

The Scriptures of the *New Teſtament* likewiſe (*b*) they endeavour to turn off, by ſaying, *They only bind us not to reſiſt, when true Religion has Laws againſt it; but for all thoſe Precepts we may reſiſt, when it has a Law on its ſide.* If we may do thus when we have a Law for Religion; then ſince Law is as good in one Caſe as in another, when we have a Law for Liberty or Property, or any Thing elſe. But this, as I have ſhewn, is contrary to the Senſe of thoſe Goſpel Precepts, and to the Belief and Practice of Goſpel and Primitive Times; which tied up the Hands of Chriſtians when they ſuffer'd illegal Things, and were treated by their Governors, in numerous and moſt concerning Points, againſt the Laws.

Again, (*c*) they ſay thoſe Precepts were directed againſt *Jews*, *who were not for ſubmitting, or paying Allegiance to Foreigners or Heathens.* Admit they had one Eye againſt theſe; yet, at the ſame time, they had as much againſt any others that would have run into the ſame *Jewiſh* Practice, or have been for making warlike Reſiſtance to thoſe Powers, on any other Pretences. The Thing thoſe Precepts are plainly for ſecuring, is *Non-Reſiſtance to thoſe Powers, notwithſtanding any thing that could be alledged againſt them.* And as the *Jews* might pretend in thoſe Days that they were Foreigners and *Heathens*; ſo might others, and with as much Truth too, that they were Invaders of Laws, of Rights and Liberties. And yet for all theſe, or any other Pretences ſeditious Spirits ſhould ſtart, the

(*a*) Numb. xxvi. 53, 54, 55, 56. & Cap. xxxiv. 13, 17, 29.
(*b*) Ib. Art. 9. (*c*) Ib. Art. 10.

Apoſtles peremptorily enjoin all good Chriſtians to own them ſtill as *God's Ordinance*, and to forbear all *warlike Reſiſtance towards them, not only for Wrath, but for Conſcience ſake.* And thus, in Obedience to thoſe Injunctions, they all practiſed at that Time; as their Followers did in the ſucceeding Perſecutions. And the Scriptures are written for a Rule of *Chriſt's* Church, alike in all Times; as much to us, as they were to former Ages. So that theſe Precepts both of *Old* and *New Teſtament*, are as binding upon us, as ever they were upon either the *Jews* or the *Primitive Chriſtians.* And whatever Pretences were pleadable in their Caſe, whilſt the inſpir'd Men-men told them they were bound not to reſiſt; to be ſure, thoſe ſame Pretences can never cancel our Obligation more than it did theirs, or make it lawful for us to do it. We muſt follow them to Heaven in the ſame Way the Apoſtles taught, and they took; or elſe we are not like to get thither at all.

CHAP. VI.

Of the Unlawfulneſs of Reſiſtance, on ſuch Invaſions of Rights, by our own Laws.

TO all this which I have hitherto diſcourſed, from the Obligations both of *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, I ſhall now

Thirdly, In the *Third* Place, note *from our own Laws, how little Ground there is with us in theſe Realms*, to take up Arms againſt our Sovereigns *for any Rights, becauſe of their being Legal*; or for Religion, becauſe of its being taken into the Law of the Land. For thoſe very Laws which eſtabliſh our Religion, and particularly the *Act of Uniformity*, forbid this Way of Defence; and *declare it unlawful, on any Pretence whatſoever, to take up Arms againſt the King.*

This Declaration was made, upon occaſion of the *Great Rebellion* begun 41, and for preventing any one's falling into the like again. And therefore, by *any Pretence whatſoever*, it muſt more particularly include all thoſe Pretences which were given out for taking Arms at that Time. And thoſe Pretences (as may be ſeen from *the Votes and Declarations of that Parliament*, a brief Account whereof is given in the *View of the late Troubles*) were, The (*a*) *Preſervation of Liberty and Property*, of *Religion* and *Laws*; of the *Privileges of Parliament*, who are the Conſervators of all our Rights; and for (*b*) *keeping out of Foreign Forces*, which the King was ſaid to be endeavouring to bring in, to enſlave this Kingdom. Which Pretences are the beſt that can be invented for forcible Defence; and ſo as oft as they are bent on Change, will probably be made uſe of by Men of like Minds in latter Ages.

Indeed, ſo far as Words and plain Declarations can do it, our Law ſeems to have taken all the Care the Wit of Man can take before-hand, to prevent all Recourſe to this Way of Defence againſt our Lawful Sovereigns, by leaving none in this Way to be our Defenders, or capable to pretend a

(*a*) Vid. p. 96, 97, 98, 99. (*b*) P. 70, 71. 88, 90.

Power

Power of making uſe thereof. If any could liſt Armies againſt the King, not only in Defence of private Rights, but of the Laws, or the very Conſtitution it ſelf, when the Kings chance to break in upon them; it would certainly be the *Two Houſes of Parliament.* But the Act about the *Militia*, 13 *Car.* 2. *c.* 6. and 14 *Car.* 2. *c.* 3. declares the Power of the *Militia*, ſo much conteſted by the Parliament in King *Charles* the *Firſt*'s Time, yea, and that on this very Pretence, that they might therewith defend the Laws and Liberties againſt him, *to be ſolely in the King: And that neither one, nor both the Houſes of Parliament, can, or lawfully may, levy any War, either Offenſive or Defenſive againſt him.* So that take even the moſt defenſible Rights, which ſeem beſt to deſerve a War, and put them into their Hands who have the beſt Claim to be their Defenders; and yet 'tis plain by this Act, that they are not to defend them againſt the King, by Levying War, or Liſting Soldiers.

'Tis true, our Parliaments are taken into the Government, and have a Share in the higheſt Acts, as *making Laws.* Whence ſome have argued, That upon the Prince's breaking in upon the Legiſlative Power, the Parliament may take Arms againſt ſuch an Invader, as one Sovereign may againſt another. This Inference is directly againſt the Act laſt mentioned, which declares, they have no Power againſt him, either for *any Offenſive*, or *Defenſive War.*

But to clear this Point; This Share of theirs in the Legiſlation, as I conceive, is not a *Sovereign*'s, but a *Subject*'s Part. They are called in to conſult, and with Authority of Negative, upon all Laws to be impoſed on them: Which is a great Security indeed of their being well-governed, and bound to nothing but what is for their Benefit; no Law being to be made or repealed, without their own Conſent. But this Liberty of conſulting, and Authority of Negative, is ſtill under the King the *only Sovereign*; not on equal Terms with him, as *Two Independent Sovereigns.* Agreeably, we find the Stile in the *Acts* ſo often is, *Be it enacted by the King our Sovereign Lord, with the Aſſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and of the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by Authority of the ſame.* As 37. H. VIII. c. 4. & 25. H. VIII. c. 11. & 19. H. VII. c. 18. & 23. & 3. Edw. IV. c. 4. & 7. Edw. IV. c. 3. & paſſim. *Or, our Lord the King, by the Advice and Aſſent of the ſaid Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and at the Requeſt of the Commons in this Parliament aſſembled, and by Authority of the ſame, hath Ordained and Eſtabliſhed,* &c. 12. *Edw.* IV. c. 8. Tho' the King is not *Abſolute*, without Rules in Governing; nor *Alone*, without Partners in Legiſlation; yet is theirs only a Subject's Part, not a Co-ordinate Sovereign's; and *He alone is Supreme*, both in Legiſlation and Execution.

For our Law, and Church too, fixes all the *Sovereignty of the Realm ſolely in the King. The King's Majeſty hath the chief Power in this Realm of* England, &c. *unto whom the chief Government of all Eſtates of this Realm (whether they be Eccleſiaſtial or Civil) in all Cauſes doth appertain*; * ſay the Thirty-nine Articles of *Religion. He is the only Supreme Governor of this, and all other his Realms, in all Temporal Things, as well as Spiritual*; ſays the *Oath* of *Supremacy. His Realm recognizes no Superior under God, but only his Grace*; ſays *Stat.* 25. *H.* VIII. c. 21. His Parliaments, when they meet, both ſit and act only as his Subjects, not as his Compere Sovereigns; He not having *Parem in Regno ſuo*, as (*b*) *Bracton* ſays. For by Order of Law, they were to take the Oaths of *Supremacy* and *Allegiance*; profeſſing, by thoſe Solemnities of Religion, that

(*a*) Art. 37. (*b*) L. 7. c. 8.

he is the ſole Sovereign, and that they whilſt acting there, are only his Subjects. When during their Seſſion, they make to him any *Addreſs*, they Stile themſelves *his Majeſty's moſt Loyal and Dutiful Subjects*. Yea, in *Acts* and *Statutes* themſelves, they have often uſed the ſame Stile; calling, as *him*, *their Gracious Liege Lord and Sovereign*; ſo *themſelves*, his *Humble, Loving, and Dutiful Subjects*, in thoſe Acts of Legiſlation. *In all Humble Manner ſhew unto your moſt excellent Majeſty, your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons*, &c. ſays *Stat.* 12. *Car.* 2. *C.* 30. *We your Majeſty's moſt Faithful and Loyal Subjects, the Lords and Commons*, &c. ſays *Stat.* 1. *Jac. C.* 1. *We your Majeſty's moſt Loving, Faithful, and Obedient Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons*, &c. *repreſenting the Three Eſtates of this Realm*, (ſo bearing only the Part and Place of Subjects in that Repreſentation,) ſays *Stat.* 1. *Eliz. C.* 1. And the like may be ſeen in the Acts under Queen *Mary*, as in *Stat.* 1. *Mar. Seſſ.* 2. *C.* 1. Under King *Edward* VI. as *Stat.* 1. *Edw.* VI. *C.* 14. and King *Henry* VIII. as *Stat.* 37. *Hen.* VIII. *C.* 4. and *C.* 17.

By all which I conceive it plainly appears, that the Two Houſes ſit with the King in Parliament, and concur in making Laws, not as Co-ordinate Powers that are equal to him; but as Subordinate under him; not in Place of Sovereigns, but of Subjects under him their ſole Sovereign. So that if any Parliaments head Inſurrections againſt our Kings, they are Wars of Subjects ſtill againſt their Sovereigns, and ſuch as *they neither can, nor lawfully may make*, no *not in their own Defence*, as the *Statute* ſays.

But (*a*) ſome Appeal from the *Letter* of theſe Laws and Legal Declarations, to the *Equity* of them; and think, though the Letter of the Law condemns reſiſting Subjects, that the Equity thereof will acquit and juſtify them.

This Plea of Equity, againſt the Letter of theſe Laws and Legal Declarations, is for excepting ſome particular Caſes from being meant and comprehended in the general Terms uſed therein; and that is by way of Preſumption, that the Makers of thoſe Laws and Declarations would have excepted them, had the Caſes been foreſeen, or particularly put to them. But here is no Place for Preſumptions of a Thing, againſt expreſs Declarations to the contrary; or for ſuppoſing ſuch Exceptions in Laws, that ſay themſelves they do not except any Caſes. And this the foreſaid Declarations do in this Point of Reſiſtance; declaring it *to be unlawful to take up Arms againſt the King on any Pretence whatſoever*. Yea, being made with a particular Eye againſt theſe Pretences, of *Invaſion of Laws, Religion*, &c. So that they muſt needs be underſtood to comprehend, and not to except them, as I noted before.

Beſides, Military Reſiſtance of Sovereign Powers ſtand forbid, by the Letter not only of our Laws, but alſo of Nature and Scripture; the *Fifth* Commandment, and other Scripture Precepts, calling indiſpenſibly for Subjection and Obedience, (which bars all ſuch Reſiſtance) to Sovereign Princes, from all Perſons, and at all Times. And there is no pleading Equity, to exempt any Caſes from the Generality of their Expreſſions. For there is no urging Equity againſt Natural Duties. In mere Poſitives, as in Things of mere Human Obligation, it may have more Place. But in Matters of Intrinſick Goodneſs, and Natural Obligation, it has none. They are ſtanding Rules, that admit of no Exception, and the Plea of Equity muſt always, and only be for the keeping, but never for the breaking of them. No Man muſt ever pretend Equity, for Leave to commit

(*a*) *Thoughts of a Private Perſon about the Juſtice of the Gentlemens Undertaking at* York, Page 9, 10, 23.

Murder, or Adultery, or to Steal, or to Rebel, or to Tranſgreſs any other Law of Nature. For the main Care of Equity, is to make theſe Duties inviolable; and ſo the Argument to be drawn from thence, is in every Caſe to Act according to them, but in no Caſe to Act againſt them.

The Pretence for Equities exempting ſome Caſes from the Prohibitions of Reſiſtance, is for the *Safety of Subjects*, becauſe ſay (*b*) ſome, *no Man can owe ſo much Duty to his Prince, as not to have a Salvo for his* Safety, *eſpecially for his Life.* But what a Man owes, or is oblig'd to by the Law of Nature, not only to his Prince, but to the meaneſt Fellow-Subject, or to any of Mankind, is without any ſuch *Salvo*, even for Life; and he may not tranſgreſs ſuch Natural Duty towards them, though it were to ſave his Life. It not being lawful to Steal, or Murder, or commit Adultery, or Tranſgreſs any other Natural Duties againſt our Neighbours, no not when we are the moſt put upon it, and tempted thereto to ſave our ſelves.

I add; Whatever People, ſpurr'd on by a Deſire of Revenge, may vainly fancy in Favour of their own Paſſions, that Equity ſets more by Submiſſion in all Caſes, than by this deſired Liberty of Reſiſtance. Its firſt Precept about this Matter is, Whatever the Governor be, to have Government kept up; which is by holding on Submiſſion, that is always caſt off by Reſiſting. And this, not only in Regard to God's Authority, whereto it calls for Juſtice and Submiſſion, though in an Evil Prince, but alſo in Care of the Subjects own Good. Which amidſt all the Hazards Men may think the Doctrine of Non-Reſiſtance to be attended withal, is much more, and much ſafer, in this Conſtancy of Submiſſion and Non-Reſiſtance, than it would be in the contrary Liberty of Reſiſting and running to Arms, on the foreſaid Pretences.

Laſtly, That Equity doth not exempt from this Non-Reſiſtance, is plain, becauſe it is a general Principle, and what Exemption it gives would be general; under all Governments, Abſolute as well as Limited, and in all Times and Places; one having as much Claim to Natural Equity, as another has. And ſo, there would have been Exemption thereby under the *Roman* Emperors, fancied (though without Ground) to have been Abſolute and Arbitrary Governors; and in the Primitive Scripture Times, as well as under our Kings, and in this preſent, or the preceding Age. Whereas our Bleſſed Saviour, and his Holy Apoſtles and the Primitive Saints, plainly admit of no Exemption under thoſe Emperors. And (*c*) the Managers of this Plea own there was none, nor allow any Liberty of Reſiſting, under any Abſolute and Arbitrary King.

They (*d*) appeal likewiſe, from theſe *Declarations of our Laws*, to the *Nature of our Conſtitution*, and the *End of our Frame*; and think it will juſtify that Reſiſtance, which theſe Sayings and Declarations of Law condemn.

But as to our Conſtitution, thereby the *Supremacy is fixed ſolely in the King*; and therein is an *expreſs Denial of all Coercive Power over him*; and a Declaration or *Maxim*, that *he can do no Wrong*; what he doth, being by Miniſters, and they only, and not he, being accountable in any Court here for the ſame. All which, leaving neither Fault imputable to him to deſerve it, nor Authority in any others to Try and Judge him for the ſame, muſt needs bar all *Forfeitures* of the Crown. The *whole Power of the Militia*, or of Liſting Soldiers, the Law declares to be *only in him*. And loudly aſſerts the *Unlawfulneſs* and *Treaſonableneſs of all Levying War*

(*b*) Id. p. 2. 12. *&c.* (*c*) Id. p. 15. 22.
(*d*) Id. p. 12, 23. *An Enquiry into the Meaſures of Submiſſion to Supreme Authority*, Art. 14.

againſt him. Nay, that even the *Parliament* themſelves, as I noted, *have no Power to make any War*, either *Offenſive* or *Defenſive* againſt him. And in a Government of this Frame, owning *one irreſiſtible* Sovereign, and thus carefully *excluding all taking Arms againſt him*, I do not ſee whence any ſhould hope to fetch this Liberty of Reſiſting.

And as for the End of that Part of our Conſtitution, which lies in *ſecuring our Liberties* and *Properties*; that is plainly with Limitation, and *ſo far only, as they can be ſecured to Subjects continuing Subjects, i. e.* in Conſiſtence with Submiſſion, which is thrown off by Military Reſiſting. They are to be ſecured thereby to the Subjects of theſe Realms, ſo far as they can be ſecured, under a Sovereign and Irreſiſtible Prince, (as our Conſtitution makes ours to be,) and by Men keeping to their Duty and Obedience.

CHAP. VII.

Of Paſſive Obedience under Invaders of Natural Rights. And theſe as Defenſible by Arms, as Civil Rights.

HAving hitherto ſhewn, that the Invaſion of Civil Rights and Laws, gives no Exemption from the Goſpel Duties of Obedience and Non-Reſiſtance, which I think I have made pretty plain, both from the Caſe of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, and from our *own Laws* themſelves: I now proceed to ſhew, in the

Fourth, and laſt Place, that if this Defenſibleneſs of Legal Rights would exempt us; a *like Defenſibleneſs of Natural Rights, would as well have exempted all other Subjects of Sovereign Powers.* And ſo, contrary to what the Advocates of Reſiſtance themſelves affirm, would have left no ſuch Duty in the World, as *Paſſive Obedience.* The true Chriſtian and *Thankworthy Paſſiveneſs*, as † St. *Peter* obſerves, not being that of Male-factors, who *ſuffer for their real Faults*; but of *Righteous* Perſons and *Well-doers*, who cannot ſuffer, but by an Invaſion of Rights, or Unrighteous Uſage. † 1 Pet. ii. 19, 20.

All Oppreſſors *invade Mens Natural Rights*; if they have no *Civil Laws to make them Civil Rights.* That Ruler, who has no Civil Laws to guide him, is yet bound to guide himſelf, by the Law of Nature and Reaſon. Now Nature makes Right and Wrong, and appoints Laws for them. Elſe, by the mere Law of Nature, there could be no ſuch Thing as Unrighteouſneſs, or wronging of our Brethren. *Thou ſhalt not Kill*, and *thou ſhalt not Steal*, are ſome of Nature's Laws. And all *ſhedding of innocent Blood*, all *Theft*, *Lies*, and *Breach of Faith*, are by Nature Violations of Right, and ſo Unrighteous Actions.

Now Natural Rights are as Defenſible this Way, as any Civil Rights are. I do not only ſay they are as Sacred and Inviolable: Yea, having God, and not Man for their Author, and a Divine Law, not an Human, for their Guard, they muſt needs be more inviolable. But alſo, that they are as Defenſible by Force, as any Civil Rights. Thus Princes, and Sovereign States, take Arms againſt each other, to defend their Natural Rights. And ſo may Private Perſons, (under like Moderation of *Chriſtian Charity*, as

they are to ſhew in quarrelling for any other Rights,) when aſſaulted by Thieves, Murderers, or other unrighteous Attempters, and have no Leiſure or Opportunity to call in the Protection of Government, and Guard of Civil Laws; one private Perſon having Liberty to fight another in theſe Caſes, in Defence of their Lives, Perſons, Liberty, and other Things, which are Natural Rights. And this is the Liberty of *Self-Defence:* Which is a Liberty of defending theſe Natural (or other) Rights, by our own Natural Force; when, being out of the Cover of Laws, we are left, as in a State of Nature, to defend our ſelves.

Indeed, mere Natural Rights have no Civil Defence, till they are taken in to be Civil Rights: That is, there is no commencing an Action, and ſuing for them in any Civil Courts, till they are backed and defended by Civil Laws. But this Way of defending by Force of Arms is a Natural Defence, in which Laws give a Man no Help at all, but he is left purely to the Strength of his own Natural Powers. And for Natural Rights, a Man may make his Natural Defence, which is no more than the Liberty of Self-Defence.

Nay, when Men come to defend their Civil and Legal Rights this Way, *viz.* by *running to Arms*, they defend them not as Civil Rights: For what Defence any thing gets by having a Civil Law for it, and being a Civil Right, is a *Legal Defence*, or *Defence by Legal Proceſs*. It may be pleaded in a Law Court; and whilſt Courts have Authority, and Law can be heard in them, that will defend it. But when Men leave conteſting theſe Rights at Law, and fall to Arms, they abſolutely throw off this Civil Defence; there being no Cover or Defence from Law among drawn Swords, nor any uſe in War of Witneſs, Judge, and Juries. And inſtead of that, they come back to Natural Defence, or by their own Natural Strength, which is to defend them as Natural Rights. So that Natural Rights muſt needs be as defenſible by Arms, I conceive, as Civil Rights: Since Civil Rights, as Civil, are not at all defenſible by Arms, but by Law-Suits: And to defend them this way, Men muſt bring them out of the State of Civil, which lies in being under Government and in Courts, into the State of Natural Rights. And when, in any Caſe, the Law juſtifies this Defence afterwards, it is not as needing a Civil Law, but under the Notion of a Natural Right, or as being the Natural Liberty of Self-Defence.

But now, if Subjects might have Recourſe to this forcible Defence, and levy War againſt their Sovereigns, upon their Violation of Natural Laws, and Invaſion of Natural Rights, which are as defenſible this Way, as any Civil Rights; then there is no ſuch Thing as *Paſſive Obedience*, nor ever was any Submiſſion and Non-Reſiſtance due to ill and unjuſt Kings. And ſo in Reality, there ſhould have been none due, in thoſe Times, when God always required it, both among *Jews* and *Chriſtians*: Whoſe Paſſive Obedience was never tried, but when they ſuffered unrighteouſly, by an Invaſion of their Natural and Divine however, if not alſo of their Civil and Human Rights. So that this Plea of the *Defenſibleneſs of theſe Rights by Force*, will afford no Eaſe peculiar to us, nor alter the Caſe of Non-Reſiſtance with us, from what has been ſo long ſince determined of it in the Scriptures, and the Primitive Church. Had it been true, it would have ſet the ſuffering Subjects looſe in thoſe Days: And as the Inſpired Men, and Holy Fathers, taught Non-Reſiſtance as a Truth then; they would, were they now alive, tell us it is as true now, and bid us do the ſame in ours.

This forcible Defence of Civil Rights then, as well as a like forcible Defence of Natural Rights, muſt be limited to private Perſons. If Men were under no Civil Governors, they would be left each to defend their own Rights: And when they are under Government, they are ſtill left to it againſt other private Perſons, in Caſes that will not ſtay for the Defence of

Laws, or for Recourſe to Governors. But there is no Liberty for Subjects to defend their Rights thus, by joining in Arms againſt their lawful Sovereigns. The Holy Scriptures, and our own Laws, as I have ſhown, plainly forbidding this Way of Defence, when Subjects ſuffer Invaſion of Rights. And the Pleaders for Reſiſtance, allowing they may not take it in Defence of Natural and Divine Rights, no, not in Defence of Religion it ſelf; till it is taken in to ſtand by Civil Law; and Civil Rights are not more defenſible by Force of Arms, than Natural and Divine Rights are.

To the Sovereign Power, the Command of God is, *to be ſubject*. Then there is no Reſiſting, ſince warlike Reſiſtance throws off Subjection. So levying War in Subjects, can be no way of defending Rights againſt their Sovereign: Nor can they take any Ways of Defence, but what are conſiſtent with Subjection. Therefore their Defence of Rights muſt only be in thoſe Ways which keep in the Order of Government and Juſtice. If they are oppreſſed by a lower Power, they may ſeek to a higher; and ſo riſe, till in this Way they have tried the Sovereign himſelf, beyond whom, in Subordination of Government, there can be no Appeal, but to God himſelf. So there is human Help this Way againſt all Governors, but the Supreme: Yea, ſome Kings themſelves are but imperfect Sovereigns: They have reſerved Caſes; and though they are Supreme in all others, yet in theſe they have Superiors to take Cognizance of, and declare their Failures, and diſcharge their Subjects from bearing them any more Allegiance. And here is Human Redreſs, and that by Force even againſt the King: Not by breaking and caſting off the Order of Government; but by keeping under, and paying Subjection to thoſe, whom, in theſe Caſes, the Laws have made Superior unto him. This may ſeem the Caſe of *Poland*, where a Clauſe ſaid to be in the *Coronation Oath*, ſounds to this purpoſe.

But where a King is the *Sole Supreme*, both *over all Perſons* and *in all Cauſes* that can come under Judicial Cognizance, he can only have God above him. And when he invades the Rights, and ſtands in it; after we have ſought to Courts, and made Supplications, and uſed all Ways for a Subject's Redreſs; there is no Way, but to be content with ſo much Right as we can have by continuing under his Government; and for the reſt, to leave it to God, (who will be ſure to do it firſt or laſt) either to redreſs, or avenge our Cauſe. But the Way of Subjects, by Order of God, who requires them for all this to continue ſubject, cannot be to reſume the Liberties of ungoverned Perſons, and fall every one to right themſelves againſt him by Force of Arms; which is to throw off the State of Subjects, and ſet up to be their own Governors. Nay, this Way of defending Rights would be the moſt unwiſe, and oppoſite to that ſecuring of Rights they aim at, as well as moſt offenſive to Almighty God. For however, in their Heat and Uneaſineſs under Wrongs, Men are apt to think this a Way of recovering, and defending ſuch invaded Rights; in the end, they will find it is the Way to leave, both them and all their other Rights, defenceleſs, and under no Guard or Security at all. For Government is the beſt Safeguard of our Liberties and Properties: And if once we go to pull it down, we go at the ſame time, when we do not think it, to pull down our ſelves, and to ſet open our own Freedoms. The Fence being broken down, the Incloſure becomes common, and our Rights lie open to all Intruders.

From this Diſcourſe I ſhall obſerve, that as to the Point of *uſing forcible Defence*, it ſeems no great Difference, *when Religion is perſecuted*, whether it *ſtand upon its own Right*, *or be taken into the Law of the Land, and ſtand on Civil Right*. Every Man has a Right to be truly Religious, and to ſerve God: He has a Right to ſeek Eternal Happineſs, and to Truth in Religion,

ligion, as the Way to it. And every Prince invades this Right, (yea, I add, and God's too) who denies him this, and perſecutes him for it. If God has a Right to our Service, we muſt needs have a Right, nay, be under Duty and Obligation (which I think is more than a Right) to ſerve him. And this Right is unalienable; no Prince or Power on Earth (who are all authorized to rule us under God, not to rule over him) can, or ought to ſet it aſide, or deprive us thereof.

And as no Prince can, ſo can no Law do it. For whence muſt that Law have ſuch Authority? Is it from God? No ſure: He cannot authorize any Human Laws, to ſet aſide his own Laws; for that were to give Men Authority over himſelf. It is only the Power of the Law-Maker, that gives the Law its Power: And if the Human Power that made the Law, cannot take away this Right; the Stream cannot riſe higher than the Spring, nor the Effect have what the Cauſe had not; ſo that the Law made by him cannot do it. If a Law attempts to take away this Right, it is as bad as if a Prince doth it. As he is an unrighteous Prince, ſo is it an unrighteous Law; and we do not ceaſe to have this Right for either, but ſuffer equally an Invaſion of an unalienable Right in both.

Now ſince Religion, however perſecuted, whether with or without Law, is an unalienable Right; how ſhould its having, or wanting a Civil Law, either give or take away this forcible Defence of it? For its own Natural and Divine Right is as defenſible by Natural Force, as I have ſhown, as any Civil Right the Law will add to it.

And what is it that a Civil Law doth towards this Way of its Defence? It makes it, ſay (*a*) they, a *Civil Right* and *Property: And a Perſecuting Law againſt it, tho', as it is wicked, it cannot command our Obedience; yet, as it is a Law, it may diſpoſe of our Civil Rights.* True; a Civil Law will make or unmake a Civil Right, which gives or takes away a Civil Defence, by Courts and Law-Suits. When it has a Civil Right, it will have Redreſs in Courts, and have Men puniſhed for invading of Civil Liberties: And when it has loſt this by a Law againſt it, its Profeſſors muſt not come to ſue for it in Court, or hope to find any Help there.

But what is this *Defence of Courts* by being a Civil Right, to *Natural Defence*, or *defending it by Force of Arms*? Were the Doctrine of Reſiſtance true, as I have ſhewn, it need not go to *Civil Right* to have this Natural Defence; or if it did, Civil Right would ſend it back again to Natural Right; Civil Rights, when they come to this Way of Defence, throwing aſide what they have by being Civil, and coming into the State of Natural Rights. So that whilſt it remains a Natural or Divine Right, it is defenſible by Arms, as if it were a Civil Right. And ſuch a Right true Religion always is; and however perſecuted, whether with Law, or without, or againſt it. It holds this Right unalienably under the unrighteous Invaſion of Laws, as much as under the illegal Invaſion of Rulers. And having the Right as fully, if it were defenſible this way, it might defend it as lawfully againſt their Invaſions, as againſt his. And then the Profeſſors of true, but perſecuted Religion, might fight for it againſt their perſecuting Sovereigns, not only for the Laws, but for the Truth's ſake; and be as free to make this Defence for it, when it is driven out by the Law of the Land, as when it has that Law on its ſide. Which, beſides what is ſaid thereto above, I note againſt thoſe, who make an armed Defence of Religion among us, different from a like Defence in

(*a*) *Mr.* Johnſon's *Remarks on Dr.* Sherlock's *Caſe of Reſiſtance*, &c. p. 19, 20.

the

the Days of the Apoſtles and Primitive Perſecutions; on account Religion then had the Laws againſt it; but now, thro' the Bleſſing of God, it has the Laws on its ſide.

What has been offer'd upon this laſt Point, is ſufficient alſo (over and above what has been ſaid to that before) againſt thoſe who make our Caſe different from that of the Primitive Saints, either *Jews* or *Chriſtians*; *becauſe the Non-Reſiſtance they paid, was not*, ſay they, *to limited Rulers*, as our Kings are, being bound up by Laws; *but to Abſolute Governors.* For tho' ſome are more *Abſolute*, *i. e.* more left to Diſcretion, and have fewer Human Laws to direct them than others; yet were no Governors ever perfectly ſo. There were, both Laws and Popular Freedoms and Immunities, under the *Roman* Emperors, as I have ſhew'd: And *Laws not to be alter'd*, under the *Medes* and *Perſians*: And a Body of Laws, (which *God* * *commanded them to keep always by them*, to be *well ſtudied* and vers'd therein) to rule the Adminiſtration of the *Iſraelitiſh* and *Jewiſh* Kings. And where Monarchs were left moſt to themſelves, (*a*) Governing *ut libitum*, as *Tacitus* ſays of *Romulus*; when (*b*) *Arbitria Principum pro Legibus erant*, as *Juſtin* teſtifies of the *firſt Ages*; and they did (*c*) *Jura dare*, as *Virgil* ſays of *Priamus* and the *Ancient Kings*: *i. e.* When they ruled and judged their Subjects moſtly, not by any written Laws, but by their own Reaſon and Equity; yet even then were the Laws of God and Nature always to be a Rule to them in their Adminiſtrations.

* Deut. xvii. 18, 19.

Beſides, all the Power of the People, and the Liberty of reſuming their Primitive Natural Rights, and ſtanding up to right themſelves when wrong'd by their Governors; is grounded by the Advocates for Reſiſtance on the *Original Contract*, whereby, in the firſt Framing and Conſtitution of every Government, when the People (as they ſay) parted each with their Native Liberty, and ſet Governors over them, they every where made theſe Reſerves for themſelves. This *Original Contract* is the laſt Ground, when Things are run up to the Top, of all Peoples riſing in Arms againſt unjuſt Powers; thus reaſſuming the Authority they had formerly intruſted, when they ſee it miſemploy'd, and depoſing thoſe Kings who had abuſed their Truſt.

Now this *Original Contract*, particularly as to our own Nation, will not be pretended (I believe) to be any where extant upon *Publick Record*: And the rather, for that in *Magna Charta* it ſelf, (the *Grand Record of our Liberties*) thoſe Liberties are not fetch'd from the *Peoples own Reſerves*, as if originally we came by them that way; but from the *Kings Grants* and *Donations*. (*d*) *Of our free and mere Will, We have given and granted to our Biſhops*, &c. *and to all Free-Men of our Realm, theſe Liberties following*——(*e*) *to have and to hold, to them and their Heirs, of Us and our Heirs for ever*; ſays the *Charter*. And much leſs, I think, are we to expect any Records of ſuch Reſerves, under the *Firſt* and moſt *Ancient Governments*. For under them the People were ſo far from making, or recording any ſuch fancy'd Reſerves of Rights and Privileges; that they had not any Record of Laws, but what were in their Princes Breaſts; not ſo much as ſtipulating for any Rules whereby they would be govern'd, but truſting and ſubmitting themſelves to the Juſtice and Diſcretion of their Rulers; as I have noted of the *Firſt Kings*.

(*a*) Nobis Romulus ut libitum imperitaverat. *Tacit. Ann. l. 3. p. 152.*
(*b*) Populus nullis Legibus tenebatur: Arbitria Principum pro Legibus erant. *Juſt. lib. 1. c. 1.*
(*c*) Hoc Priami Geſtamen erat, cum jura vocatis
More dabat Populis—— *Æn. 7.*
——Gaudet regno Trojanus Aceſtes,
Indicitque forum, & Patribus dat jura vocatis. *Æn. l. 5.*
(*d*) Præm. Magn. Chart. (*e*) C. 1.

But

But this Contract is fetch'd from the Common Reaſon and Nature of Things; there being no other way poſſible, as theſe Men ſay, whereby *Civil Government ſhould take Riſe.* Now the Nature of Things is one and the ſame to *all Times* and *Places.* And common Reaſon muſt be as common to *Eaſt* as *Weſt*: To the *Perſians* and *Romans* under thoſe more *Abſolute Powers*; as to the *Goths*, or *Germans*, or other *Northern Nations*, who have provided better for *popular Liberties.* And therefore, if common Reaſon, and the Nature of Things, will carry ſuch an *Original Contract*, the ground of Reſiſtance for us, it would have done as much for them. And if it was not ſufficient to authorize Reſiſtance in their Caſe, as theſe Men themſelves affirm, aſſerting them to have been under a Tie of Conſcience to Paſſive Obedience; it cannot ſuffice any more to do it in ours. Common Reaſon, and Nature of Government, gives equal Proviſion to all, and as much Original Contract to the Subjects of Abſolute Emperors, as to thoſe of Legal Monarchs; who, whatever Liberties and Proviſions they have more, have them not from common Reaſon, but the ſpecial Limitations of their own Laws. So that on this Account, we muſt not take more Liberty to our ſelves, or make our Caſe, in point of Reſiſtance, different from theirs.

CHAP. VIII.

No Reſiſtance, on Pretence that Acts againſt Law are Inauthoritative.

BUT when our Rulers invade us againſt Right, ſay (*a*) ſome, What Authority is there in their Invaſions? Has any Man Authority to invade our Rights? And if our Governors have no Authority for their Invaſion; ſince we are to be ſubject only to Authority, is there any Obligation on us for Submiſſion? And may we not make Reſiſtance againſt *unauthoritative Acts?* A Liberty for Reſiſtance, needs not *Superiority*, but *Parity*; for *we may defend our ſelves againſt our Equals.* And when Kings act illegally, and invade Rights; in thoſe Acts, ſay ſome, they have no Authority; and Acts done againſt Law, which are the Rule of the Polity, are *Politically Powerleſs.* So that we may reſiſt them in ſuch Caſe, as we may our Equals, they acting there *without Authority*, which is the ſame as *private Perſons.*

No, ſay I, under thoſe illegal Actings, they are ſtill Kings and Sovereigns. Though there be no Authority derived into the Action, which, if it be againſt the Laws of God and the Land, is condemn'd and vacated, not Authorized and Enforced by either of them; yet the Authority abides ſtill in the Perſon. And as to the Dueneſs of Non-Reſiſtance in ſuch illegal Actings, the Queſtion is not, whether the illegal Act has any Authority; but whether the Sovereign that acts ſo, retains his Authority. For Paſſive Obedience is due to the Perſon in Authority; and whatever Liberty we might otherwiſe take to oppoſe ſuch an Action; we muſt keep Paſſive under ſuch a Perſon. If, for all his Illegal Act, he is ſtill thy *Father*; the *Fifth* Commandment ſays, *Honour* and *Obey him.* If he re-

(*a*) Julian, *Ap.* p. 84. *Thoughts of a Private Perſon, about the Juſtice of the Gentlemens Undertakings at* York, p. 11, 14, 16.

ins his Authority over us, and continues to be the Ἐξουσία or *Higher ower*; St. *Paul* tells us, that *in Conſcience* towards God, *we muſt needs be bject to him.* And whilſt we are to be ſubject, we muſt not reſiſt; for hen once we fall to warlike reſiſting, there is an End of Subjection. So hat it is not enough to ſay, the Illegality doth diſauthorize the Action, or nder it from being binding; unleſs it alſo diſauthorize the Perſon, and ake a Forfeiture of his Authority over us. For whilſt his Authority laſts, e are bound to continue his Subjects; and that ties us to be Paſſive in ch Caſes.

Now, a King may keep his Authority, for all he doth ſome Inauthorita- ve and Illegal Actions. He doth not loſe Power, by abuſing his Power, ſtretching to make it more; nor make away that real Authority which has, by going beyond it in an unauthoritative Act, or pretending to ſome uthority which he has not.

What Authority have any Sovereign Powers to make Laws againſt the ue Religion? If their Authority is from God, I am ſure he has given them Commiſſion, to forbid what he has commanded. They go quite againſt e Rule of Legiſlation, when they employ it in making Laws againſt him. nd thoſe Laws carry no binding Force from God along with them, to lige Subjects to their Obſervance. So that if by inauthoritative Acts, be eant *Acts againſt the Rule of Adminiſtration*; or *without any real Right, warrant the King himſelf in commanding, and to oblige others to obey bem*; all Laws are inauthoritative Acts, which are made againſt the true eligion. But yet, they that urge this Objection, will not ſay that any ngs forfeit their Crowns, or eaſe their Subjects of the Duty of Paſſive bedience, by making perſecuting Laws. Nay, (*a*) they ſay there is a eceſſity of not reſiſting, but being Paſſive under them, becauſe they have ch Laws whereby to perſecute them.

What is the Real and Intrinſick Authority, or Legality, of a Sentence oſly unjuſt, and apparently contrary to Law? I mean not only contrary *Legal Forms*, as a *Judgment* would be without a *Jury*; but contrary thoſe particular Laws in any Caſe, which the Judge, proceeding in orm, ought to pronounce by. A Man comes to a Judge and Jury to have aw, or the Benefit of thoſe particular Laws which he grounds his laim upon. And the Judge is to paſs Sentence according to theſe Laws, d to give what the Laws give him. And, I ſuppoſe, thoſe Laws do not uthorize this Sentence, if it groſly and corruptly perverts what they ſay. this Caſe, if they authorize what the Judge ſays, I think they muſt no nger authorize what they ſay themſelves, ſince his Saying is directly con- ary to theirs. And accordingly, inſtead of authorizing, they will reverſe ſo ſoon as they fall into the Hands of a more upright Judge and Jury, at will find and pronounce aright. So that here is a Sentence againſt the aws, that ſhould have ruled it; which, not having the Laws concern'd erein, to authorize and bear it out, if Authority muſt come from Law, think will be an inauthoritative Act. But I imagine theſe Objectors do ot believe he ceaſes thereupon immediately to be a Judge, which would cate all the Sentences he paſſes afterwards. Or, that the aggrieved Par- es have Remedy any other Way, than by legal Appeals. Wherein, if ey can find no Redreſs at laſt from the Supreme Power it ſelf, yet are ey not thereby ſet looſe from being any longer his Subjects, nor have y Diſcharge, as I think is confeſs'd on all Hands, from their Paſſive bedience.

(*a*) Julian. *the Ap.* p. 74, 75, 92. *And others.*

How many illegal and unauthoritative Acts, were done by *Saul*, and *Ahab*, *Ahaz*, and *Manaſſe*, and other ill Kings among the *Jews*, which yet did not Unking them? And by the *Roman* Emperors, as I have ſhown, which yet did not Diſrobe them of their Purple, or free the poor oppreſſed Chriſtians, and other Subjects of the Empire, from being Subject to, and Paſſive under them? Among theſe are Inſtances enough, as may appear from what is ſaid above, of illegal Acts, againſt the Authority of all Laws, both of God, and of their own Realms: And yet of the Sovereigns, who were the illegal Actors, ſtill retaining their Sovereign Authothority, and holding the Sufferers in their former State of Subjects, and under an Obligation of Conſcience to Paſſive Obedience. And this is a clear Proof that God, though he has given Rules to higher Powers, which are Duties of Governors, and according to which, at the Great Day, he will judge them himſelf: Yet, has not made theſe Rules of exerciſing Power, Conditions of their holding Power, or Grounds of Forfeiture. He himſelf, under the moſt enormous Breaches of theſe Rules, having plainly declared, by the inſpired Penmen, of thoſe Princes that broke them, that they were ſtill in Authority, and that their Subjects, as they would anſwer the contrary to him, were to keep in their Obedience and Duty to them notwithſtanding. So that whereſoever any Forfeiture of Crowns comes in, it muſt be by ſome ſpecial Proviſions in a Peoples own Laws. And where Law makes a Forfeiture, it will make a Prince forfeit in a legal Way, by appointing ſome Superior Power to try the Fact, and judicially to declare the Forfeiture. But I do not conceive how there can be any legal way of forfeiting, where the Prince is declared by Law to be the *Sole Supreme*.

Now, if unauthoritative Acts do not diſauthorize the Perſon, and make him ſink into a private Man; but for all them, a King continues ſtill to be a King: Where is the Argument for Reſiſtance from ſuch inauthoritative Acts? Yes, (*a*) ſay they, when unjuſt Acts have no Authority, in virtue of Self-Defence, *we may reſiſt, and defend our ſelves againſt them.* True, where there is no other Hindrance to reſiſting, and defending our ſelves by Arms, but what is to be looked for in the Action. But Reſiſtance, and Warlike Defence, though it be for an Action, muſt be of ſome Perſon. And what if there is ſomething to bar ſuch Reſiſtance in the Perſon? As I think the Law appoints in the Perſon of *Father and Mother*, when it declares, *he ſhall ſurely be put to Death that ſmiteth them*, Exod. xxi 15. And in the *Perſons of Higher Powers*, when it calls us to *Honour*, to *keep ſubject*, and *not to reſiſt them.* So there is ſomething in his Perſon, to keep out all Reſiſtance, and arming againſt our Sovereign. The Argument for not reſiſting, or making a warlike Defence againſt him, is becauſe he is a King. And then, what takes off this, and can be an Argument for Reſiſtance, muſt be ſomething that doth Unking him. And ſince ſuch unauthoritative Acts are no Forfeitures of Crowns; 'tis plain, whatever other Immunities they are aground of, they are no ground of Levying War, or Armed Reſiſtance.

This I take to be a very good and ſufficient Ground, and I think it is the true Ground of Submiſſion and Paſſive Obedience, under illegal Violence and Perſecutions. The illegal Act, I conceive, has nothing in it ſelf to bar Self-Defence; having no Authority to bear out and enforce it, as may ſeem, either from God or Man. Not from God; for if his Law carries his Authority, (and where doth he diſplay his Authority, if not in his Laws?)

(*a*) *Thoughts of a Private Perſon*, &c. p. 11.

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What is againſt his Law, is againſt his Authority. Nor from Man, for the ſame Reaſon, of its being againſt humane Laws, which carry their Authority. But the Authority of the Perſon, is a Bar to this way of Defence againſt our Sovereign. And when the Sovereign will do ſuch illegal Acts, though he has no Authority to juſtify himſelf therein, nor to make his Unrighteous or Illegal Commands really obligatory and binding; yet, becauſe he is a Perſon, under whoſe Authority and Obedience we all are, this will be the Effect of them. Seeing Subjects under Government, can have no Remedy but what keeps the Order of Government, and muſt be content with ſo much, as keeping to that Order allows; till God alter his Mind, we can have no preſent Redreſs. And being his Subjects, we cannot go to arm againſt him, to defend or right our ſelves. And this is *Paſſive Obedience*. So that when the Irreligion or Illegality of the Command, exempts us from any Obligation to active Performance; this Authority of his Perſon, doth notwithſtanding lay on us an Obligation of keeping under his Obedience, and making no warlike Reſiſtance.

And on theſe Grounds it will be eaſy to give a rational and plain Anſwer to thoſe Queſtions, which the Diſputers for Reſiſtance ſhall think moſt poſing about the Authority of Kings, when they act againſt Laws.

If it be asked, What is the King's Authority, when he doth ſuch Illegal Acts? 'Tis juſt the ſame it was before he did them; for as he doth not get, ſo he doth not loſe any rightful, and real Authority thereby.

But what doth his Authority give, to the illegal Act, or Order? Doth it authorize the Subjects in an illegal Thing? Or make the Law, which forbids it, ceaſe to be a Rule to them? No, the Laws of God and Men, are to be the Rules of conſcionable acting. The Authority of the Law is the Authority of a Rule. And for a Rule, it is the beſt Authority. And an Human Law is the beſt Human Authority. And where Kings neither make, nor unmake and repeal Laws alone; the King commanding in the Laws, is of more Authority to rule the Subjects Actings, than the King commanding againſt them.

And what doth his Authority give him, as to that particular illegal Act? Not to be queſtionable, or accountable for it among Men, or coercible by Force and armed Oppoſition. And that, becauſe for all that Act, he is ſtill our King, and we owe him Subjection. Receiving ſuch illegal Acts from our King, we muſt receive them as Subjects. And the Obligation of continuing Subjects, excludes all Liberty of armed Reſiſtance.

Whence, ſay they, in an illegal Act, has a Sovereign Prince this Authority? From the *Fifth* Commandment, and from all thoſe Commandments, that require Submiſſion and Obedience, and being Subject unto Princes. For the plain Intent of all thoſe Precepts, as may ſufficiently appear, I think, from what I have ſaid on this Argument, is to require theſe to Princes that break, as well as to thoſe that keep Laws; to Unjuſt, as well as to Righteous Sovereigns. And if God commands us to ſubmit, and keep in Subjection to a Sovereign Prince, that acts againſt Laws; he muſt forbid us to reſiſt ſuch; for Men put off Subjection, when they fall to Reſiſting.

It may be aſked ſtill, Has he it from the Law of the Land? Yes. What, from the Law he invades? Doth the Law give him Authority to break it ſelf? No; but by all thoſe Laws, that declare he incurs no Forfeiture by ſuch Invaſions. For all thoſe Laws, that own and declare ſuch Invader to be ſtill our King, determine our Subjection to him, and forbid us to reſiſt him. For Men are no longer in the State and Poſture of Subjects, when they come to arm againſt their Sovereigns.

If a Man ſuffers illegally, they will demand by what Law? By none ſurely, for then there is an End of the Illegality. But to aſk for a Law for his ſuffering, is to aſk for ſomething to juſtify, or make it juſt in the Eye of Law, that he ſhould ſuffer. But this is not pretended from the King's Authority; and it is ſuppoſed to be an unjuſt and illegal Suffering. But if the King has no Authority to juſtify the illegal Suffering; has he any Authority to bar the illegal Sufferers reſiſting? Yes, the Regal Authority not being loſt by that illegal Act, but ſtill abiding in him. For all he makes a Man ſuffer againſt Law, he is ſtill his King. And that is a Reaſon againſt Reſiſting. For by all Law, both of God and Man, we muſt be Subject to our King. And he ceaſes to be Subject, that draws his Sword againſt him.

CHAP. IX.

The Reaſons of Non-Reſiſtance. And how it makes not Arbitrary Government.

I Shall only add now, in the laſt Place, concerning this Non-Reſiſtance, or not arming againſt invading Princes, required of, and practiſed by the firſt and beſt Chriſtians, what Regards they were guided by, and what Reaſons they looked at for this Obſervance.

1. The *Firſt* and *Chiefeſt*, was in *Reverence to God's Ordinance*, inſomuch as thoſe Rulers were *God's Anointed, his Miniſters*, or *his Vicegerents*. *How can I ſtretch forth my Hand againſt* Saul, ſays *David, and be guiltleſs, ſeeing he is the Lord's Anointed*, 1 Sam. xxvi. 9. and C. xxiv. 6. And *he that reſiſts ſhall receive Damnation*, ſaith St. *Paul*, *as reſiſting the Ordinance of God*, Rom. xiii. 2. And *he is the Miniſter of God*; *wherefore ye muſt needs be ſubject, not only for Wrath, but alſo for Conſcience ſake*, Verſe 4, 5. And like to theſe are the Sayings of the *Primitive Fathers*, for Submiſſion to the perſecuting Emperors. *Tertullian* grounds the Duty of Allegiance we owe the Emperor on this, that he is deputed by God, (*a*) *and has his Power from the ſame, from whom he has his Spirit*; that he is one, (*b*) *quem Deus elegit*, —— *qui à noſtro Deo conſtitutus*, i. e. *whom God has appointed*; (*c*) *à Dominus Dei vice, God's Vicegerent*, or *a Lord over us in God's Place and Stead: Whom* (*d*) *knowing* à Deo conſtitui, *to be God's Ordinance, every Chriſtian ought of Neceſſity to Love, Reverence, and wiſh ſafe.* This made the Sacredneſs, and Authority of the Emperor, in their Eyes, becauſe, as *Athenagoras* (*e*) tells *Marcus*, and his Son *Commodus*, ἄνωθεν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰληφότα, *their Empire they had received from God.* The ſame which *Dionyſius* of Alexandria (*f*) ſaid afterwards of *Valerianus* and *Gallienus*, to *Æmilian* the *Præfect*. And becauſe, as *Theophilus* ſays in his Book to *Autolicus*, under the Emperor *Commodus*, though the Emperor (*g*) *is not God*, yet he is ἄνθρωπος ὑπὸ θεοῦ τεταγμένος εἰς τὸ δικαίως κρίνειν, *a Man Ordained of God, and under him, to do Judgment and Juſtice.* And this

(*a*) Apol. C. 30. (*b*) Ib. C. 33. (*c*) Ib. C. 34. (*d*) Ad Scap. C. 2.
(*e*) Legat. pro Chriſt. p 17. (*f*) Ap. Euſ. Hiſt. Eccl. L. 7. C. 11.
(*g*) Ad Autolyc. L. 1. P. 76.

alſo

alſo is the ground of Subjects Duty and Allegiance, in the *Doctrine of our Church. All Subjects do owe of bounden Duty, Obedience, Submiſſion, and Subjection to the Higher Powers, for as much as they be God's Lieutenants, God's Preſidents, God's Officers,* &c. ſays the *Homily of Obedience*, Part I. And again, *All Subjects are bound to obey them, yea, though they be Evil, and that for Conſcience Sake, as God's Miniſters.* ——*Though they be wicked, and abuſe their Power*; yet *therefore it is not lawful for their Subjects to withſtand them*, becauſe, *even wicked Rulers have their Power and Authority from God*, Homily of Obedience, *Part* II.

Now, all theſe are Reaſons, not to reſiſt the worſt, as well as the beſt Kings: The Infringers of Rights, as well as the Maintainers of them. For all Men rightfully inveſted with Power, are *God's Miniſters, his Anointed*, and *his Ordinance*, however they employ their Power. The bad are, as well as the good; at their worſt, as well as at their beſt Times. *Saul* is the Lord's *Anointed*, as well as *David*; (*a*) *Zedekiah*, as well as *Joſiah*; *Nero, Domitian, Diocleſian*, or other bloody Perſecuting Emperors, as well as the moſt juſt and godly Kings. *The ſame that gave the Power*, (*b*) ſays St. *Auſtin, to* Marius, *gave it alſo to* C. Cæſar; *he that conferred it on* Auguſtus, *gave it alſo to* Nero; *he that beſtowed it on the* Veſpaſians, *Father and Son, thoſe moſt obliging Emperors, beſtowed it alſo on* Domitian, *ſo infamous for his Cruelties. And not to Particularize any further, he that ſet up* Conſtantine *the Chriſtian Emperor, ſet up* Julian *too, who Apoſtatized from Chriſt. In reading the Holy Scriptures*, ſays our Church, (*c*) in *the Homily againſt wilful Rebellion, we ſhall find in very many, and almoſt infinite Places, as well of the Old Teſtament as of the New, that Kings and Princes, as well the Evil as the Good, do Reign by God's Ordinance*, &c. *They have their Power and Authority from God*, ſays the (*d*) *Homily of Obedience, and are to be obeyed as God's Miniſters, although they be Evil* ——*although they abuſe their Power* ——*although they be wicked and wrong Doers* ——*and it is not lawful for Inferiors and Subjects in any Caſe to reſiſt and withſtand them.*

Whatever the Rightful Sovereign be then, that bears hard upon any Man; let me aſk him who is moſt uneaſy, if, for all his Perſonal Unworthineſs, and oppreſſive Adminiſtration, he be not ſtill *the Lord's Anointed*, and *the Ordinance of God.* And ſo long, if he will be a Follower of the Holy Scriptures, the Primitive Fathers, or our own Church, whoſe Teſtimonies have been alledged, how can he lift up his Hand againſt him.

2. A Second Ground of their Non-Reſiſtance, was, in *Patience and Submiſſion to God's Providence.* In ſuch hard Caſes, they were like to eaſe their Suffering by Patience, and make it worſe by Reſiſtance. *In your Patience*, ſays our Saviour, *poſſeſs ye your Souls*, Luk. xxi. 19. When the Croſs was brought upon them, they were called to take it up, not to drive it away; to *follow Chriſt* in bearing it themſelves, not to follow the World in endeavouring to force it upon others; according to thoſe Precepts of our Lord, for *taking up* and *bearing his Croſs.* Theſe Perſecutions they looked on, as ſent by God for Trial of their Patience, not of their fighting Valour in making Reſiſtance; and were careful under them to ſhew invincible Stoutneſs in Sufferings; not refuſe to ſuffer, and rather fight in their own Defence. *The Cup which my Father hath given me, ſhall I not drink it?* Therefore *put up thy Sword*, ſaid Chriſt, *Joh.* xviii. 11. *Lo here is the Patience of the Saints*, ſays St. *John*, noting what in their Perſecutions they ſought to ſignalize; *Rev.* xiv. 12. And, *Abſit ut Divina*

(*a*) Lam. iv. 20. (*b*) De Civit. Dei, Lib. 5. C. 21. (*c*) Part. I. (*d*) Part. II.

Secta

Secta doleat pati, in quo probatur : *God forbid this Divine Sect ſhould be againſt ſuffering, which is only God's Way of Trial and Probation,* ſays (*a*) *Tertullian* of their patient and unreſiſting Sufferings, when they had Strength enough to defend themſelves.

3. In *Faith in God*, and *Truſt that he* (*as Rightful Judge*) *would ſooner or later, as he ſaw beſt, right their Cauſe. Vengeance is mine ; I will repay, ſaith God* : And they were content to leave it to him. (*b*) *We confide in him, who is able to take Vengeance, both for his own and his Servants Injuries.——When we ſuffer ſuch unſpeakable Things, we leave it to God to right us,* ſays *Lactantius.* (*c*) *Againſt all your Injuries, the Judgment and Vengeance of God is our Defence. And upon that account it is, that none of us makes any Reſiſtance, tho' we have Numbers more than enough,* ſays St. *Cyprian.* And *lo here is the Faith and Patience of the Saints,* ſaid St. *John, Rev.* xiii. 10. They committed their Rights to him, when deſpoiled of them by unjuſt Force ; and never went about to make Parties and Tumults, by Force to right themſelves : To ſhew the Faith they had in his *Juſtice*, his *Providence*, and *Promiſes* ; and how far and freely, even in theſe deareſt and moſt concerning Intereſts, they durſt truſt him.

Now both theſe alſo are Reaſons equally not to reſiſt under any rightful Sovereigns. The Croſs is the ſame under one, as under others : The ſame Trial of Patience and of Faith, when they fall under the ſame Diſtreſſes ; whether by Chriſtian or Heathen, ſober or diſſolute ; by Princes that invade, or that obſerve Civil Laws and Legal Properties.

Now to all this that has been ſaid on this Subject, it would be a very weak and unjuſt Exception, to ſay, *This forbidding of Reſiſtance on Violation of Laws, is ſetting up for Illegal and Arbitrary Government.* For to *govern arbitraily*, is to *rule by Diſcretion*, or to have no written Laws to govern by. And where there are ſtated Laws to regulate and direct Adminiſtrations, there is all the Human Care that can be to prevent Arbitrarineſs in Sovereigns.

There are but Two Ways to limit and lay Reſtraints, or keep any Governor within Compaſs. One is, *Laws* ; which reſtrain him as a *Rule*, by fixing and preſcribing for him his juſt Bounds : The other, is a *Superior Power*, that can call him to Account when he deviates, and forcibly compel him to return into a right Courſe ; and theſe reſtrain him as his *Rulers*. Now, as for this latter Way, of appointing Higher Powers for their Superviſors and Correctors ; it is viſible, this can be no Way of reſtraining Sovereigns ; who can be no longer Sovereigns, but Subjects, if they have any Superiors. He that is by Law declared the *Supreme*, eſpecially *the only Supreme* in any Realm, muſt needs be above all, and no Man can be above him. Tho' the Laws of his Realm are to be his Rule, yet no Man in his Realm can be his Ruler ; nor they, who all profeſs themſelves made ſubject to, pretend to ſet upon him.

Beſides, if ſuch Correctors were appointed to ſecure the Laws ; yet would that be only a Dream of Security, which would vaniſh, as Experience made us awake and come to our ſelves, and not ſecure them really more than they are ſecured already. For theſe Correctors being ſubject to like Overſights, Paſſions and Miſgovernments, are as liable to pre-

(*a*) Apol. *c.* 37.

(*b*) Cor fidimus Majeſtati ejus, qui tam contemptum ſui, quam ſervoram injurias poſſit ulciſci.—Cum tam nefanda perpetimur, Deo permittimus ultionem. *Lact. l.* 5. *c.* 20.

(c) Læſos ultio divina defendit. Inde eſt quod nemo noſtrum reluctatur, etſi nimius & copioſus ſit noſter Populus. *Cyprian ad Demet. p.* 192. Ed. Ox.

varicate

varicate and violate the Laws, as thoſe whom they are ſet to ſuperviſe. The Laws are ſafe enough in the Hands of good Kings, and as unſafe in the Hands of ill Correctors as of ill Kings: And ſuch Correctors are every whit as liable, and like as oft to be ill and abuſe the Laws, as Kings themſelves. And what Redreſs for the Invaſions and Breach of Laws, when they do amiſs? So that this doth not cure, but only ſhift the Diſeaſe; which is incurable under any Sovereign or laſt Judge, be it King or Parliament, Army or Mobile, thro' the Nature of this World, and the inſeparable Uncertainties of Human Affairs.

As in the Line of Human Subordinations then, ſome muſt be Sovereigns, and theſe muſt be Men ſubject to be drawn aſide like our ſelves; ſo can theſe have no Reſtraint but Laws, nor any Judge but God, and ſo be unaccountable here on Earth. The only poſſible Reſtraint of Arbitrarineſs in them, is Laws: And the beſt Reſtraint theſe can lay, is, if Acts of State and Juſtice are to be ſped not only by the Sovereign himſelf in Perſon, but by his *Miniſters*: And if, tho' the Sovereign himſelf is not, yet his Miniſters are accountable, and triable for Breach of Laws, as well as others: Which, I think, is as much Security under a Sovereign, as Sovereignty allows. And this Human Security we have in this Realm, to guard our Laws; altho' we may not reſiſt our Sovereign, and fight for thoſe Laws againſt him by Force of Arms; which is a throwing off his Sovereignty over us, and ſetting up for our ſelves.

But tho' this Doctrine of Non-Reſiſtance, yea, even *in Defence of Laws*, doth not make *Arbitrary Power*; yet, on the other Hand, I would have it conſider'd, whether the *Liberty of Reſiſtance* is not like to bring in *Arbitrary Subjection?* They may *caſt off Obedience*, ſay ſome, for *Publick Good*; *i. e.* when they ſee it expedient, for they muſt judge of it. Is not this to ſet Subjects looſe, when they ſee Cauſe? And if they are *Arbitrary Governors*, who in Ruling are left to Diſcretion; are not they alſo as arbitrary Subjects, who in obeying are left to Diſcretion? Now to cure Arbitrary Power by Arbitrary Obedience, is to cure Tyrannical Government by no Government; which is as bad, nay, abundantly worſe. The very worſt of Tyrants are *the Miniſters of God for Good*, in Compariſon of no Government. One Tyrant's Luſt cannot rifle all Virgins; nor his Avarice devour all Eſtates; nor his Revenge reach all Perſons; nor his Cruelty cut off the Commonwealth. But under no Government, the Rabble will govern all: And that will be branched out into many Thouſand Tyrants, who perſecute without Pity as well as Juſtice, and pull down and ſpoil without any Relentings; and have no Generoſity to ſpare, or Greatneſs of Soul to neglect or leave any Thing; but think the meaneſt Plunder a deſirable Prey, and ſweep all before them. *A Poor Man that oppreſſeth the Poor, is like a ſweeping Rain*, ſays *Solomon*; *Prov.* xxviii. 3. And I think the Experience we have had of late in theſe Three Realms of the Rabble's Ruling, is enough to convince all conſiderate Men, that a few Months of their Expedition is much more full of illegal Violence, Injuſtice and Inhumanity, and a great deal more formidable, than a Tyrant's whole Reign.

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Duty of Allegiance

Settled upon its True

GROUNDS,

According to

SCRIPTURE, REASON, and the Opinion of the CHURCH.

In Anſwer to

A late Book of Dr. *WILLIAM SHERLOCK*, Maſter of the *Temple*, Intituled,

The Caſe of the Allegiance due to Sovereign Powers, Stated and Reſolved, according to Scripture, &c. *With a more particular Reſpect to the Oath lately injoin'd.*

LONDON:

Printed in the Year M DCC XVIII.

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CHAP. I.

Of the Difficulties in the way of the preſent Allegiance, and the ways of taking them off.

Honoured Sir,

HAving now at length, by the Bleſſing of God, found that Leiſure and Convenience I ſpoke of; in dutiful Regard to the Ingagement you ſent me, I have ſet my ſelf, with the beſt Attention I could, to conſider the Grounds and Reaſonings in Dr. Sherlock's *late Book*, viz. Of the Allegiance due to Sovereign Powers, with a more particular Reſpect to the preſent Oath.

I Hope I have not miſs'd his Senſe; I am ſure I have not done it willingly, nor been wanting in that Reſpect, which I profeſs to have, and think that all Lovers of Piety and good Reaſon have had great Cauſe to bear for a Perſon, who in his many learned Labours has ſo well deſerved of both. But I have examined his Opinions, with the ſame Freedom that he has propoſed them, and which the Intereſt of Truth and Righteouſneſs require, as I conceive, in this Caſe: And this Freedom, I believe, will not be offenſive to himſelf; for if they will ſtand, it will give him a further Opportunity to clear them. But if they will not, as I verily think they will not, it will concern all, and no Perſon more than himſelf, to be ſhowed the Falſhood of them. And that not only as being unſound, and inſufficient to juſtify the Conſcience in the preſent Allegiance; but alſo as being very ill Principles, and deſtructive, in my Judgment, to that moral Honeſty which ſhould govern the Actions of Mankind.

One Deſign of the Reverend Author in this Book, and that a very charitable one, was, * *to endeavour the Satisfaction of thoſe who are ſtill diſſatisfied about the Oaths.* And that we may the better judge how fit his Diſ- * Pref.

courſe

course is to reconcile their Consciences thereto, I think it not amiss to represent in short the Difficulties which Men conceive against the *present Oath of Allegiance*; and then examine how successful his Way is like to prove in taking them off. And I think it will appear, notwithstanding all he has advanced in this new Hypothesis, That the Difficulties are as great as they were before; and that there is like to be no way of removing them, but by demonstrating K. *James*'s *Abdication*, and K. *William* and Q. *Mary*'s *Legal Right*, which the *Convention* and *Publick Acts* ground the Allegiance in Debate upon.

As for the Difficulties in the Way of the Refusers, to my Apprehension, thus the Case stands.

True Allegiance to K. *William* and Q. *Mary*, is, *to become their true Subject, to stand by and to support them against all Persons.* The *Fifth* Commandment, which is God's most ancient Law for Allegiance, by *Honour*, intends not only *Respect*, but *Service* and *Support* of *Parents*; the Denial of which, as both our *Saviour* * and S. *Paul* † say, is a Breach thereof. The great End of Civil Society is for mutual Defence. So, when Civil Government is set up, the first and most fundamental Obligation to it is to defend it: And this Defence is by the Allegiance of the Subjects. Allegiance is the Band, which ties, not one Stranger to another, who may look on with more Indifference, as idle Spectators; but the Members to the Head. And the Duty of Members is, to do all they can to keep the Head upon the Body, and to be as ready to guard their Head, as to guard themselves. And if any Person will take the Pains to examine the constant and current Meaning of *true Allegiance* in our Laws, and in the Legal Professions thereof, he will find nothing more clear, I think, than that *true Allegiance* speaks *the Support of their Sovereign against all Opposers and contrary Pretenders.* And being thus an Espousal of one, against all others, we can have but *one true Allegiance*, or *one King* at a time, to whom we owe, and are to pay this true Allegiance, as this Reverend Person truly notes, *p.* 14. *Prop.* 6.

* *Matt.* 15. 5, 6.
† 1 *Tim.* 5. 4.

In particular; this *true Allegiance* to King *William*, *&c.* both in the Sense of the State, and in the Practice of the Subject, is to support them against King *James*. If any, that owes King *William* and Queen *Mary* Allegiance, doth but correspond with King *James*, or give him any Assistance, the Courts judge it a Breach of this Allegiance. And when King *William* goes professedly against King *James*, or *to reduce*, as the Acts and Declarations say, *the Rebels in* Ireland, *i. e.* all those *Irish* that adhere to King *James*, all his Subjects are required, in Vertue of their Allegiance and Subjection to him, to *fast and pray for his Success*, which are the most solemn Assistances; and, with as much Solemnity, to give *Thanks* for the same at his Return, after he has prevailed against him. All which, they that profess and have promised Allegiance to King *William* and Queen *Mary*, have accordingly done through the Kingdom.

Now, King *James* was confessedly the rightful King of these Realms, to whom all the Subjects thereof ought this true Faith and Allegiance, and to whom all in any publick Office or Trust had sworn it, either to him by Name, in all the Oaths taken in his own Reign; or, which is the same thing, to him, under the Words, *Lawful Heirs and Successors*, (he being undoubtedly the Lawful Heir and Successor to his Brother,) in the Oath, *to bear true Allegiance to the King and his Lawful Heirs and Successors*, taken in his Brother's Reign.

This true Allegiance is by the present Oath transferr'd to King *William* and Queen *Mary*; and that, as the *Convention* and *publick Acts*, which order this Translation, say, because King *James* now has no longer any Legal Right to the Throne, but King *William* and Queen *Mary* are rightful King and Queen: And this, if cleared, prevents all the Difficulties which are on

Supposition

Suppoſition of King *James*'s continuing to have this legal Right ſtill. But this learned Author, to ſuit his Argument *to thoſe* (as he ſays in his Preface) *who are moſt ſtrongly prejudiced againſt the Legality of the late Revolution*, reaſons in this Book *upon the Suppoſition of unjuſt Uſurpation.* And ſuppoſing, as he doth, King *James* to have a legal Right to the Crown; ſuch as theſe, in my Judgment, are the Difficulties which will lie in the way of transferring Allegiance, for his Book to take off, *viz.* how ſuch *taking away their Allegiance from King* James, ſuppoſed therein to have the legal Right, and *turning over againſt him to another*, ſuppoſed to have no legal Right, can be thought,

1. *To be juſt to King* James *in Point of Property.* A Crown is the greateſt Eſtate, as well as the higheſt Authority; and if you ſuppoſe the Right to this Eſtate to be in him, doth not that make it his rightful Property? Then, to ſeek to hinder him of his Right, to take it out of his Hand, or to keep it out of his Hand, would be very unrighteous. To pray for it, to wiſh or deſire it, would be a Breach of the Tenth Commandment, an unjuſt and *evil Covetouſneſs.* To attempt it, or any ways abet or act therein, would be a Breach of the Eighth, and paſs among *unjuſt Seiſures.* And the Allegiance that ties to pray for, and to promote the Poſſeſſion of K. *William* and Q. *Mary*, I think doth pretty evidently do all this againſt him.

2. *To be dutiful and Obedient to him in point of Power.* Admit him to have the legal Right, and he will ſeem to be the *Politick Father*, and ſtill *King*; and then, by the Fifth Commandment, Allegiance is unavoidably due to him. Suppoſe him the Father there ſpoken of, and that Commandment bids all to *Reverence*, and *keep Subject to*, and *Serve*, and *Support* him; and transferring Allegiance runs directly contrary to all theſe Duties: It is turning Subject to another, againſt him, not keeping Subject to him againſt all Men. There is an end of praying for him, when they openly faſt and pray againſt him. They have done with ſupporting him, when they fall to ſupport another in his Throne. They can be but one King's Subjects, as having but one Allegiance; which, when they promiſe and pay to K. *William* and Q. *Mary*, they muſt needs caſt off to K. *James:* And as the Suppoſal of his legal Right makes them owe him, as may ſeem, all the Duty of the Fifth Commandment; I think ſuch transferring of Allegiance would manifeſtly be very bad payment of it.

3. *To be true and faithful to their own Oaths and Promiſes.* The Third Commandment is, *Not to take God's Name in vain*; or, as our Lord words it *, *not to forſwear ourſelves:* And that may be, either in falſifying the former Oath, by Non-performance; or in falſifying again, by ſwearing more than we can perform in the new Oath. * *Matt.* 5. 33.

The *former* Oath to K. *James* was, *notwithſtanding any Abſolution of the ſaid Subjects from their Obedience, to bear Faith and true Allegiance to His Majeſty.* Now, I ſuppoſe, to *transfer Allegiance from him*, doth not fulfil the Promiſe of continuing to *bear Allegiance to him:* And to bear it to his Competitor, is, not to bear it to him; for certainly he and his Competitor are not the ſame.

And *to defend him and his Heirs, to the uttermoſt of our Power, againſt all Attempts whatſoever, which ſhall be made againſt his or their Perſons, Crown, and Dignity.* Now, how Attempts have been made, and how they are continued, againſt his Perſon, Crown, and Dignity, all Men muſt needs ſee. And the calling for the preſent Allegiance, is to back the Attempters herein: And, if you ſuppoſe his legal Right, to turn over to the Attempters will not verify the Promiſe of *Defending him and his Crown againſt all Attempts*; nor will aiding and praying for them, when going againſt him, be keeping his Crown on his Head, *to our utmoſt*, againſt them.

It is declared further, *That neither the Pope, nor any Perſon whatſoever, has*

has Power to abſolve us of this Oath, nor of any part thereof. And that, *notwithſtanding any Abſolution from this Obedience, we will bear him this Faith and true Allegiance.* 'Tis viſible, they that turn to bear it to another, who is ſet upon his Throne, bear it no longer to him. They were bound thus faſt to him therein before, and ſome muſt have ſet them looſe; and by his Suppoſal, that was not done by K. *James* himſelf, if, as he puts the Caſe, his legal Right ſtill remains. And if they give this Faith and true Allegiance away to another, when theſe Abſolvers have looſed them, how is that holding to *bear it on to him, notwithſtanding any ſuch Abſolution?*

Such Rubs lie in the way of transferring this Allegiance from the *former Oath* to K. *James*. And ſince, in this *new Oath*, true Allegiance is to be ſworn again to K. *William* and Q. *Mary*; if they ſwear ſuch Service and Support to them againſt K. *James*, as 'tis not lawful to perform, (as it ſeems viſible they do, if you ſuppoſe the former Bond is ſtill remaining) there would be a new Falſification. To ſay, and not to do, is to falſify: And to ſwear he will do, what a Man ought not and will not do, is to ſwear falſly: And this every Perſon doth, that ſwears to do an unjuſt Thing, or to give away what is none of his own. Such Oaths lay no Obligation, nor procure Licenſe to perform; the Thing being as unjuſt after, as it was before their Swearing. *No Man muſt ſwear away any part of his Duty*, as the Author obſerves, *p.* 32. becauſe an Oath in which a Man ſo ſwears, is falſe in the making, aſſuring Men of what they are not like to find; and deluding them by a Promiſe and Oath, which muſt not be kept, but broken.

As to the *Perſons* concerned in theſe Difficulties; the Conſciences of all the Subjects are concerned, on ſome, though not on all the forementioned Accounts. The Eighth and Tenth Commandments, of not being injurious to him in his rightful Properties, would affect the Conſciences of all Men in common Juſtice. The Fifth Commandment, of bearing Allegiance to him if true and legal King, and paying him Honour and Obedience, would bind the Conſciences of all the Subjects of theſe Dominions. And the Third Commandment, of not forſwearing ourſelves, but performing towards him our Oaths, concerns only them that have been in Stations requiring the *Oaths of Allegiance.* And to the foregoing Obligations, which equally concern and are a faſt Tie upon all others, this ſuperadds a new Bond, or moſt ſolemn Obligation, upon the Swearers themſelves.

Theſe, in ſhort, I conceive are the great Difficulties againſt the new Allegiance to K. *William* and Q. *Mary*, whether called for *upon Oath*, or *without Oath.*

Now, of all theſe Difficulties, I obſerve, That *they ſuppoſe a rightful Competitor in being, to whom the Subjects are under a contrary Obligation.* The hindrance of Conſcience is not from their own Rights, which the Owners may give up if they pleaſe; but from the Rights of a Third Perſon: And the Refuſal, is only to do Right, and to keep a clear Conſcience towards him. For as the Caſe is put, it is K. *James*'s ſuppoſed Right to theſe Realms, as Proprietor, that withholds them, in regard to the Eighth and Tenth Commandments, from that Allegiance which muſt join to drive or keep him out thereof; and his ſuppoſed Right, or Power and Authority over them, that bars them, in Conſcience of the Fifth Commandment, from caſting off Obedience to him, and turning Subjects to K. *William* and Q. *Mary*; and the further Right he has to all this by their ſolemn Promiſes and Oaths, which keeps them faſt to him, in reſpect to the Third Commandment, till, either by Death, or ſome Act of his own, they have his ſufficient Diſcharge. All which Hindrances of ſwearing Allegiance to one poſſeſſed of a Throne, would vaniſh, were there no ſuppoſed rightful King and Competitor ſtill living, nor any other Bar againſt turning to the Poſſeſſor, but meerly his having been ſet up by unlawful Means.

And

And therefore in turning Subjects to ſuch unlawful Poſſeſſors, theſe Difculties would be no Difficulties of Conſcience to them who have all the ght of Power in themſelves; for when by their Submiſſion they give up this Power to the wrongful Poſſeſſor, they give away only what is their vn, and do no Perſon any Wrong: Great Difficulty there may be indeed giving up their own Rights, but that is not a Difficulty of Conſcience, or om any Law of God, whoſe Laws may all be equally kept, whether they ve a mind to keep their Civil Power, or to part with it, and come into Subject State; but only a Difficulty in Inclination and Intereſt, or of orldly Hardſhip. And this was the Caſe of the *Senate and People of* Rome, hen *Julius*, and after him *Auguſtus Cæſar* firſt uſurped upon them; till ch time, as by the *Lex Regia*, the Empire was conferred upon him by eir own Act, and became a *Legal Conſtitution*. And ſo it was alſo with her Nations, particularly with the *Jews*, when both King and People rned *Tributaries*, and *ſubmitted themſelves* to an uſurping and prevailing ince, as they did to the *Egyptians* and *Babylonians*, their Kings themlves, as *Jehoiakim* and *Coniah* his Son, as well as the People, ſubmitting take their Crowns from, and hold them under them, and binding themlves, as *Ezekiel* ſays, *Ezek.* 17. 13. of *Zedekiah*, by *Oaths of Fealty and llegiance* to them. And 'tis the ſame Caſe with any Towns, or Places tan from their lawful Prince, by invading Neighbours (a Caſe ſo much preſd by ſome in this Argument) after once (as it uſually happens at the end a War) the Places at firſt ſeiz'd by Force, are given up by the right wner to the Poſſeſſor in *Treaties:* For then the People are no longer oblied to his Right, which he himſelf has given up, but are all at Liberty to bmit themſelves. In all which Submiſſions, and turning Subjects to theſe ſurpers, or Conquerors, they denied no other Perſon what was his Right, r none elſe had any Right over them; ſo there could be nothing unrighous in this Submiſſion.

Nor will they be Difficulties longer than the Prince, who has Right over em, lives. *The Woman that is bound to her Huſband is bound only ſo long s her Huſband liveth*, as St. *Paul* ſays, *Rom.* 7. 2. When a King's Perſon ies, his perſonal *Rights die with him:* And after that, none of the aforeid Difficulties, ſo far as his perſonal Right made the Difficulty, will be any indrance to them, in Conſcience, from turning Subject to another, that is oſſeſſed of his Throne. And this was the Caſe of the *Roman* Subjects, uner all their bloody and numerous Revolutions and Uſurpations. The Conpirators that ſet up, and ſucceeded againſt any of the Emperors, ſtill cut ff their Maſters; and taking the right Emperor's Blood as well as his Power, ut off his Right, and the Peoples Allegiance, together with his Life.

And either this, or the aforeſaid Submiſſions of the Subdued rightful rinces, was the Caſe in the ſeveral Advancements and Erections of the *Four Monarchies*; both as to the Kingdoms they Subdued, and as to their Subuing one another, particularly as to the Power of the *Perſian Kings*, which as the *Babylonians* had done before in the Death of *Belſhazzar*, *Dan.* 5. 0, 31.) expired with *Darius*; for, beſides that his Son, who would have een the next Heir, was in the Conqueror's Hands, that Kingdom, though hey had a great Reverence for the Royal Blood, and it uſually went from ather to Son, yet was not legally tied to lineal Deſcent and Succeſſion by Blood; as, I think, may appear in the Choice of *Darius Hyſtaſpis*, who, ho' of Royal Race, as *Juſtin* ſays ||, yet had only his Lot for the Crown among the reſt of the Princes, on the Overthrow of the *Counterfeit Smerdis**. And in the Diſpute about the Crown, and the Deciſion thereof, bewixt his Son *Artemenes* and *Xerxes*, after his Death. So that on the Death f *Darius Cedomannus*, all the Subjects of that Empire were at Liberty to ubmit themſelves, and bear Allegiance to the prevailing *Macedonians*, as

|| *L.* 1. *c.* 10.

* *Ib. l.* 2. *c.* 10.

they had done to the *Perſians* before; and did Wrong to none therein, no other having any juſt Right over them.

From this alſo I obſerve, Where a Peoples Submiſſions are of Force to juſtify, and carry a Tranſlation of *Allegiance*, viz. *When they are their own Maſters, and free from any Third Perſon's rightful Power over them.* If they owe the *Allegiance* demanded of them to a rightful *King*, they cannot give it away from him: And if they pretend to do it, it is ſtill as truly his as it was before; and all the forementioned Difficulties preſs upon them. 'Tis not for one Man to give away what is another's; what is a Man's own, continues his own after all the Gifts that are made of it, till he gives it away himſelf. The *Popes* have been very liberal in giving away Princes *Rights*. And a People may be very liberal alſo in giving away their Prince's *Rights*, when they give away their own *Allegiance:* But if what they give away are really his *Rights*, he loſes no *Right* by either of their Gifts, who had no Power to Give. But if there be no Prince in being, that has any *Right* over them, they may give up their own *Rights* to whom they pleaſe, and their Submiſſions, who are thus at their own Diſpoſals, are ſufficient to bind themſelves.

Having thus given a brief State of the Difficulties of Conſcience in the way of the Refuſers of the preſent *Oath of Allegiance*, I proceed next to conſider *what are the ways propoſed to take theſe Difficulties off.*

The way of the *Convention* and *Publick Acts*, is denying K. *James* now to have any *Legal Right*. Such *Right* they own he had; but they ſay he has parted with it, *by breaking the Fundamental Contract, and by Abdicating the Government*; *and the Throne thereby*, as they ſay, *becoming vacant*. Now, if any will ſet themſelves to prove this, I grant, that Proof will clear all theſe Difficulties: For the Suppoſal of his *Legal Right* is the Ground of all theſe Exceptions. If he has no *Right* to any of the Realms, they do him no Wrong to pray, That the right Owner may have his own, and to help to put him, whoſe the *Right* is, into *Poſſeſſion*. If he is not their rightful King, they owe him no *Allegiance* and Duty of Subjects: And if there is an end of his *Right*, there is an end of their *Oaths*. The Oath of *Allegiance*, recognizing his Right, and promiſing all the forementioned *Allegiance* and Defence to him, is only whilſt he has a Right to be defended; ſo that if he has given away his own *Legal Right*, he has given back their Oaths too, from which tho' no other Perſon may abſolve them, yet he himſelf may.

But ſince this Queſtion has fallen into private Hands, this *Allegiance* has been endeavoured to be ſet on other Grounds. This Reverend Author † is not for entring into the *Diſpute about the Legal Right*, which *ſeems to him not fit to be diſputed.* That therefore I leave, as he doth, to ſtand or fall according to its own Evidence. But he adds, That *this Legal Right is unneceſſary in this Diſpute*, and *has perplexed this Controverſy:* And that Allegiance is due to K. *William* and Q. *Mary*, as ſettled in the Poſſeſſion of the Throne, and both may and ought to be ſworn to them, tho' K. *James* ſhould happen to have the Legal Right ſtill. So the Buſineſs of his Book is to lay down Principles that will clear the Allegiance required to K. *William* and Q. *Mary*, tho' they be ſuppoſed to have no Legal Right. Which Principles, of *Poſſeſſion of the Crown without Legal Right thereto*, advanced firſt by many others, but now carried higher and improved by him, how fit they are to remove the forementioned Difficulties, I come next to examine.

† *P.* 12.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Nature of Authority, and how convey'd from God.

AS to this Ground of *Poſſeſſion of the Crown carrying Allegiance, though the Poſſeſſor has no legal Right*, it has been a Plea very generally uſed and much ſet by among the Writers for the new Oath, preſſing the dueneſs of Allegiance to a *King de Facto*. That Plea, if I miſtake not, (and thoſe ſeveral Authors I have not now at hand) has run upon Poſſeſſion of Power, and actual Adminiſtration, leaving the other ſtill to have the beſt Right; making Allegiance only a Tribute for Protection, and the Due of actual Adminiſtration, whether by a Perſon right or wrong. But this Reverend Author goes further, to make Poſſeſſion carry a better Right along with it, *viz. the Right of Providence*, which he ſays, by God's Order, is to take place of any Right by human Laws. Both theſe Pleas, *viz.* of *De Facto*, or *Poſſeſſion, leaving the other the beſt Right*; and of *Providence, giving the Poſſeſſor a better Right*; are made uſe of to carry the Allegiance in Debate from King *James*, ſuppoſing him to have the Legal Right. And if the Plea of Providence ſhould fail, in giving the Poſſeſſor a better Right, ſeveral things are ſaid by this Author, which are uſed by others, to preſs Allegiance on Score of *Poſſeſſion* and *actual Adminiſtration*, though the beſt Right ſhould lie on the other ſide. And I ſhall conſider both theſe Pleas, and examine how fit either of them is to remove the former Difficulties out of the way of the Refuſers.

Firſt then, As for the way of *King de Facto*, or *leaving the Diſpoſſeſſed Prince the beſt Right*: According to that, his *Poſſeſſion* only is gone, but he has ſtill the beſt Right, either as Proprietor of a great Eſtate, or as King of the Realm; and both the Property and Authority are allowed ſtill of Right to belong to him. And this leaving him to have the Right, whoſoever has the Poſſeſſion of his Right, I think would leave all the preceeding Difficulties untouched.

For, to bind themſelves by an Oath of Allegiance, to keep his Competitors in ſuch *his ſuppoſed rightful Power and Property*, and to keep himſelf out of it, ſeems,

1. To carry all the *Injuſtice to him, as a Proprietor*, againſt the Eighth and Tenth Commandments. Grant, as the Plea doth, that what Subjects engage to keep him out of, is his Right; and it needs no more to make it very unrighteous.

2. All the *Undutifulneſs to him as a King and Father*, againſt the Fifth Commandment. For if he be allowed to have Right to the Authority, he will have Right to the Obedience. Obedience is due to nothing elſe but the Authority; and therefore can be due to none elſe but him that has the Authority; and that is he who has the Right to the Authority. For in all righteous Eſtimate, the Authority is his, whoſe of Right it is. This Authority cannot go to both, it can belong but to one. Whoſe is it then? his that has Right to it, or his who has none? Not his that has no Right, for that is not to judge righteouſly, or to do right, and to give every Man his own. He that has Right to the Authority then muſt have the Authority: and indeed Authority, as I ſhall note, is a Thing which muſt go by Right. It is a ſpiritual Thing, not ſubject to Violence; Force cannot take it, but Right muſt convey it; and God's Way of giving it is by giving any one a Right to it. So that having the Right to the Athority, by this Plea, he would

would be adjudg'd to have the Authority. And then ought he not to have the Duty and Obedience which God makes due to the Authority, if they will give him his Due? Having the Authority, he would be the Father ſpoke of in the Precept, to whom all are required to pay *Honour* and *Support* and *Obedience*, and to *keep Subject*; all which are paid contrary, when the Allegiance is transferr'd, as I before noted.

3. All the *Breach of the ſolemn Promiſes and Oaths:* For thoſe were ſworn on the account of his having *Right to the Crown, and for Defence of it.* The *Oath of Allegiance* expreſly recognizes his *Legal Right*, and engages that *Faith and Allegiance to defend him in that Right to the utmoſt.* So, leave him ſtill in that Right, and you leave what it ſwears to defend; and the Swearers, for ought appears in this Plea to bring them off, are ſtill bound to defend him therein, according as that Oath engaged.

The Firſt of theſe, *viz. Injuſtice to him as Proprietor*, ſeems plainly left by this Hypotheſis; grant him Right, as it doth, and to oppoſe Right, is plainly unrighteous. And the Third, *viz. Breach of the Oath*, ſeems as plainly left too; for the Thing recognized, and ſworn to be defended, in that legal Oath, being the legal Right; grant that legal Right ſtill to continue, as this Plea doth, and that Oath will have it to defend ſtill, as it had the firſt Day it was made. And to transfer and turn *Allegiance* to oppoſe him in that Right, I think is not to bear Allegiance to defend him therein.

But as to the Second, *viz. Undutifulneſs to him, as a King and Father*, allowing him ſtill to have the Right; ſeveral (and this Reverend Perſon among the reſt) will be apt to diſpute that: Not but that Obedience muſt follow the Authority; but becauſe, as they fancy, he may have the Authority that wants Right; and on the other ſide, he that has the Right may want the Authority. *Authority* goes not *by Right*, as he thinks, but *by Advancement to the Throne by whatever Means:* So that he who has Right, if diſpoſſeſſed, has not God's Authority, or, as he ſays, *p.* 21. *is out of Authority*; and he that has Poſſeſſion, though againſt Right, has God's Authority: Which is the Notion that runs through his whole Book.

To clear this therefore, I ſhall here enquire into the *Nature of Authority*, and into *the Way of coming by it*, which will ſhew the *Way of loſing of it*: A right Underſtanding whereof will be of great Uſe to clear up his moſt fundamental Miſtakes, as I conceive, and anſwer the main of what he has alledged on this Subject.

I. *Firſt*, I ſhall ſay ſomething to the *Nature of Civil Authority*, or ſhew what it is, that we may know what to ſeek for in one, when we ſeek after Authority. There is the more need of this, becauſe I find Men are very apt to take *External Might and Strength*, which they ſee in Perſons of Authority, for their Authority: And to conclude, When they ſee one poſſeſſed of this External Strength, that he is poſſeſſed of Authority; but if he loſes this External Strength, that he loſes his Authority.

Civil Authority ſpeaks a *Right or Liberty in one to order, or do a thing in Civil Matters, laying an Obligation on others to follow or ſubmit to him*; as particularly in a *Prince* to give Order and Commands, for a Rule of Practice, to judge and determine Diſputes about Rights or Properties, to uſe the Sword, (which God has allowed him alone the Liberty of) for Defence or Puniſhment: And all with an *Obligation to thoſe under him*, to obey or acquieſce *in, or ſubmit to them.* The moſt *Eſſential Property* of this, and of all other Authority, is to lay Obligation, or a conſcientious and internal Bond on thoſe who are ſubject to it: And ſome Authority has no other Inforcement, being furniſh'd with no External Compulſory, *nor uſing Force* over the Bodies of thoſe who are ſubject thereto, as the *Miniſterial Authority*; which yet

yet is a good Authority and God's Authority, as truly as *Civil Authority* it elf is.

But ſince the Generality make ſo little of this *Internal Obligation*, and can o eaſily break it, *External Strength* and *Might is added to this Authority*, o be a Tie upon the *Bodies*, *as the other is upon the Spirits of Men*, and to nake them obſervant *out of fear of Wrath*, as St. *Paul* ſays, *Rom.* 13. 4, 5. vho would not otherwiſe be ſo out of the true Obligation of Authority, hat is, the *Bond of Conſcience*. And this External Strength lies in a Prince's aving the Command of Courts and Officers, Priſons and Executions, in eing poſſeſſed of Armies, Ordinances, Magazines, Navies, Treaſures, and trong-holds of a Nation, and the like.

But now this *External Force and Strength is not the Prince's Authority it lf, but a Means and Inſtrument, to exerciſe, to back, and inforce his Au-hority.* The Authority, as I noted, lies in *Right or Licenſe of Ordering, ith Effect of Obligation*; and all this is a Spiritual Thing, as Right, Li-enſe, and Obligation, and other Moral Things are: So that Authority is a Moral Quality; but this *External Strength* is no *Moral Quality, but a bodily hing. The inſeparable Effect of Authority* is to lay *an Internal* Obligation; is an External; that a Power of affecting the Conſcience; this only the odies of Subjects: For what External Strength has Power over, is only ir Bodies; bodily Force can take away bodily Things; but meer External orce lays no ſuch Internal Bond of Submiſſion upon the Conſcience. If a an falls into the Hands of Thieves, or Pirates; or, in Time of War, if e and all he has in the Power of the Enemies; their External Strength ill give them Power over his Body, but his Spirit is free: And ſuch Men, r all they are under the Power of External Strength, may refuſe all they quire with Safety enough to their Conſciences, if they can with Safety ough to their Perſons. There muſt be Authority, as I ſay, to bind the onſcience, when this External Might, that is only the Means to exerciſe, ck, and inforce Authority, binds us in fear for External Intereſts. And th theſe diſtinct Effects St. *Paul* diſtinctly marks in the *Higher Powers*, hoſe Authority which (as being God's Authority) binds the Conſcience, backed with Strength for *preſent Wrath upon the Bodies of Subjects: Ye uſt needs be ſubject not only for Wrath, but for Conſcience ſake*, Rom. 13. 5. Accordingly we find this *External Strength ſeparate from Authority*; and at ſhews plainly that External Strength is not Authority. If a Man is in e Hands of Thieves or Pirates, or of Enemies in Time of War, as I ſaid, is the Subject of External Strength; but yet he is not there the Subject Authority. *For no Man pretends*, as this Author ſays, *p.* 34. *that Thieves d Pirates have God's Authority*; nay, not altho' they proceed upon him in *rm of Law*, and *Judicially*, as the *High Court of Juſtice* did upon the *leſſed Martyr*; who, for all in that Court, he was the Subject of External rength, yet, I think, no wiſe Man will ſay he was the Subject of Authority. And, on the other hand, we find *Civil Authority ſeparate from External rength*, and yet, for all that, it is *Authority*. As it was in *Saul*, when on *ount Gilboa he fled before the Purſuers* *, and ſought Death, for the *An-iſh of his Wounds*, and that *he might not fall alive into the hands of his E-mies*: For all which Diſcomfiture and deſperate State, *David* tells the *nalekite* †, he ought ſtill to have looked upon him as having the *Inviolable-ſs of God's Anointed*. And, as it was in *David when he fled out of the nd for fear of Abſalom*; notwithſtanding which Flight and Diſpoſſeſſion, imei was ſtill to have owned him *as the Anointed of the Lord*, and was ilty of *Treaſon* againſt the *Regal Authority* in his Carriage towards him ‡. hus alſo our Law owns this Authority in a *Diſpoſſeſſed King*, and under *Breach or Interruption of Poſſeſſion*. Thus the *Statute* ·:· ſays of Queen ary, That for all the *Interruption of her Poſſeſſion by the Poſſeſſion of Queen* Jane,

* 2 *Sam.* 1. 6, 9. & 1 *Sam.* 31. 4.

† *Ver.* 14, 16.

‡ 2 *Sam.* 16.

·:· 1 *Mar. Seſſ.* 2. *c.* 4.

Jane, *the Crown with all Authorities thereunto belonging, was all the time immediately from the Death of K.* Edward, *inveſted, and by Law adjudged to be in her Royal Perſon.* And in Caſe *of any of the Heirs of* Henry VIII. *uſurping the Crown before their Time,* one taking Poſſeſſion whilſt another had the legal Right to the Throne, *every ſuch Offence is made High Treaſon*‖. And the Diſpoſſeſſed Heir, I think, has Authority, if Treaſon can be committed againſt him. K. *Charles the Firſt* was intirely diſpoſſeſſed of all the External Strength of the Nation, when he ſtood Arraigned before the *High Court of Juſtice*; but yet he was not diſpoſſeſſed of his Authority, becauſe all the Proceeding was Treaſon, and is confeſſed by all ſo to be, againſt his Authority. And all the Time of his Exile, K. *Charles the Second* was under like Diſpoſſeſſion; but yet he had the *Regal Authority* all that Time, elſe how came his Reign to commence immediately from his Father's Death, and all that was done againſt him in the Interim of his Diſpoſſeſſion, to need an *Act of Oblivion?* Not to mention, moreover, how *Richard the Second* was not judged in Law to have loſt his Authority, whilſt *Henry the Fourth* was poſſeſſed of his Crown. Whereof, I think, this is a very good Proof, becauſe the * *Statute* of 1 *Ed.* 4. as it is in the *Rolls*, ſays, That *Henry* himſelf, who was unjuſtly poſſeſſed thereof, ought *Allegiance* to him all that Time, *As his moſt Sovereign Lord in Earth*, and *acted againſt God's Law, Man's Legiance, and Oath of Fidelity*, when at laſt he *Murdered him.* Now *the ſeveral Attainders that might* be produced for acting againſt the right Heirs, ſeeking to get Poſſeſſion. Theſe *Attainders ſuppoſe Authority*; for *an Attainder* cannot lie againſt any, but for acting againſt the Royal Authority. *And this Authority was whilſt they had no Poſſeſſion*; yea, for acting for the unjuſt Poſſeſſor himſelf againſt them.

‖ *Stat.* 28. *H.* 8. *c.* 7. *and* 35. *H.* 8. *c.* 1. *and* 1 *Ed.* 6. *c.* 12.

* *Rot.* 1 *Ed.* 4. *n.* 9, *&c.* as cited in the true and exact Hiſtory *of the Succeſſion of the Crown of* Eng. *p.* 30.

This, I think, may be ſufficient to ſhew that the Authority of a King doth not lie in *poſſeſſion of External Strength*, but in ſuch a Right of ordering, as lays *an Internal Obligation*, which may ſtay by him when all his External Strength is gone; and which they may want who have got all his External Strength from him. And therefore this Reverend Perſon ſhould not think it enough to prove one *Prince* out of *Authority*, becauſe he is out of *Poſſeſſion*; or another to be in his *Authority*, becauſe he has got into *Poſſeſſion*. To know who has, and who wants the *Authority*, we muſt look who has, or who wants that which carries and conveys Authority; which is not having of External Strength, but having Right thereto, as I ſhall endeavour to ſhew by and by.

II. *Secondly*, It may be fit to enquire, *Whence have they this Authority?* Now that is *from God*, as he obſerves †, *who is the Supream Lord of the World* and the Fountain of all Authority; he is Lord of our Spirits, as well as of our Bodies; and his Authority can bind us in Conſcience, as well as in External Intereſts; and this Authority in them, coming from him, can do ſo too: and therefore St. *Paul* ſpeaking of the Obligation laid upon us by *Civil Authority* (Ἐξουσία) *in the Higher Powers*, ſays, *It calls for our being ſubject thereunto, not only for Wrath, but alſo for Conſcience ſake*, Rom. 13. 1, 5. To force the Body may be in the Power of Men, but to reach the Conſcience is *not to be done* but by *the Authority of God.*

† *Pag.* 10.

But if this be God's Authority, it is next to be enquired,

III. Thirdly, *How come they by it, or where has he conferred on them this Authority?* This, I think, is in the Commandment. The Fifth Commandment empowers all Authority, and ſo do thoſe other Precepts that require us to be *ſubject to the Higher Powers, to honour the King, to obey Magiſtrates*, and the like. That, I think, empowers him to Command, which requires us to Obey, and is a Charter, both of his Authority, and of our Duty

ſince this Duty is only due to Authority. I know no other Way whereby God ſpeaks, either to Governours, or Subjects, but by the Commandment, which empowers one, and obliges the other; and on this Foot St. *Paul* ſeems to put the Guilt of all that is done againſt Authority. *He that reſiſteth the Power**, or Authority, *reſiſteth the Ordinance of God.* διαταγῆ, *i. e.* ſays the *Æthop.* and *Syr. The Divine Mandate*, or *the Conſtitution and Law of God*; διάταγμα and διάταξις being the Names, as *Grotius* notes †, which the Emperors were wont to give to their *Imperial Conſtitution*; ſo implying them to be Empower'd, or Authoriz'd by the Commandment; and mâking *reſiſtance of Authority* to be a *reſiſtance of the* διαταγῆ, or *Commandment*, which carries and conveys the Authority, *Rom.* 13. 2.

* ἐξουσία.

† *In loc.*

This annexing of *Authority* by the *Commandment*, is immediately to the State or Dignity, and only by means of that to the Perſon. The Authority the Commandment places in the *Father*, and the *Subjection* it requires to the *Higher Power*, the *Obedience* to the *Magiſtrate*, and the like in all other Authorities; and this is all that Laws can do, for Laws are general Sayings; and general Sayings can only authorize States in general, but muſt leave it to Men to make the particular Applications.

The State and Relation then of a Prince, or Parent, *&c.* is what God, and the Command immediately authorizes: But this State, authorized by a *general Commandment, is a general Thing.* And it will be aſked further, *How comes this to be ſuch a Man's Authority, or to be fixed in ſuch a Perſon?* Now that is by the ſame way that he comes into the State or Relation; and that is not by any immediate Act of God, but by an Act of Men. 'Tis the Law of the Land, for inſtance, that makes any particular Man a King; and that Law is not the Act of God, but the Act of Men; and ſo in every other State and Relation. The coming into theſe States, God and his Laws have left to human Ways; and theſe Ways are very well known, none need be ignorant of the Way of coming in to be a Father, a Magiſtrate, a Maſter, an Huſband, *&c.* Which *State*, when once by ſuch Ways, they ſee any Perſon, in the Command of God takes place, giving him Authority, and calling for Duty from the Subjects towards him.

This, the *learned Author* || ſeems to think, is not enough: But as the Power, or Authority, is annexed to the State; ſo muſt the Perſon be called to that State and Power by God himſelf. And therefore he ſays †, this empowering or authorizing of the particular Perſon is by Providence, which *God's doing*; and which he thinks a good Grant of God to an uſurping Poſſeſſor, who, according to him, is a good providential King.

|| *P.* 10, 11, 36.

† *P.* 12, 23, 24.

1. But *Firſt*, As for ſuch Grant of God to a Perſon, if he means, as I ſuppoſe he doth, a more *immediate Way of Granting*, than that by *human Rights*, I know no Way of doing that, but by *particular Revelation*, or *God's immediate Nomination.* If God pleaſe to name the Perſon, he gives the Authority particularly to that Perſon, and not only by the general Grant of giving it to him, whoſoever ſhould come into ſuch Relation or State of a Parent, ſuppoſe, or King. And thus, in the Firſt Marriage, God fixed the Perſon, *viz. Eve*, who ſhould be Wife to *Adam.* And ſometimes among the *Jews*, named the Man, as *Saul* and *David*, who ſhould have the Royal Authority, and be their King. But theſe are Rarities, and out of the ordinary and conſtant Courſe of God's empowering either Kings or Huſbands; and yet all that come into theſe States otherwiſe, are as much empowered by God as theſe; ſo his Way of empowering the Perſon muſt not be tied to Revelation and particular Nomination. And how God can immediately fix the Perſon, otherwiſe than by himſelf immediately naming him, which is by a particular Revelation about that Perſon, I do not ſee; for, I think, if God immediately fix the Perſon, he muſt immediately ſay, This ſhall be the Perſon.

2. *Se-*

2. *Secondly*, As for the Author's Way of Providence, it is no more an immediate Way of God's empowering the particular Perſon, than this other of *empowering him by Means of human Ways* and Rights. For when Providence ſets up any particular Perſon among Men, it is by Means of Men; and, I think, by a much worſe Means; for ſetting up by human Titles, is ſetting up by Means of Men acting regularly by *Right* and *Juſtice*, *But his Way of ſetting up by human Succeſſes, is by Means of Men too*, but acting wickedly in Ways of Undutifulneſs and unjuſt Violence. *And why God cannot as well be thought to put a particular Perſon into his Authority* by Men keeping to their Duty, as well as by the ſame Men breaking their Duty, I do not underſtand.

3. *Thirdly*, The Survey of all Powers plainly ſhows, That God's uſual way of putting Men into the *Authority* of any State, is not by giving it immediately to the Perſons, but by means of human Acts and Methods.

The *State and Relation* of a Prince, a Parent, a Paſtor, an Huſband, or Maſter, are all States Divinely empower'd: For God is the Fountain of all Authority; and each of theſe, in their reſpective States and Relations, have God's *Authority*; and there is a *Command for each*, requiring Obedience to them; which Command doth authorize each of them. The States are of God's Inſtitution, and the ſeveral Authorities belonging to them are of God's and his Commands Conferring.

But if we look how any particular Perſon uſually comes into any of theſe Divinely authorized States and Relations, we ſhall find all come into them by means of human Acts, and are not immediately fixed upon, and placed therein, by God himſelf. To give Authority, for Inſtance, to the State and Relation of an Huſband, is the Act and Command of God; but to make any particular Perſon an Huſband, whom God has thus Divinely authorized, is left to his own Act, or to his and his Wife's joint Conſent and Matrimonial Agreement. Thus the Relation of a Father comes to have Authority by the Law of God: But *Abraham* becomes the Father hereby authorized, by natural Generation of *Iſaac*, which is not a divine, but human Act. The State of a Maſter God has empower'd; but to become a Maſter, if it be not over a Captive, there is need of his and his Servant's voluntary Contract. And the Relation of a Paſtor has God's Authority, and is to be obeyed by divine Precept: But ſince Paſtors ceaſed to be immediately called of God, as the Apoſtles were, and thoſe they ordained, δοκιμάσαντες τῷ πνεύματι, or by *the particular Direction of the Holy Ghoſt*, as St. *Clement* ſays*; every particular Paſtor becomes ſuch, not by perſonal Nomination of God, but by means of human Choice. And anſwerable to all theſe, is God's way of fixing any particular Perſon in the State and Relation of a King. The Eſtate is authorized by the Commandment; and the Authority, which the Command annexes to it, is God's Authority, as it is in all the other Authorities here mentioned. But where he doth not interpoſe, by ſpecial Nomination, God leaves every particular Perſon to be advanced to this State by human Right and Method. For how do Princes, ever ſince the Government of the ancient Patriarchs, claim to be admitted to the Regal State, which the Command has divinely authorized, but by human Laws and Rights? and the Laws of Men, are the Acts of Men: So an human Act muſt place a Perſon in the State, and then the Law of God veſts him with God's Authority to act therein.

* *Clem. Ro.* 1. *Ep. ad Cor. c.* 42. *p.* 89. *Ed. Ox.*

And this is not to fetch the *Authority of Kings*, or other Superiors, *from the People*, as the Author fears, *p.* 25. For the Authority is God's Authority, not the Peoples; and that which carries his Authority is God's own Command. But this Authority the Command carries to ſuch a particular State, which God doth not fully put Men into, but leaves ſomething to be done towards it by themſelves. And therefore what part they act, is only to

o place the particular Perſon in that State which not they, but God, has uthorized; yea, and that with ſuch *Powers both of Life and Death*, and aying Obligation as to Conſcience, as they had not in themſelves to give. And this has nothing ſtrange, for the Conſent of People (which I think is vidently carried in human Laws, to ſet up legal Monarchs, and in Electi- ns in Elective Kingdoms, and in Submiſſions to Conquerors) to put Men nto a State, wherein, not their Conſent, but ſomething elſe, muſt give hem Authority to act. The Choice of the Corporation muſt put a Man nto the State of Mayoralty; but what he acts by, when once in that State, s not the Corporation's, but the King's Authority. And the Conſent of a Vife, or Servant, *&c.* muſt put one into the State of an Huſband or Ma- ter; but when once in that State, the Authority of God, carried in his Command, is to authorize and empower them, as I obſerved before.

But this way, *how is ſuch a Man's Power of God, if God doth not imme- diately veſt his Perſon with it? Can Civil Authority be any otherwiſe of God, han as he gives it to ſome particular Perſon?* ſays the Author, *p.* 10. *prop.* 2. Yes, otherwiſe than by ſuch a Gift as your way of arguing doth ſuppoſe nd ſeem to build on, that is, by giving it immediately. Power, I grant, muſt be in ſome Perſon, for only a Perſon can be empower'd: and if that e God's Power, as all Power is, it muſt be given by God; for no one can ake God's Power out of his hand, or have it otherwiſe than by his own Gift. And Power being not a material Thing, but a moral Quality, there s no taking it by meer Violence out of any Man's Hand, it not being one f thoſe Things which can be forcibly taken away. But God gives, what e doth not give immediately: and thus he gives all ſorts of Authority to Men, as I have ſhewn, by Means of Human Acts and Ways; that is, where e doth not immediately interpoſe, to give it by a prophetical or perſonal Nomination; for then he leaves it to go to any Perſon by human Ways, and ives it to thoſe who came to it by ſuch human Ways, and owns their Per- ons to be as truly authorized and empowered by him, as if they had been erſonally nominated by himſelf; as St. *Paul* notes, (*Rom.* 13. 1, 2.) of the *Roman* Emperors, againſt thoſe *Jews*, who thought that God's Authority id not go by Heathen and Human Titles.

Now from this, *That God's Authority carried in his Command, comes to ny particular Perſon by Means of human Ways*, it is obvious for any to onclude, that thoſe Ways muſt be Ways of human Right. So that he who has the human Right will have all the Authority and Obedience of he Commandment.

For *Ways of Right* ('tis plain) there are among Men, of coming into heſe authorized States; particularly, as to Crowns, among every People, nd in every Place, *there is a Way of Right, according to their own Laws, f Acceſſion to them.* And all Men that make any pretence to Crowns, pre- end a Right thereto; Crowns being claimed and held by Titles, or pre- ence of Titles, as all other Eſtates are.

And *if God doth not interpoſe by immediate Revelation, he leaves Autho- ity to go by theſe human and legal Rights.* God's own Grant of Autho- ity, by immediate Revelation, is agreed on all Hands to be the beſt Right, nd to ſet aſide any human or legal Right to it. But when he doth not thus nterpoſe by immediate and perſonal Nomination, but leaves Authority to go in the ordinary Courſe, it muſt go by human and legal Right: For in bſence of Revelation, legal Right is the beſt Right, and human Right is the nly Right: for, as for the Author's Right of meer *Providence*, that, as I hall ſhow hereafter, is no Right at all.

But Two Things the Learned Author oppoſes in this Point, which, to- ether with that of the *Providential Right*, *are the main Foundations of his Book.* One is, *That Authority doth not go by human Right:* and the other,

That Allegiance doth not go, or is not due meerly to Authority, but is tied to the Exerciſe of Authority, or Adminiſtration of Government. Which Two, with the *Right of Providence*, to be added for a Third, are his Grounds in this Queſtion about *transferring Allegiance*, and what we have from him to remove the foreſaid Difficulties: and theſe three Principles are next to be conſidered and examined in the ſucceeding Chapters.

CHAP. III.

Authority goes by Rightful Titles.

*Vid. p. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 21, 23, 25, 32, 36.

FIrſt, As to *Civil Authority*, he thinks * *it is not to go by human Right, but only by being placed on the Throne, without any regard to Precedent Right.* A Man, that has the human Right, he ſuppoſes may be out of the Authority; and another, that wants the human Right, may for all that (without any ſpecial Revelation) have the Authority. And the bringing in the Queſtion of Right, he thinks, (*p.* 1. 18.) *has perplexed this Diſpute.*

But as there are confeſſedly human Rights to carry Authority, ſo if perſonal Nomination and Revelation doth not interpoſe, which is a better Right, theſe human Rights muſt carry it, I conceive, to any Perſon, or it muſt be uncarried. Authority muſt be conveyed in ſuch way of Right, and it cannot be conveyed without it.

For, to think of Authority coming to any one without good Title of Right thereto, neither *agrees, I think, with the Nature of Things, as Right and Authority*, or *with the Purpoſes of him who is to have it*; *nor with the Honour and Juſtice of God, who is to give it*; *nor with the Meaning and Obligation of the Commandment, which is to carry and convey this Authority from God to the Perſon authorized.*

I. Firſt, *It ſuits not with the Nature of Things, as of Right and Authority*, or *with the Purpoſes of him who is to have the Authority.*

The Ends and Purpoſes, which he has to ſerve, that pretends to have the Authority, are ſuch as theſe,

1. *To claim Obedience.* It is for the *Authority* that any *Obedience* is due: That is what the Scripture calls us to be Subject and Obedient to, *Rom.* 13. 1. *Let every Soul be ſubject to the higher Power*, or Authority: and it is no Sin to diſobey him who has no Authority. Set aſide any Man's Authority then, and we ſet aſide our own Obedience, and are no longer his Subjects, but our own Maſters. But now, if he has no Right to the Authority, what is the Offence of ſetting it aſide? It will offend him, I grant, who has External Strength and Power in his Hand; but what is the Offence to God? To deny his Authority, is not to deny him any thing that is his Right; ſo there is no Unrighteouſneſs in it. If he has no Right to what is denied, ſuch Denial can do him no Wrong: and when they have righteouſly caſt off any Man's Authority, I ſee not but they may very righteouſly diſobey him.

2. *To have the Regal State his Property, and exclude every one elſe*; For the Crown is one ſingle undivided Authority, and can go but to one; it will not admit of Rivals: And Allegiance, as the Author obſerves, *p.* 14. can be due but to one; and we cannot have *Two Allegiances*, or ſerve *Two Maſters*. So that he, who is to have the Regal Authority, muſt have it as a Pro-

a Property, and have it to himſelf, and bar out all other Men. Now, can any thing but Right give Property? Set aſide Right, and any one elſe that will venture for it, has as much to do with it as he: He muſt plead a Right to it among Men, who would have a Property in it among Men. For his Right to it will make it his own, and make it unrighteous for any one to take it from him; or, if they do, it will be a part of Righteouſneſs to return it him again. Right cannot always ſecure Poſſeſſion; for a Man may be diſpoſſeſſed of what he has a Right to; but it ſecures Property, which is an Effect inſeparable from it. He that has the Right, is the true Owner and Proprietor; and the unjuſt Poſſeſſor gets no Property: What he holds is not his own; he that has the Right is the Owner, and the unjuſt Poſſeſſor is bound to reſtore him his own again.

Particularly, he muſt ſo have the Authority, as to bar him that ſtands Competitor for the ſame; and this, nothing but Right will do: For leave the Competitor the Right to the Authority, and that will make it his. It is the nature of Right, as I ſay, to give Property; and where there is no Right there can be no Property; ſo that this way, the Right will have Authority, and the Wrong will want it. And what is to be done then, when the Right comes to claim and ſet up his Authority? If he has Right to it, the other can have no Right to hinder it; for that is to pervert Right, and be very unrighteous. Nor can any of his Subjects help or ſtand by him in making Hindrance thereto; for that would be, to give an helping Hand to oppoſe Right, which would be as unrighteous in them, as it is in him. So that to think of placing Authority in any Man, without a Right thereto, is to talk of an Authority in him, which another has a Right to take, but he has no Right to defend, nor any of his Subjects can righteouſly ſtand by and defend him in.

The Author, indeed, *p.* 26. is for having *two good* Rights *to the ſame Crown, in being at the ſame time*, as the *Providential* and *Legal* Right; whereby *one* may very righteouſly claim and take a Thing, and the *other* may as righteouſly hold and keep it. But this, I think, quite overthrows the Notion and Nature of Right, which is to make Property, and that can do but one way. If the Thing is one of the Party's, it cannot be the other's, for a very good Reaſon, becauſe it cannot belong to both; and 'tis nothing but Right that makes it belong to either. So that as only one of them can have it, only one of them can have Right to it: and the better Right muſt ſet the worſe aſide, elſe one would be Righteous in invading the other's Right; and the other would be Righteous in withholding his Right; ſince both in invading and detaining each other's Right, each would purſue their own Right; which is evidently to deſtroy all Right, and to confound the Notion and Uſe of Right and Wrong.

So that take away *Right* from *Authority*, and then *Authority in that Perſon is neither to be Defended, nor Obeyed*; the plain Reaſon is, becauſe both their *Defence* and *Obedience* is to *reſpect the Perſon*: They are to *defend him* in his Authority, and *obey him* for his Authority; and they neither may defend him in it, nor are bound to own and obey him for it, unleſs it be his Authority. *Now, what is it in any Perſon, that can make Authority to be his?* The very ſame that can make any Thing elſe to be his, or any *Thing* to be any *Man*'s, and that is a *Title to it*. And if *Authority* muſt go by *Title*, it muſt plainly go by *Right*; for that is a very bad Title, and will do a Man but little good, which has no *Right* in it.

Admit any Perſon to have no *Right* then, who pretends to *Authority*, and you make him a *King* without *Authority*; ſince without ſome *Title to it*, the *Authority* is none of his. Such a *King*, as they who pleaſe, when they can ſafely, may very rightfully caſt off, and diſobey: But whom againſt the Perſon that has the *Right*, they cannot righteouſly obey, and de-

fend. All their *Acting there*, on his Side, is without *Authority*; and against the *other*, is against *Authority*; so that *Right* must come in to give any *Authority*, which Subjects are either bound to *obey*, or may lawfully *defend*. And for any other *Authority*, that can neither authorize and justify Defence, nor challenge Obedience, it will not deserve any Dispute, whether it must go by *Right* or no.

And as this leaves the wrongful Possessor no *Authority*, so doth it leave him, who has the legal *Right* (and which no better *Right* has set aside) still to be in *Authority*: For if *Property* go by *Right*, as it can go by nothing else, the *Authority* is his, whose the *Right* is. And what a Difficulty would this make on transferring *Allegiance* and *Obedience*, when this way they would pay it all where there is no *Authority*; and disclaim and deny it all where there is *Authority*. Which Practice would make a very odd *Comment* on all those Scripture Texts, and Commandments, that call upon us, *To be subject* and *obedient to Authorities*.

P. 26, 27. The Author thinks this *Transferring and Paying Allegiance, and turning Subject to the Possessor without Right, is no Wrong to the other, nor any denial of his legal Right.* What Men may still believe in themselves, or own of his legal *Right* is one Thing; but if the Dispossessed Prince really has such *legal Right*, such transferring Allegiance, in my Opinion, must needs do him a great Wrong; he will allow it to be casting off Subjection to him, and turning Subject to another against him. Now he that has the *legal Right*, as I have shown, has God's Authority; and casting off Subjection to him, that has God's Authority, is certainly doing him Wrong; for Authority is no Authority, unless it oblige People to be Subject and Obedient to it. And St. *Paul* † requires *Every Soul, in Conscience towards God, to keep Subject to the Authority*; meaning, to the Persons in Authority. The *Authority* or *Power*, ver. 1, 2. being called the *Ruler*, ver. 3. and the *Minister of God*, ver. 4. And they would plainly wrong the Persons in Authority, if they should renounce and deny them that Subjection which God has given, and requires every Soul to pay to them. On the other side, the Possessor without Right, has not God's Authority; and then Allegiance and Subjection is not his due: *Allegiance*, as the Author himself says, *being due only to God's Authority*; and *we being to own no King who has not God's Authority*. And to cast off Subjection to the Right in Authority, to whom it is due, and to pay it to the wrongful Possessor, without Authority, to whom it is not due, I think, is dealing very Unduly, and not according to St. *Paul*'s Rule of Justice, when treating of these Duties towards Princes, he requires us *to render to all their Dues*.

† *Rom.* 13. 1, 5.

P. 15. 34.

P. 52.

Rom. 13. 7.

P. 26, 27. As for the Author's Reason, *That Obedience is not due to the Prince of legal Right, but whilst he actually administers the Government: There were more pretence for that, if he were in God's Authority only whilst he administers it, as he supposes.* But I imagine he will not deny but some Obedience must always, and inseperably be due to God's Authority. For it would be a strange Authority of God, that no Body were under any Obligation to obey; and as strange to think we perform the Scripture Rules, of being subject to Authority when we cast it off. And what I now urge is, that he who has the legal Right to Authority, tho' he has not Possession, has not lost the Authority: So that to transfer and renounce *Allegiance* to a Prince, he must be stript of Authority, which cannot be without setting up a better Title, and stripping him of his legal Right too.

Add to all this, the Nature of *Authority* itself, which is a *Moral Quality*, as I noted, or *Spiritual Thing*. Now, *how should any Man come by this, but by way of Right and Title?* Being a Spiritual Thing, he cannot take it, but must come to be Master of it in its own Way, that is, by having Right thereto.

If it be queſtioned, whether a Man has got the Authority or no, *How ſhould he make it out?* he may ſhow himſelf poſſeſſed of the External Strength, which was the *Means of Exerciſing and Enforcing it*; but the *Authority* may remain with the right Owner, after all that is taken away from him, as I ſhewed above, *Chap.* II. And if he can tell no other way of his getting it, but by ſuch force of Arms, it's a ſtrong Argument he has not got it, ſince it cannot be ſeized that way. Meer force of Arms can no more take *Right* than *Righteouſneſs*; and Men may as well go to ſtorm *Temperance*, and *Humility*, as to ſtorm *Authority*. If one wants it, meer Strength then can never give it; and if one has it, meer loſs of Strength can never loſe it. *What then muſt either give or recal it?* If meer *Strength* and *Force* cannot, *Right* muſt; ſo that he has *Authority* that has *Right* to it; and he keeps *Authority* who keeps *Right* to it, tho' he can keep nothing elſe.

II. *Secondly*, To make Authority go otherwiſe than by ways of Right, *ſuits not with the Honour and Juſtice of God who is to give it.* The Authority is God's, and is not to be had but by God's Gift, as we are both agreed; *and how will he give it?* In ways of Right, or without Right; in ways of Right ſurely, I think. For,

1. He is a righteous God; and a righteous God will be for planting Right among Men; and this in every Thing. All we have is derived from God, both all the Power, and all the Poſſeſſions of the World; and all in the ſame way of Right, which he is for having univerſally and unlimitedly eſtabliſhed. So that whilſt any Man holds, and claims only by Unrighteouſneſs, he doth not hold of God; nor doth God look upon the Thing he holds, as his, till ſome way of *Right* makes it ſo. Whilſt he holds it by Wrong, he rates him, not as the Owner, but Uſurper, and therefore bids him reſtore the *Right Owner his own again*: and that is all any Man ever gets with him by meer unrighteous Poſſeſſion, *viz.* no *Property* therein, but only Guilt and Puniſhment, and a Neceſſity of making *Reſtitution*. So that as God is to derive this *Authority* among Men, he derives it where he derives *Right* to it; and without *Right* he derives none upon any Perſon.

2. If he derive it not in way of *Right*, there is but one way left, and that is, *To lay it in the midſt, and order it to go to the ſtrongeſt Arm, or to him that can take it.* But this is to throw it up, *as a Ball of Striſe*, and ſet all in War and Confuſion. But God is the *God of Peace** and *Order*; and there is no keeping Peace, but by ways of *Right*. If *Right* be to carry Authority, it will carry it quietly; but if he leave it to Strength and Power, the way that Power has to get it, is by War and Force, which all Men, I think, muſt needs ſee can never be the way of the *God of Peace and Order.*

* 1 Cor. 14. 33.

III. *Thirdly*, It ſuits with the *Meaning and Obligation of the Commandment*, which is to carry and convey this Authority from God, to the Perſon authorized. For,

1. The Fifth Commandment, and all others requiring Duty to Superiors, are Commandments of Juſtice. And St. *Paul*, calling for the Duties to Princes, bids them *render to all their Dues*; *Tribute to whom Tribute*, &c. *Rom.* 13. 7. All *Second Table* Duties ſuppoſe Right in thoſe that claim them; 'tis Unrighteouſneſs to deny them; and there is no Unrighteouſneſs unleſs they are denied to thoſe who have Right to them. What is not againſt any Man's Right is no Wrong to him. So the Commandments carry to Obedience, but to him who has Right to the Obedience; then they muſt carry it only to him who has Right to the *Authority*. For if any Man has no Right to the *Authority*, 'tis no Breach of Right to ſet aſide his *Authority*: and then what Unrighteouſneſs can it be, for thoſe that are not under

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Authority, not to obey? So the Commandments cannot be broke towards him that has no Right to Authority; and therefore are only Commandments of Obedience towards him that has Right to it.

2. The Fifth Commandment calls for this Obedience to the *Father*, which carries it to *Princes*, as well as *Natural Parents*. In what Senſe are they Fathers? Natural? No; but Politick. To the *Politick Father* then, Subjects muſt be obedient: and he is the *Politick Father*, I think, who is the *Father* by the Rules of the *Polity*; and thoſe Rules of making any one a *Father*, make the legal Right. Thus alſo when we are bid *to be ſubject to the higher Power*, or to *honour and obey the King*, the Command or Law of God, requiring the Subjection to him, doth not make any Perſon *King*; that is the proper Buſineſs of human Right, or of the Laws of Men: and God's Command doth not put the Perſon in that State, but ſuppoſe him in it, and that the Ways and Laws of Men, to whom that doth belong, have done it already. Whom therefore the Law, or legal Right, (unleſs ſet aſide by Divine Nomination, which is a better Right,) makes a King; him the Commandment backs, and binds us to be ſubject to. Like as the Eighth Commandment makes no Property; but when the Laws of Men, or human Right, have made it, that Command comes in to guard, and forbids any Perſon to invade it. For,

3. In theſe Commands, *Princes are ſuppoſed as ſet up by Laws or human Rights*; and the Commandment is to give Authority, and carry Obedience to them, *when they are once got in by ſuch Titles*; I mean, in abſence of *Divine Nomination*, which alone takes place of them. God's Law calls for Obedience to him, who is got on a Throne, that is legally and rightfully his own.

For theſe human Acts and Rights are ſuppoſed in the Commandments of the *Second Table*, or the Laws about *Society*. Society is to be a Society of Men; and Men are left by God to order and ſet up ſome Things therein; and then the Commands of God come to guard, or empower, and carry Obligation to them. And thus it is both with *Government*, and *Matrimony*, and *Property*, and *Converſe*, which are the great Buſineſs of Society, and the greateſt Comfort and Convenience of Life in this World.

When Men are placed in this World, the good Things of the Earth depend on Care and Induſtry; and there would be no Enjoyment to encourage Induſtry, without *Property*; nor any certain Offſpring, to be induſtrious and careful for, without *Matrimony*; nor any Guard, either for our Properties or Families, without *Government*; nor any Society, without *Converſe*, and Communication of Minds; nor Converſe, without Uſe of Speech, and ſettled Signification of Words.

Now, as for this *Civil Government*, and *Matrimony*, and *Uſe of Speech*, and *Property*; God has fitted all Men for them, and made Mankind to need them, and to have Inducement enough from their own Neceſſities and Convenience, to ſet up all theſe Things, which he deſigns they ſhould, and is pleaſed when they do, and has provided ſundry Laws to empower and guard, and give them Comfort by them when they have done ſo. But after all, Mankind themſelves muſt ſet them up; God leaves it to them to make their own Languages, and chuſe their own Wives and Huſbands, to contract Marriages, and ſettle Properties, and model Governments, and appoint who ſhall be their Governours. The *Paternal Power*, in the long Lives of the *Ancient Patriarchs*, carried the Matter of Government, I conceive, in the firſt Governments: But as Men grew ſhorter lived, and the Senſe of Kindred wore out, there would be a Neceſſity of other Ways of appointing Governours; which, therefore, human Acts and Ways muſt ſettle, as they did the Point of *Properties*, and the other forementioned Things.

Now

Now the way of Mens ſetting up theſe *is by human Ways and Rights.* The veſting either of *Power*, or *Property*, for Inſtance, muſt be in ſome *Perſons*; that is, ſome particular *Perſons* muſt have the *Power* and the *Property*. And this way of veſting the *Power*, or *Property*, in thoſe *Perſons*, can only be by giving them a Right to them; for it is their Right to them, that muſt make them to become theirs; ſo that human Acts and Rights muſt give every Man the State and Power of a Prince, or of an Huſband, and the Property of an Owner; and that muſt give Words their ſettled Meanings, whereby any one that hears them, may know what another means.

And as human Ways and Rights are to ſet up theſe States or Things; ſo, ſince human Kind has every where the like Neceſſity, and the like Ability therein, theſe human Rights and Ways will ſet them up in all places.

And when theſe human Rights are in every place paſſed about them, then comes *the Law of God and Nature*, which are to be Laws for every place, to empower or guard what ſuch preſuppoſed human Right has given. The Fifth Commandment makes no particular Man a *Prince*; nor the Seventh, an *Huſband*; nor the Eighth and Tenth, a *Proprietor* of what he holds among Men; nor doth the Ninth determine any *Speech's* Signification; but all ſuppoſe them. And if God has not done it by immediate Interpoſition, ſince it muſt be done, either by God or Men, they ſuppoſe that human Rights have made theſe already. And ſuppoſing all theſe things of Society, in this State, by human Right; theſe Commandments come to ſecure their ſeveral and reſpective Duties towards them. So that, in abſence of *particular Revelation*, which alone can make, not only a better, but indeed any other Right, it is an *humanly rightful and legal Power*, which the Fifth Commandment, and all other Laws of Obedience to Superiors, require us to be ſubject to, and to ſupport; and *rightful and legal Property*, which the Eighth and Tenth Commandments forbid us either to ſeize or covet; and *rightful Matrimony*, which the Seventh Command will not have violated by *Adultery*; and *Words of human Settlement and Inſtitution*, wherein the Ninth Commandment forbids all Falſification. So that what human Law fixes, God's Law ſecures; and to him that holds any of theſe things by human Rights, the Commands of God call for this Obedience, and other Duties: and therefore he that has the legal Right, has the Commandment on his ſide, and muſt have all the Duty and Obedience which it requires.

And this, I think, may ſhow, That in the Queſtion, about *transferring Allegiance, the Caſe of Conſcience is not a meer Point of Law*, as the Author, (*p.* 53.) ſeems to intimate, or ſuch as doth not involve *Moral and Natural Duties*; wherein he allows *every Man may and muſt examine and underſtand for himſelf.* For tho' the Law muſt make any Man a *Prince*, to have the Right to the *Allegiance*, yet where the Law has given the Right, theſe Moral and Natural Duties carry all their Obedience to it. The Commandments take him that has the legal Right, and require all the Duty and Allegiance they enjoin, to be paid to him; and require none of it to any other Perſon. So that in going againſt the human Right, we go againſt the moral and divine Precept; which requiring all to him that has the human Right, is either broken, or kept, according as we obſerve, or reject the human Right. Indeed, if the Point of human Right ſhould happen at any time to be more doubtful, and really diſputable, it would be a leſs Offence to miſtake it. But ſo far as we pay our Duties and Obedience, againſt the human Law and legal Right, we pay them alſo againſt the divine Law and Moral Duties. But this Diſobedience, and Breach both of divine and human Laws, in ſuch Caſe, would be the more pardonable, as having the Plea of excuſable Ignorance, and the Mitigation of being in a dark and doubtful Caſe, wherein Miſtakes are leſs dangerous to honeſtly diſpoſed Minds.

I obſerve

I obſerve ſtill further from this, That *the Commandment is equally broke* in being undutiful to him, that has an *human Right*, as it would be by Undutifulneſs to one, that had a *divine Right*. For the Commandment is equally for ſecuring Obedience to thoſe in *Authority* by any ſort of good Right: Therefore its Words, or Expreſſion of the Perſon, is general; to the *Father*, the *Higher Power*, the *Magiſtrate*; all which muſt come to be ſo by ſome kind of Right, and it matters not what, whether human or divine, ſo long as it is a good Right. It is a *natural Precept*, which is equally for *Jews* and *Gentiles*; and doth not alter the Stile, but is the very ſame, and calls for one and the ſame Obedience, to a King of *divine Right*, by a *divine Intail*, or *Nomination*, as it doth to another of meer *human Right*. Which I note, becauſe, in Caſe of *Joaſh*, the Author thinks (*p.* 35.) there was a ſtricter and more *unalienable Allegiance* due to him, on account he came to the Crown, as he ſays, by an *Intail from God*. But admit his was a *divine Right*; the Commandments for Obedience to rightful Powers, carry no more, nor more *unalienable Allegiance* to it, than they would to an human Right. It calls for it only in the ſame Words, and lies equally open to both; and makes no Diſtinction of either. All it requires for Obedience, is, That they have *Right*: They muſt be obeyed whilſt they have it, and no longer than they have it. So that be the Right *Joaſh*'s, or a King's of any other Nation, it will equally ſtand, till a better Right has ſet it aſide.

The *Seditious Jews*, I think, were for making a great Difference in point of Obedience, *between Governments and Kings ſet up by Revelation*, and others *by human Right*; and ſo eſteemed the Heathen Powers, who had no Word or Revelation of God for their Government or Governours, but only human Ways and Titles, as no Powers, to whom the Command requires Subjection and Obedience. This was one great Cauſe of their reſtleſs Endeavours to caſt off thoſe Powers. One pretence was, recovering their own Liberty, which St. *Peter* notes *, the *Judaizers uſed for a Cloak of Maliciouſneſs, or Cover of Rebellion*; the Inſufficiency and Iniquity whereof is attempted to be proved and made plain to them in the Speeches of King *Agrippa* and *Joſephus* ||. But another was, *Want of God's Authority in theſe Powers*. Much troubled they were with this in our Saviour's Time, and brought it as a Queſtion of Conſcience to him ·.· *Whether it was lawful to own them?* They were more poſſeſſed with this, when St. *Paul* writ to thoſe at *Rome*; and higher ſtill, when St. *Peter* writ, being ſo generally filled therewith, as made them ready to burſt out into thoſe Commotions, in all places, which brought their Exciſion, and the final Overthrow of their City and Nation. But in Oppoſition to this, St. *Paul* tells them, *The Powers then in being were of God*, Rom. 13. 1. and *to reſiſt them would be to reſiſt the* διάταγῆ Θεῦ, *the Divine Ordinance, or Precept carrying Obedience*, which called for it as much, and as expreſly, to theſe Powers as to any the moſt *Anointed* King.

* 1 *Pet.* 2. 16.

|| *Ap. Joſ. de Bel. l.* 2. *c.* 1. *l.* 6. *c.* 11.

·.· *Matth.* 22. 17.

Thus is the Meaning of the *Commandment about Obedience to Princes, to carry Authority, and call for Obedience to rightful Powers*, or, to thoſe only, who *in abſence of divine Revelation, have legal or human Rights to their Thrones*.

And thus by *Kings*, or *Higher Powers*, and *Authorities*, in theſe Commandments muſt be meant *rightful Powers*. Yea, I add, in all Precepts towards one in a State, as towards a King, an Huſband, a Maſter, or the like, Right is ſuppoſed. The reaſon is, becauſe theſe are Things, that go by Right, and the Perſon is not veſted with the State, or it is none of his, nor can be till he has a Right to it; ſo Right is ſufficiently implied, tho' it be not mentioned. Thus, *Honour thy Father*, is, Honour thy true and real, not thy falſe and pretended Father. And, *Huſbands love your Wives*

s your own Fleſh, is your right and true Wives, not your Concubines. nd, *Wives obey your Huſbands*, is your true Huſbands, not any as they hall call ſo, as uſurping their Huſband's place, who are only nominal Huſbands, but real Adulterers. In all which Caſes Right is not only ſup- oſed, as, I ſay, it muſt be in Things that come to a Perſon by Right, but is dged ſo in the common Underſtanding of Mankind. Nay, the expreſſing he *King*, or *Huſband*, *ſimply*, without any Epithet of Diminution, is a ſuffi- ent Expreſſion of it; for the Wrong is not the Perſon, ſimply ſpeaking, but nly with a *Note of Diminution*, either expreſſed, or imply'd. As in the aſe of Kings, they are not *real Kings*, but *real Uſurpers*, and only *pre- nſed Kings*, or *Kings de Facto*, as the Phraſe and Stile of Law is *. * *Stat.* 1 *Ed.* 4. *c.* 1.

And this takes off what the Author objects †, *viz. That the Scripture akes no Exception*, or *gives no expreſs Caution againſt ſubmitting to u- rping or pretenſed Kings*; for Caution enough it gives, though not in ex- reſs Words. The Precept, of ſubmitting and keeping ſubject to Kings, is fficient Prohibition not to turn Subject to *Uſurpers*: For ſince *we cannot ve two Allegiances, or two Kings*, as he rightly obſerves ||, *we cannot be bject to both*; and therefore the ſame Scripture, *that bids every Soul be bject to the King*, forbids them to turn Subject to the Uſurper, who is t the King; which being a State that comes to one by Right, the Com- and means of the rightful Perſon. And had there been no expreſs Pro- bition in Scripture, of *Wives* adhering to an *Adulterer*, than there is of a *bject's* adhering to an Uſurper, I ſuppoſe the Author would think that fficiently forbid, when ſhe is commanded *to adhere to her own Huſband*. hy not in the other Caſe then, when Subjects are required to adhere to eir King? For Right is equally expreſſed, and equally ſuppoſed; and one to go by Right, as much as the other is. † P. 18, 19. || Pag. 14.

I add in the laſt place, That the World was in the Hand of rightful Ru- s, when the Apoſtles gave Subjects *Precepts of Obedience*. So that as the ature of the Thing admitted not, and the Uſe of Speech needed not, ſo ither did the preſent Circumſtance of Times and Perſons, prompt any ccaſion to make Exceptions. This the Author urges on the other ſide ‡, d imagines the very giving of theſe *Commands of Subjection to the Sub- ts of the* Roman *Empire*, *is little leſs than a Demonſtration*, *that they were meant only of legal rightful Powers*. But had not the *Roman* Empe- s human Rights? Yes, the Empire was ſet up by Law, when the Se- te, by joint Conſent, in open Court, devolved their Sovereign Power up- *Auguſtus* *: From which Time, by the *Lex Regia*, it became the legal overnment. And the Emperors, that ſway'd this legal Empire, *had ſome d of Conſent from the Senate*, ſays the Author himſelf ||, *extorted by ar, or Flattery, or other Arts*. I know not what he means *by ſome kind of nſent*; but this was a Conſent of the Senate, legally convened, and Sitting d Acting in open Court, and giving every Man his Vote when it was put the Vote. And ſuch a Conſent in Form, and in open Court, is that nich makes an human Right, or ſuch as the State of *Rome* had. And as Practices by Fear, or Flattery, or Hopes of Preferment, or other cor- pt Arts, they are not tied to the Senate of *Rome*, but are as liable to be d on all *Electors in Elective Kingdoms*, and *on all publick Aſſemblies*. But all this, if a Thing is Voted, and paſs in Form, it makes a legal Right; d there is no going to null the *Acts* by making ſuch Exceptions. So that the Empire was a legal Government, the Emperors, I think, were legal vernors; at leaſt thoſe Emperors under which our Saviour *Chriſt*, and *Apoſtles* gave theſe *Precepts*. ‡ P. 20. * Dio. 543. p. 570. &c. and 576. || P. 21.

But for ſo many Ages together, their Titles, he ſays †, *were all of them rk naught, or the very beſt of them very doubtful*. Why were there ſo many en that Reigned without the Consent of the Senate? No, that is not his † P. 20.

Meaning, I ſuppoſe; but only that *Numbers* of them, and ſometimes for ſeveral *Succeſſions*, ſet up and uſurped upon their *Maſters*, and came to the Empire by Rebellion, and Murder of the former *Emperors*: Theſe ways indeed were ſtark Naught. And whilſt their lawful Emperor was alive, they uſurped on him; and when he was dead, till the Senate had put an end to the Uſurpation by their Conſent, they uſurped on them; but when, by the Murder of the legal Emperor, the Senate had no Emperor, they were free to make one. And when they had conſented, and Voted this Uſurper Emperor, he would then be Rightful, and have the ſame Right, *viz. their Conſent*, as the former had. And this was the Way of theſe *Uſurpers*, when they had ſlain their *Maſters*, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the Army and Power of the Sword; they ſent to the Senate for a Title, and their Conſent gave them a Right to it; which Conſent of theirs could wrong none: Nor in an Elective Empire, had they had no Conſent, but Ruled without Right, could any Subjects have had the preſent Hindrances, to voluntary Submitting, by being under a contrary Obligation to any other Perſon.

But whatever the Emperors were over the Romans, *the* Romans *themſelves*, he ſays*, *were great Uſurpers over other Nations*; and yet theſe Scripture Commands are for having thoſe Nations keep under their Obedience. But had not theſe Nations ſubmitted, the Kings themſelves, if alive, coming into thoſe Submiſſions to the *Romans*? And ſo long as People only conſent to give up what is their Own, not what is the Right of a Third Perſon, ſuch Conſent gives an human Right. So by means of this Conſent and Submiſſion of themſelves, thoſe *Nations* gave like Right over them to the *Romans*, as the *Romans*, by their Conſent and Submiſſion, gave to the *Emperors*. And as to the *Jews* in particular, the *Romans* had not only this human Right over them, by their own Conſent and Submiſſion, but in our *Saviour*'s Days; this had ſtood for well on towards an *Hundred Years*, which gives *another Degree of human Right*, that at leaſt is a good Strengthner of the former, and that is *Preſcription*. So that Submiſſion required to the *Powers* in the *Apoſtles Days*, ſpeaks nothing but Submiſſion to a rightful King.

* *Pag.* 21.

And theſe Conſiderations, I judge, may be ſufficient to ſhow, that the Submiſſion and Obedience call'd for by the Scripture Commands, is an Obedience to rightful Powers.

But againſt this he objects ſeveral Things.

† *Pag.* 18. 1. *Firſt*, He ſays†, *The Powers which theſe Scripture Commands call for Obedience to, are the preſent Powers, without Diſtinction between rightful Kings and Uſurpers.* But to make any Perſon the *Power*, or *Authority in being*, or *the preſent Authority*, muſt imply Right. He is not the *preſent Authority*, unleſs at preſent he has it veſted in him, and it be his *Authority*; and how can it be his, but by ſome good Right, or his having a Title to it? So the preſent Power muſt be he, who at preſent has the Right to the Power: without a precedent Right to make it his, no Perſon being capable to pretend to have any Authority, which Subjects may either lawfully defend, or are bound to obey; which either God gives, or the Command means and intends, or calls for Obedience to, as has been already ſhewed. And this is enough for theſe Scriptures, which in requiring Obedience to the *preſent Powers*, require it only to the *preſent lawful Powers*: And ſuch the *Powers* were, that were then *Preſent*, or then in *Being*, who are expreſly meant therein, as I proved before.

‖ *Pag.* 21. 2. He ſays‖, *We have no Example in Scripture of any People ever blamed for ſubmitting to the preſent Uſurping Power.* Many Uſurpations indeed the Scripture mentions, particularly among the *Iſraelitiſh Kings*: But the Scriptures not blaming Peoples Submiſſion to ſuch Uſurpers, is no Proof

was without Blame; for the ſame Scriptures are ordinarily content to re-
ite, and do not blame the Uſurping Kings themſelves, for making the U-
urpation; and yet, I am ſure, this Reverend Perſon would blame them.
But it is not always blameworthy to ſubmit to Uſurpers; but only in them,
who at the ſame time are under Obligation to another's Right, or to ſubmit
o an Uſurper againſt a rightful Prince. And theſe Scripture Submiſſions
o Uſurpers were not againſt rightful Princes; for againſt whoſe Right did
he People ſubmit, or to whom elſe were they under any contrary Obliga-
on? Not to the former King, for the Uſurper had murdered him to get
to his Throne; nor to any rightful Heir, whom immediately on his Fa-
her's Death the Law made King: For the Crown of *Iſrael* was not intailed
by Law to Lineal Deſcent, and Proximity of Blood. And the ſame may
e ſaid of other Scripture Submiſſions to the *Egyptians*, *Babylonians*, *Per-
ans*, or *Romans*, or to any one elſe. The People in *Jewry*, or elſewhere,
ther ſubmitted when they had no King, nor any left, that had Kingly
ight over them; or when the Kings themſelves came together with the
eople into the Submiſſion. So theſe Submiſſions were againſt no other
erſon's Right, nor did any Third Perſon any Wrong: And therefore the
criptures might have no Cauſe to blame them; and yet have Cauſe enough
o blame others for turning Subject to an Uſurper, whilſt they have a right-
ul King of their own, to whom they are under a contrary Obligation.

3. *Our Saviour's Argument*, he ſays *, *relies wholly on Poſſeſſion*, and *the
nage and Superſcription of the Coin, if it be a good Reaſon for Submiſſion*,
ill carry as much to an Uſurper, as to the moſt rightful King, But when
ur Saviour ſhewed *Cæſar*'s Coin to the *Phariſees*, it was a good Reaſon in
heir Caſe. When the Author produces it for Submiſſion to an Uſurper
gainſt a lawful Prince, it is none in his: The reaſon is, becauſe they are
wo different Queſtions; and what is a good Anſwer to one Queſtion, need
ot to be a good Anſwer to another. The Queſtion that puzzled and ſtuck
ith the *Phariſees*, was not, *Whether they ought to be ſubject to any other*,
r no body elſe had any Pretence of Right over them, nor could they
ave any Exception to this Submiſſion, as being under a contrary Obliga-
on to any Third Perſon. But theirs was only, whether they were ſubject
o him; not only, whether his *Heathen Power* was the *Power meant in the
ommandment*; which is ſufficiently decided by our Lord's ordering *the
ues of Authority to be paid to it*; but whether it ought to be a *Power
er them*, as being an *Infringement of Jewiſh Freedom*; it was a Diſpute
etween their own Liberty, and his Authority, whether they were *Cæſar*'s
ubjects, or their own Maſters; not betwixt Submiſſion to him, as I ſay,
nd to any other more rightful Power. Now in the Queſtion, Whether
hey were their own Maſters, or *Cæſar*'s Subjects, to ſhow the Coin is a
ood Reaſon; for it ſhewed they were under his Subjection as a Token of
heir having receiv'd the *Roman* Yoke, and ſubmitted to their Power, which
ives a Right among Men; and as ſuch it was owned in the common Do-
rine of the *Jews*; their † Doctors alledging the Currency of a King's
oin, as an Evidence that his Power and Authority is received among them;
nd of this only our Lord was to give a Reaſon. But as to the preſent
aſe, of ſubmitting to an Uſurper, againſt the Right of a Third Perſon,
r a rightful King, that was not propoſed to him.

4. He ſays ||, *God commands Submiſſion to Uſurpers, and condemns Refu-
al thereof, when he commands the* Jews, *by the Prophet* Jeremiah, *to ſubmit
o the* Babylonians. This, by *Jeremiah*, he thinks ‡, was an *Expreſs Com-
and from God to be ſubject to the King of* Babylon. If ſo, I cannot un-
erſtand what ſort of Uſurper the *King of Babylon* was; for if God by a
rophet expreſly commands, that they ſhall be his Subjects, he expreſly
ommands withal, that he ſhall be their King. And when he is King by

* *Pag.* 21.

† *Vid. Lightf. Hor. in Mat.* 22. 20.

|| *Pag.* 21.

‡ *Ibid.*

Divine expreſs Command, which is the ſame as by *Divine expreſs Nomination*; which we both agree, is the beſt Right and Title, whereby any Prince can hold his Throne, and ſo muſt abſolutely exclude all Charge of *Uſurpation*.

Beſides, what ſort of Uſurper will he make *Nebuchadnezzar*, *before this Command?* Had not all, both King and People, before this, ſubmitted and given up themſelves to him? Nay, even the King himſelf, *Zedekiah* by Name, had accepted the Crown from him, and had *taken an Oath of Fealty and Allegiance to him*, and had *broken that Oath*, in hopes of *Succour from* Egypt; for which he is ſo ſeverely threatned by God, *Ezek.* 17. *And this breach of Oath, and Rebellion againſt his Liege Lord the King of* Babylon, was the very Thing, that brought the *Babylonian* to beſiege *Jeruſalem*, when *Jeremiah* came from God, to bid the *Jews* under *Zedekiah* to ſubmit to him, *Jer.* 21. Juſtly, therefore, might God condemn *Zedekiah* and the *Jews*, for ſtanding out againſt the *King of Babylon*; which was only to condemn Subjects for ſtanding out againſt their King.

I add, That as to *Jeremiah*'s *Propheſies*, they were *Predictions of Events*, and of the final Succeſs of the *Babylonians*, either againſt the *Jews*, or other Nations; and ſo were Warnings to all that would believe the Prophet, to prevent Extremities by early Subminiſſions, and to compound and make good Terms for themſelves. And the great Offence of any People, ſo far as concerns theſe Predictions, ſetting aſide what might concern them any otherwiſe, as they were his Subjects before, was *Diſbelief of God's Prophet, and hearkning to falſe Prophets againſt God*; which in the Event would be its own Puniſhment, when *they ſhould be carried away by ſtanding out, who might have ſtayed in their own Land, had they believed God, and ſubmitted as he directed*, Jer. 27. 9, 10, 11.

5. Laſtly, *If Allegiance muſt only go to rightful Powers*, they who are to obey, will be concerned to underſtand who is the Right; and *this*, he thinks *, *would be ſuch a Perplexity of Conſcience, as God never deſigns, eſpecially in Duties that concern all Perſons.*

* *Pag.* 19, 20. 2.

But now this *Perplexity of Conſcience is not confined to the Right of Princes*, but is common to all Rights, *either of Princes*, or of *private Perſons*. For if their Conſcience *is tied up to a private Right, there is the ſame Neceſſity of being able to judge between a pretended and real Right, and of knowing exactly what gives a real Right, that they may not miſplace the payment of it*; which are the Difficulties of Conſcience he mentions †, in giving a Prince his Right. And *yet, for all theſe Perplexities*, 'tis plain God has bound all Mens *Conſciences* to ſuch *Right*, elſe they would not be bound in Conſcience to give every *Man his Due, or to be Righteous*; *other Duties alſo are as liable to theſe Perplexities, as Right is. Idolatry* concerns all Mens Conſciences, and particularly the *Worſhip of Images, againſt the Firſt, and Second Commandments. And are not all Mens Conſciences as liable to be perplexed in underſtanding what Idolatry is, and what is an Idolatrous Image, and what an Idolatrous Worſhip thereof; and are not as perplexed Diſputes raiſed about them, betwixt us and the Papiſts, as any that are liable to be raiſed about Rights? Lying concerns all Mens Conſciences: And may not Mens Conſciences be ſufficiently perplexed in enquiring, what makes the Evil of a Lye, and how far Men are obliged, and how they came to be ſo, to uſe Words in ſuch a certain Senſe; to know when they do, and when they do not tell thoſe Lyes, which are againſt Conſcience? And the like Perplexities are liable to be ſtarted about Oaths, and Sabbaths, and Gvernment, and Property, and Adultery*, that is, *about all the Commandments. And yet, for all this liableneſs to ſuch Perplexities*, God has made them all, *to be Matter of Conſcience to all Men.* So that this is no more an Argument

† *Pag.* 19.

againſt

againſt our Conſciences being bound to the Rights of Princes, than againſt their being bound to any other Thing.

The Truth of the Caſe is, as I conceive, there is a plain underſtanding of the Things themſelves, and that is obvious. But there is a ſeeking to underſtand further, by ſearching into Grounds and Reaſons, and that is full of Perplexities. The firſt Way of Underſtanding is, the Way of plain Minds; the latter of nice Wits, and Philoſophers. And Men generally underſtand the firſt Way, whilſt they are willing to do a Duty; but they then more eſpecially ſet their Wits to underſtand the latter Way, when they are unwilling to do it, and fall a turning every Stone to evade it. And thus, I think, all the foreſaid Duties are plain to all Men, who would take them in a plain and obvious Underſtanding, as Men willing to do them; and all will be perplexed when they come to be diſputed and ſpun out into Niceties, by learned Men, when they grow uneaſy under, and ſtudy to avoid them. And, I think, one ſhall hear no Complaint of the perplexedneſs of any of the foreſaid Moral Duties, till diſputing Wits came to perplex, and meddle in them.

Particularly, as to the *Right of Princes*. I ſee not, but that is as plain as the *Right of a private Perſon*. They have as plain a Way among us of coming to have Right, as any private Perſon; for it is the very ſame, *viz.* *Proximity of Blood*, or *Lineal Deſcent*, by inheriting from their Fathers, or Predeceſſors. And do not other Men, in every Neighbourhood, come the ſame way by their Eſtate? So that in ordinary Courſe, they may as eaſily know their Prince's Right, as their own Right, or their Neighbour's Right: And then they may as eaſily know how to do him Right, as how to do them Right. And who ſhould have the Crown after him, is as well known, as who ſhould have their own Eſtate of Inheritance after them. 'Tis as eaſy to know who is the King's Heir, as who is their own, or their Landlord's Heir: For the King's Children are more notorious, or better known, and the Ages of them, than the Children of any private Perſon. Sometimes, I grant, a Diſpute may be raiſed about them; and all Diſputes bring on Allegations to ſerve turns, and will perplex any Thing. But may not the ſame be raiſed concerning any private Right, or any other Thing? So their Rights are knowable, as any private Perſons in all ordinary Courſe, and liable only, as theſe are, by accident to be perplexed by contingent Diſputes; and therefore one is no harder upon the Conſcience, for ought I ſee, than the other is.

But were it their Duty *to ſubmit only to him that has Right*, they could not *diſcharge that Duty*, he ſays ‖, or underſtand the Prince to be Right who claims it, without turning over *the Laws and Hiſtory of a Nation*, and *being well ſkilled in them*. But cannot a Man that knows neither Law nor Hiſtory, know the next in Blood to the former King, has the Right to the *Engliſh* Crown? This is known by the general Conſent and Acknowledgement of Men in all parts of the Realm. And if a Man is not Book-learned, ſuch a Traditionary Knowledge of the Law in that point is enough for him. So that thus far he may eaſily ſatisfy himſelf, *viz.* *who is the rightful King, according to the preſent received Way of Succeeding.*

‖ P. 2, 19.

But whether this has always given Right, and was formerly the Way, muſt depend on *Hiſtory*, unleſs the Government had begun within Memory of Man, and were but of Yeſterday. But the ſame Queſtion muſt do ſo of any other Thing, that begun long ago. And in particular, all the Truths and Duties of our Holy Religion are much older than our Government. And if any one is not content to take any of them, as he finds them now at preſent in the Holy Scriptures, and the Practice and Profeſſion of the Church, ſhall make a Queſtion whether they were held and practiced in all ancient Time; this would lead us, and doth lead the Diſputants of

of all Parties into another kind of Hiſtorical Search than this which he ſpeaks of, into our *Laws* and *Chronicles*. And yet, for all ſuch a Queſtion, about the Reception of them in Times paſt, would draw on ſuch an Hiſtorical Search, the Author very well knows, That all theſe Duties are bound by God on all Men's Conſciences.

And now, by all that has been ſaid on this Point, I think it may ſufficiently appear, That if God doth not fix it in a Perſon, by ſpecial Revelation, Civil Authority muſt go by human Right. Right is inſeparable from it, in the Nature of Things, in the Gift of God, in the Suppoſal and Intention of the Commandments, that carry it, and call for Obedience to it. So that he who has no good Right to it, has no Authority; but he who has the Right to it, has the Authority, which the Commands of God require us to bear Allegiance, and keep Subject to.

And all this is agreeable to that Scripture, and Common Reaſon, which tells us, that no Man can put himſelf into Authority. *No Man takes this Honour to himſelf, but muſt be called to it*, ſays St. *Paul*, *Heb.* 5. 4, 5. ſpeaking of the Paſtoral or Prieſtly Authority, which is God's Authority, as the Civil is. And Civil Magiſtrates, when Obedience is called for to them, are likewiſe ſtiled, *God's Miniſters*, *Rom.* 13. 4, all the Authority they have over others, being as his *Deputies* and *Vicegerents*. Authority then no Man can have, but by being rightfully deputed and called to it, or having it duly committed to him. *By what Authority doſt thou theſe things, and who gave thee this Authority* *, is a Queſtion moſt natural to be put to every ſuch Perſon, and muſt be anſwered, by ſhewing ſome good Call and Commiſſion. Now this calling a Man to Authority, and Deputation of God, muſt be by ſome Title of Right, or rightful Way, not by thruſting himſelf into it, which is ſetting up uncall'd; and if a Man puts himſelf upon it, without being call'd thereto, and aſſumes it without any Title of Right, he only puts himſelf in Commiſſion, which is no Commiſſion. And as his Commiſſion is from himſelf, his Authority is ſo too. So ſuch a Man will only be a King of his own making; but there is no Authority of God derived to him, nor Call of his, to carry it, or authorize him. And therefore what he doth require, muſt be in regard to himſelf, and not to God; who having never Commiſſioned, or rightfully Called him, calls not the People to obey him.

* *Matth.* 21. 23.

The like I might alſo add of *our own Laws*, which make the *Regal Authority* to go with the *Legal Right*, and veſt it in the Perſon that has the Right, and that when another has diſpoſſeſſed him, and got the Poſſeſſion from him. Thus Q. *Mary* having the Right, the Statute declares the Regal Authority to have been veſted in her Perſon, during all the Poſſeſſion of Q. *Jane*. And in *Richard* II. during the Poſſeſſion of *Henry* IV. And in the right Heir by *Henry* VIII. Settlement, during the Poſſeſſion of the Uſurper. Under all which, he that had the Right, in the Eye of Law had the Authority: And ſuch Acts againſt Authority, as the Law calls Treaſon, were declared to be Treaſon againſt them. As it was alſo in K. *Charles* I. who, keeping his Legal Right, kept his Authority, when he ſtood diſpoſſeſſed of all beſides, before the *High Court of Juſtice*. As K. *Charles* II. alſo did afterwards, all the Time he was driven out, and lived an Exile, as I formerly obſerved *Chap.* 2.

But the Author thinks, (*p.* 14, 15, 65.) *He that is in Poſſeſſion of the Crown, tho' without Legal Right, is King in the Eye of the Law*; and *he that is turned out of Poſſeſſion, tho' he has Legal Right, is not King in the Eye of Law. He ought*, as he words it, *by the Laws of the Land, to be King, but is not.*

As for the Poſſeſſor *without Right*, I will tell him what kind of King in my Opinion, the Law counts him. If he were a Subject before, it look

upon him, in the heighth of his uſurped Poſſeſſion, to be ſtill a Subject to him that has the Right, and is diſpoſſeſſed of it; and, as a Subject, to owe Faith and Allegiance to him: To break that Faith, in acting againſt him, to be triable by Law, and attaintable as a Traitor, and puniſhable for the ſame. All which is plain, from the Inſtances of *Henry* IV. of *the uſurping Heirs of Henry* VIII. and of *Queen Jane*. And in the ſeveral *Mutual Attainders*, during the Conteſts betwixt the *Two Houſes*; in which, tho' every King ſerved himſelf of Law, on pretence of having Right in his own Reign; yet when, on any Turn, the Law came to look upon him as wanting Right, and only as an Uſurper, or King in Fact; it ſtill Treated, and Tried, and Attainted him as a Subject. Here then, if ſuch an one be a King, in the Eye of Law, is he a *Subject*, *Traiterous*, *Triable*, *Puniſhable* King? And whether this, in the Eye of Law, is the true Sovereign, or the ſupream and unaccountable King, I leave him to judge.

And as for him that has Right, who, as he fancies, in the Eye of Law is *no King*; he is ſuch a No-King, as, in the Eye of Law, has the Regal Authority, as I have ſhown, ſtill veſted in him; as has Allegiance, by Law, due to him; and Treaſon, by Law, committable againſt him. As plain from Q. *Mary*, K. *Charles* the *Firſt* and *Second*, and all the foreited Inſtances; and will be further, from what I ſhall note from Law, of the Dueneſs of Allegiance to a diſpoſſeſſed Prince. And how ſuch an one, whom the Law veſts with the Authority of a King, and to whom it gives the Allegiance due to a King, and againſt whom it makes Treaſon, as againſt a King; ſhould yet, for all this, in the Eye of Law, be no King, I cannot imagine.

Though, therefore, I cannot ſay, That *Allegiance is due only to Right*, as the Author words it, *p.* 1. which I think not ſo well expreſſed; yet *is only due to him that has the Right.* Allegiance is due to Authority; and, in abſence of Revelation, by the Laws both of God and Men, Authority muſt go by human Right. So that he only, that has human Right to the Authority, is to have the Authority, and, by vertue of that, the Allegiance too. And therefore the Queſtion of *Legal Right* muſt come into this diſpute of *transferring Allegiance*, I conceive, ſince it muſt not be paid from him that has, or paid againſt him to another that has not Right; and there is no way left to juſtify ſuch Tranſlation of Allegiance without it. And if what I have offered hereupon has proved this Point, I think it ſtrikes home to the main Deſign of this Learned Perſon's Book.

And this will ſhow him why, when a rightful Prince is Diſpoſſeſſed, *the Government cannot be ſettled under the wrongful Poſſeſſor, unleſs he that has the Right ſubmit*; and ſo by his Conſent, come in to make the Settlement. *For this*, ſays he *, *I would very gladly hear a good Reaſon.* I will tell him what I think a very good one. This Settlement of a Government is a Settlement of a Man in Authority. And without Right there is no having, and ſo no ſettling of a Man's ſelf in any Authority. So the Poſſeſſor muſt get Right before he can come to this Settlement. And if the ejected Prince has this Right, he muſt have it of him; for he muſt have it where it is to be had. And if he has it of him, he muſt have it by his Conſent; for it's a Man's own Will and Conſent that gives away his Right; and thus his Conſent comes to be neceſſary to ſuch Settlement. And the People's Conſent and Submiſſion cannot ſettle the Poſſeſſor without him, becauſe it cannot give Right to the Authority, which the Caſe ſuppoſes they have not in themſelves, but the ejected Prince has. And as this is the Truth of the Caſe; ſo, I think, I ſhall ſhow him it was the Meaning of the *Invocation*, who take in *Right into their thorough Settlement*, when I come to conſider what he has offered on that Point.

* *Pag.* 9.

Having

Having thus ſhewed, *That, in abſence of Divine Nomination, Civil Authority is to go by human Right*; I will here add ſomething briefly in the

IV. *Fourth* Place, *Of thoſe Ways of human Right which are to convey it.*

Now what Right Men make, their Conſent makes. When they give a Thing, it is their own Will that gives it. A Thing is their own, when they may diſpoſe of it as they will; ſo their Will muſt part with it: And when they have conſented that another ſhall have it, they have parted therewith, and transferred their own Power of Diſpoſal on him, or given him a Right to it.

What God has left to Men, is not to give Authority; that contains a Power of Life and Death, which they have not over themſelves, and is to reach and lay Obligation on the Conſcience, which they are not Lords of; but the Authority is God's, and he muſt give what is his: Whence they are called * *Gods*, and *God's Vicegerents* and *Miniſters*, as Men Commiſſioned by him, and bearing his Authority, and ſtanding in his Place. And this Authority is derived from God in his Command, which authorizes Princes, and obliges Subjects, as was before Diſcourſed.

* *Exod.* 22. 28. *Pſ.* 82. 1, 6. *Rom.* 13. 4, 6.

But he has left them to agree upon the Form, after what Way it ſhall be Adminiſtred, and to appoint the Perſon who is to have it, or to give him a Right and Title to it, which will make it his Authority: It cannot be exercíſed, unleſs ſome Perſon have it; and it cannot be had without ſome Right and Title to it; and this more eſpecially ſince the ceaſing of the *Patriarchial* Government, God has left Men to give. And their Way of giving it, or any thing elſe, which is in their Power, is by their own Conſent, either carried in their Laws and legal Conſtitution; for Laws ſpeak the Conſent of thoſe concerned in them; or in their Submiſſions, and that is Conſent too to thoſe who have Conquered them.

1. The Firſt is a *Legal Right*, or what the Laws of any Nation make to be a Title to the Crown; whether it be *Proximity of Blood*, and *Courſe of Deſcent*, as in Hereditary Kingdoms appropriate in ſome places to the Males; or common in others to Females, in want of Male Heirs; or it be the *Election* of thoſe, who are empowered by Law to chuſe a King, as it is in *Elective Kingdoms*, and was anciently the Way in the *Empire of Rome*; or whatever elſe that gives Title to the Sovereign Power, by the National Conſtitution. And this legal Right puts Men in Power, in a quiet and peaceable Courſe of Things, when a Nation are left to themſelves, and to the Power and Direction of their own Laws.

2. The latter, *viz.* Submiſſion of a People, left without a King, or of King and People, to thoſe who have Conquered them; I call, for Diſtinction, by the more general Name of an *human Right*. 'Tis not the particular Way of giving Right, by the Way of their Nation, which is a limited Way of conſenting, and giving Right among them; but it is Conſent too, which is the general Way of giving Right among Men. And Mens Conſent does give what they have to give up, tho' they do not conſent in ſuch or ſuch a Method.

Not that meer Force, or Conqueſt it ſelf, gives Right; for Right is no more to be taken by Force, than Authority is; but the Conſent and Submiſſion of thoſe who are Conquered, may give it to him who Conquered them. Till they ſubmit to be ſubject to him as King, he has only Force, but no Authority over them: But their Conſent and Submiſſion, when it comes, can give him all that depends on them, that is a Title to Rule over them. When Law makes a King, Conſent carried in Law, gives the Right to him. And why ſhould not Conſent, without Law do the ſame?

But *this*, ſays the Author, (*p.* 24.) *is only a forced and after Conſent.* As for its being *after*, it is after the Conqueſt, but it is not after the Right; for not the Conqueſt, but Conſent makes the Right: And Conſent will give him what it has to give him, whether after or before he Conquered them. And as to its being *forced*, it was not ſo forced, but if they had preferred their Liberty before other Conveniencies, they might have refuſed it; tho' in Love of Liberty, and on other Accounts, they were loath to come under it. But, tho' they do come unwillingly to it, conſent they do, and chuſe to ſubmit at laſt. And this, tho' not wholly free, but on Conſideration to prevent a worſe Thing, is yet ſo much Freedom, as transfers Things among Men, and makes an human Right. For how many Things do Men part withal, as driven by Neceſſities and Conſiderations, much againſt their Wills; but ſtill, at laſt conſenting, that parts with their Right to them. In Treaties, at the ſhutting up of Wars, do not the weaker Princes uſually conſent to Things much againſt their Wills? Yet ſuch Conceſſions confeſſedly convey human Rights. And was it not much againſt the Grain, when the Jewiſh Kings ſubmitted to hold of *Nebuchadnezzar*? particularly when *Zedekiah* received the Crown from him, and promiſed Allegiance upon Oath: Had he not much rather have held the ſame independent, and have received it from his Anceſtors, in Way of Inheritance? Yet this Submiſſion and Oath gave *Nebuchadnezzar* a Right; and God accounts *Zedekiah* as very unrighteous, and puniſhed him accordingly for breaking it. And ſuch an human Right all National Submiſſions gave to the *Four Monarchies*, and other Conquerors, either over the *Jews*, or over other Nations.

3. Another Way there is of giving Right by *Submiſſion*, and that is not expreſs, but *Preſumptive*, *viz.* when he that has it omits to make any Claim of it ſo long, till all conclude he has given it up; which, I conceive, is the Right of *Preſcription*. A Man's Right muſt affect all concerned to do him Right, if he ſtands upon it; but if he never ſhews he ſtands upon it, the Preſumption of Mankind comes to conclude at laſt, that he is willing to let it fall, or give it up: Even by our own Law Men may loſe Things, by neglecting to claim them in ſome reaſonable Time, which the Law conſtrues a *Relinquiſhment* of them. And this giving it up, by ſeeming to do viſibly in never claiming it, gives that ſort of human Right among Men, called *Preſcription*. Not that *Wrong grows Right by Continuance*, as the Author objects ||; but what makes it a Right is the other's Conſent, or Relinquiſhment, notified ſufficiently, as Men preſume, by his never making Claim thereof. And if he that has the Right to a Crown will relinquiſh it, the Submiſſion of the People is enough to give the Poſſeſſor a Right to it. And tho' this Preſcription is not always allowed againſt the rightful King, by the Laws of particular Nations; as the Duke of *York* pleaded, it was not to bar his Title by our own Laws *, when he claimed his Right againſt *Henry the Sixth*: Yet where it is left to that, and is not by any National Proviſions otherwiſe excepted, it is thought to do ſo in common human Eſtimate, and is made to give an human Right; or, however, it is a good Strengthner of the former, when the Conſent and Submiſſions were expreſs before.

|| *Pag.* 24.

* *Rot. Par.* 39. *H.* 6. *n.* 16.

Such as theſe are the Ways of any Perſon's having, or getting a Right to a Throne; either a legal Right, when the Crown is given him by the particular Laws of the Nation, or a more general ſort of Right, by the Conſent and Submiſſion of thoſe who are ſubject to him, and own no other to have Right over them; which is ſtill the more confirmed, the oftner this Conſent is repeated; and the longer it is continued, till Time has made it a Preſcription; as the Power of the Emperors was over the *Jews*, in the Days of *Chriſt*, and his *Apoſtles*. And in Abſence of *Divine Nomination*, the human Rights thereto are to put all Perſons into any Authority, that they

may be the *Father*, or *Higher Power*, which the Commandments require us to be ſubject to.

And this may ſhew ſufficiently, how by this Plea of a *meer King de Facto without Right*, the Difficulties againſt the Allegiance in Debate from the *Fifth* Commandment will ſtill continue, as well as thoſe from the other Commandments. If an ejected King be allowed to have the Right, all the Laws of Obedience, for ought I ſee, are like to go with the Right. So by this Suppoſition, ſuch transferring of Allegiance, would be a moſt open Undutifulneſs againſt the Call of that Precept.

CHAP. IV.

Obedience to rightful Authority, not tied to actual Adminiſtration of Government.

HAving thus cleared the *firſt* Point, *That Authority is to go by Human Right*; I now proceed to the *ſecond*, viz. to ſhow, *That Obedience is due to Authority*, and not meerly to the *actual Exerciſe thereof*, or to *Adminiſtration of Government*.

P. 26, 27, 28, 32. & 15, 16, 21. *The Duty of Subjects*, he thinks, *is only to ſubmit to a Prince, when he actually adminiſters*. If he doth not actually adminiſter, *Obedience*, in his Notion, *is not his right*; nor is *paying that Obedience, to him who doth actually Govern, giving away his Right*; *Obedience and Submiſſion being due to him only whilſt he is in Poſſeſſion of the Throne*. And this is another main Point which he ſtill ſuppoſes and builds on.

But as he who has the Right may appear, from what is already ſaid, to have the Authority, I ſhall now ſhow, *That he who has the Authority, muſt have the Duty and Allegiance which the Commandments call for to the Authority*; *and that, whether he be in Place to exerciſe it, or no.*

Indeed, when he cannot exerciſe his Authority, Subjects cannot obey or diſobey an ejected Prince, in that Exerciſe. As for Inſtance, They cannot obey him in his due Proclamations, or legal Commands, when he can iſſue out none; nor in Courts and Officers, when they do not proceed in his Name, or act by any Commiſſion from him, unleſs, according to the Opinion of ſome, for the Maintenance and Courſe of Juſtice, he may be thought and ſhown to derive ſome Authority to them, which I leave others to determine. But the main of Obedience is, *keeping under Obedience*, or owning the Authority of his Perſon, and our own Subjection and Obligation to him: and there is no Breach of Obedience, like to that of caſting off all Obedience. To diſobey him in any particular Act of exerciſing his Authority, is only ill, as it is an Infringement and Violation of the Authority of his Perſon; and to throw off all Obedience, is an utter Abolition and abſolute Denial thereof. The former may be the Offence of a Subject; but the latter, of one that owes no Subjection. When a Man only diſobeys him in exerciſing his Authority, tho' he diſobeys him in one Thing, he may be ready to obey him in every other Thing: But when he throws off his Authority, and Obedience itſelf, from that time he is for obeying him in nothing at all.

* *Pag.* 26. Tho' therefore, as he ſays *, *there is no Duty Subjects owe to Princes, as Subjects, but to obey them*; yet is there Obedience to thoſe that cannot actually Govern, and room enough for Subjects to diſobey them: Not to diſobe-

disobey them in actual Government, but what is worse than that. To act ny thing hurtful or prejudicial to their Persons, Interests, or Authorities, s highly to disobey, if it be any part of due Obedience affectionately to erve and support them. And to throw off all Obedience, and turn Sub- ect to another Person, is the height of Disobedience; such disclaiming of ll Allegiance and Subjection, being that which makes open Rebellion to e so much a more heinous Disobedience, than breaking of a single Law or roclamation.

Now this Obedience, or *keeping under Obedience*, and being ready to ay it actually, as we can, is due to the Authority, and inseperably follows ; and so to him that has the Authority, whether he be in Possession, or lace to exercise it, or no.

This, I think, may sufficiently appear, from these following Considera- ons.

1. From the *Nature of Authority*; which, as I formerly observed, is to y Obligation, and that upon the Consciences of Men. Authority is no uthority, unless it oblige; and what is Authority to oblige to, but Obe- ence? And it must needs be a very strange sort of Authority, which very one is free in Conscience to despise, and no body is bound to obey. that, leave any Man Authority, and in the Nature of Things, you leave due Obedience to it also.

2. From its being *God's Authority*. It is a plain Case, God's Authority ust have always something Due, that is, Obedience due to it. If you uld suppose no Obedience due to God's Authority, you may suppose no bedience due to God himself; for all the Obedience due to him, is upon e Account of his Authority: and therefore leave any Person vested in od's Authority, and there is no need of any thing more, for Obedience immediately his Due.

3. From the *Commands requiring Obedience*, which fix it to the Autho- y. *Honour thy Father, be Subject to the Higher Powers, Obey Magistrates.* e that has the Father's Authority, is without more ado the Father: and that has the Higher Powers, or Prince's Authority, is the Prince; for s the Regal Authority, that makes him King or Prince. And make him ce the Father, or the Prince, as the Authority immediately doth, and ese Precepts ask no more, for the Obedience they require.

Accordingly, in all Authorities, this Obedience is kept on payable and e, whether they are under the Exercise of the Authority, or no. What ercise doth a Wife, or Family, receive of an Husband's, or Father's, or ster's Authority, when he is beyond the Seas? which will put a stop to ual Government and Communication, as much between them, I suppose, between a Prince and his Subjects. And yet all these, tho' they cannot ey their Relatives in the Exercise of their Authority, whilst there is, or be no Exercise of it, are still bound to keep under their Obedience, and in what they can for their Authority and Interests; and would shew mselves very Undutiful and Disobedient to them, should they, in their sence, act any Thing directly against their Authority, Persons, or Inte- sts; especially should they go to disclaim and cast off their Authority over m, or go to transfer and fix that Authority in another, tho' thought by m a more deserving Person.

But as to these Precepts, he says, *He is sure the only direction of Scripture,* P. 21. *to submit to those, who are in the actual Administration of Government.* w is he sure of that? One Scripture bids, *Honour the Father*, another, *ey the* Ἐξουσία, i. e. *Authority*, or *Higher Power*; and so in other Authori- . And yet these Names of *Father*, *Higher Power*, *Husband*, *Master*, to om they direct this Obedience, speak only Authority, not Exercise. d Authority, as I have shewn, may reside and remain in them, who

for the present do not, or cannot exercise it: and, I think, he may be sure, and according to Scripture too, that the very Nature of *Authority* binds to Obedience; and that God's Authority will challenge it, without looking further to actual Exercise, or to any Thing else: and accordingly it has claimed a dutiful Regard to Persons in their worst Circumstances, as to *Saul* when he, on *Mount Gilboa*, fled from the *Philistines*; and *David*, when he left the Administration to save himself by Flight from *Absalom*, as I observed above, in Case of the *Amalekites*, and *Shimei*'s Carriage towards them.

Indeed, all Authority is given to be exercised, and will be so, if Men will suffer those that have it to exercise it; and Obedience is due to that Exercise, and to the Exercisers thereof: and Obedience is called for in Scripture, to such Exercise of Authority, and to those that Exercise it, particularly by St. *Paul*, who design'd to make all Christians sensible, not only in general, of their Obligation to Authority, but particularly to the then present Administration of Authority, and to those who at that time Exercised it; the Obeying of whom the Judaizers questioned. So that in Precepts about Authority, 'tis no wonder to find mention, or reference to Exercise of Authority, since all Authority is given to be Exercised, and always is so when it will be allowed; and is always to be Obeyed when 'tis Exercised: and the Publishers of these Precepts, had not only a design to teach Obedience to future Authority, but to those that then were, and were actually Exercising it in the World. But many times they bid them only to obey the *Authority*, without any mention of Exercise; and the Obedience to this Exercise is, because 'tis the Exercise of *Authority*. So *Authority* is the Ground and Reason of the Obedience; and then it will claim Obedience, whether a Man has a free Liberty to exercise it, or is kept from it.

4. From *the Reason of the Duteness of Obedience, to such Administration and Exercise.* Obedience is not due to it, because it is Exercise of Government, but because it is Exercise of Authority in him that Governs. If he has no Authority, tho' he may exercise the Acts of Government, yet he doth not exercise *Authority*; for if a Man hath not *Authority*, he cannot exercise it; if a Man has not *Authority*, he ought not to exercise the Acts of Government; but if he has got Possession of External Strength into his Hands, he may exercise the Acts of Government, tho', for want of *Authority* to do it withal, he ought not. But in all those Acts, being not possessed of *Authority*, he must Act, I think, without *Authority*, and cannot exercise it before he have got it; and when this Exercise of Government and *Authority* are thus seperated, What Obedience is due to it? The Scripture
Rom. 13. 1. plainly bid us be *Subject to Authority*. And all *Conscience of Obedience*,
P. 5. must be in regard to *God's Authority*. And *Allegiance*, as the Author says,
P. 15. 34. *is due only to God's Authority*; and therefore none can be due to him, who has not that *Authority*; as none is for that Reason, as he observes *to Thieves and Pirates*, when they have got Power over any Persons. So that let a Man assume the Place, and exercise the Acts of Government, yet that claims no Obedience, if he has no *Authority* to govern: and whenever the Acts of Government are obeyed, 'tis because of his *Authority* that doth those Acts; so that the Person's *Authority* is the true Ground of all Obedience. And if it be only for the sake of *Authority*, that any Thing else must be obeyed, it would be a Riddle indeed, if there should be none due to *Authority* itself; which would be to make that, which gives all claim to Obedience, to have no claim thereto.

5. From *the Obedience due to the Authority of Governors in unauthorized Acts.* The Author, I am sure, will own that a King may retain his *Authority*, even when he acts illegally; and that Subjects owe him Obedience
even

even under such illegal Actings; else there were no *Passive Obedience* due to Kings breaking Laws. But now, to what *Authority* is this Obedience due, to *Authority* in the Exercise, or in these Acts of Government? No, in these actings against Law, he doth not exercise his *Authority*, having no Commission to do thus, or to tie up any Man's Conscience, the effect of *Authority*, to do what he Illegally enjoins him, but acts without, and against it. To what *Authority* is it due then? For all Obedience must be due to some *Authority*. 'Tis due to that *Authority* in his Person, which he doth not exercise by such Illegal acting. And this Inherent and Unexercised *Authority* claims Obedience to him, even at such time; that is, to keep under his Obedience, and not cast it off, and rebel against him.

And the same may be said in case of all other *Misuse of Authority*; for few Mens Principles of Obedience are so loose, but they will own it to be still due to ill Kings and Governors, who abuse their *Authority*; and 'tis strange any Man should believe otherwise, that believes the Scriptures. But now do not I see, why *Authority* may not have *Obedience* due to it when it is not used, as well as when it is misused; for what binding Force should there be in misuse? To my Mind nothing is ever the better for being misused: and if Misuse can add nothing to it, nor lend it any Force whereby to hold the Conscience, I fancy it may bind as strongly to *Obedience*, when it cannot be used at all.

6. This confining *Obedience* to actual *Exercise* and *Administration* of Government, *is to make actual Protection*, or *Administration the Condition of it.* And this will make a Conditionality in the Duty of Relatives, as Protection of Kings, and Obedience of Subjects are. One will be bound to obey, if the other doth protect, and so far, and so long as he doth actually protect; which he always doth most, whose Administration is justest and keeps closest to the Laws, which are the Cover, or Protection, they seek and expect, who live under a limited and legal Government. And this way, according to their keeping, or degrees in keeping the Condition, there would be one *Obedience* due to a Protecting, and another, or sometimes none at all, to an Oppressive King; one *Obedience* to a King in his good Days, and another in his bad ones; and not one and the same, according to the Scripture Precepts, which neither make nor admit of such Distinctions to all, and at all times: and like would be the Consequences thereof, in the Duties of other Relations. The performance of one being the Condition of performing in the other; when one breaks, the Bond is broke on both, and no Tie left on either. Whereas, tho' the Persons are Relatives, yet in all these States, the Duties on each Side are Absolute; which one is bound in Conscience to perform, whether the other do or no.

The Author says, *Though Protection and Allegiance are not Relatives,* P. 42, 43. yet *Government* (meaning actual Government) *and Allegiance are such Relatives, as do* se mutuo ponere & tollere, *or infer or remove each other mutually. And to extend Allegiance beyond actual Administration of Government, is to preserve a Relative without its Correlate.*

The difference between Protection and actual Government is only this, That actual Government is wider, and takes in either actual Protecting, or Oppressing; whereas, *Protecting*, he there makes to be *Administring justly, and by Laws*, and opposes to *Oppressing*. Now *Allegiance* is the Act of the Subject, as *actual Government* and *Protection* are of the Prince. *Allegiance* is the Subject's Act, only keeping his Duty; as *Protection* is of the King, keeping to his Duty. But *actual Government*, taking in both *Protecting* and *Oppressing*, is the *Act* of the King, either keeping or breaking his Duty. Now, if *Allegiance*, which is only the Subject's keeping, must not be related to *Protection*, which is the King's keeping, but to *actual Government*, which is either his keeping or breaking his Duty; methinks these Relatives

are

are ill match'd, and look as if they were not akin. And if *Allegiance* relate to any thing, ſince it is only the Act of the Subject keeping, it ſhould relate to *Protection*, which is the Act of the King keeping his Duty. And if his other Act of Government, or *Oppreſſing*, muſt have any Relative, it ſhould be their *Breach of Allegiance*, which is to break with him, as he doth with them. For as Performance anſwers to Performance, ſo ſhould Breach to Breach, I imagine, in Likeneſs and Relation.

But theſe Acts, on either ſide, are not Relatives, or Correlatives to one another, tho' the Perſons are. The Acts are the Acts of their ſeveral Duties on both ſides; and thoſe Duties are abſolute, which each muſt perform, without any Regard to the other's Performance: Otherwiſe there is no Duty from a good Wife to a bad Huſband, or from a good Child to a bad Parent; more than from a good Subject to an ill King. And yet, That ſuch Duty there is toward them, is as certain a Rule in Morality and Religion, as that he mentions about *Relata* is in *Logick*. The Relation is between the Perſons, not between the Acts and Offices; which are called Relative Duties, tho' in their Obligation they be Abſolute, only becauſe they are Duties of Perſons that ſtand mutually related. And in the Perſons his Rule is true; *Take away one Relative Perſon, and you break the Relation; and without its Correlate, the Relative cannot remain.*

But *if the Prince cannot Govern*, ſaith he, (*p.* 42.) *the Subject cannot Obey.* True, he cannot obey actual Government, when he cannot have it; but he may keep under the Obedience of his Governor, and obey it as he can, as I ſhewed before, till the Governor's Authority is gone, or his Government comes to be actual again.

By all theſe Reaſons, I think it may ſufficiently appear, That the Obedience ſhewn before to be due to rightful Authority, is not tied to the Exerciſe and Adminiſtration thereof; nor to follow Adminiſtration of Government, without rightful Authority; but is the Due of the Authority, whether the Perſon having and claiming it, be in Place and Poſſeſſion, to exerciſe his Authority, or no.

7. And for further Confirmation of all this, I ſhall, to all the foregoing Proofs, from the Nature and Reaſon of Things, and Scriptures, in the Seventh place, add a Proof of the ſame, which I think will be a good Proof among all *Engliſhmen*, in a Caſe of Allegiance required by Law, and that is, *from our own Laws.*

Now, That Obedience, in the Eye of our Law, is due to *Rightful Authority in a diſpoſſeſſed King*, is plain, becauſe in the Eye of Law Subjects may criminally diſobey him. If they ought him no Obedience, they could not diſobey him, or deſerve to ſuffer any thing at the Hand of Law, for not paying Obedience, where by Law they ought none: But what more common in Law than this, towards a diſpoſſeſſed rightful King? Witneſs the Cenſure of Law on the Undutifulneſs ſhown to K. *Charles* I. when arraigned before the *High Court of Juſtice*, where he ſtood utterly diſpoſſeſſed of all *actual Adminiſtration*; and on like Diſobedience and Breach of *Allegiance* againſt K. *Charles* II. during his Diſpoſſeſſion; and all the other forementioned Acts, declaring *Treaſons* the height of Diſobedience, in Practices againſt diſpoſſeſſed Rightful Kings; as has been obſerved in Caſe of *Richard the Second*, of *Henry the Eighth*'s Heirs, Q. *Mary*, and others.

The ſame may be further evidenced, from other Declarations of Law, about *the Dueneſs of Allegiance to ſuch diſpoſſeſſed Kings.* Whilſt K. *Charles the Second* was diſpoſſeſſed, *he was faithfully adhered to, and ſerved, by ſeveral of his Subjects, who, for this, were puniſhed by the long Parliament, as Delinquents: And this Adherence and Service*, the Statute 13 & 14 *Car.* II. c. 25. declares, *was according to their Duty and Allegiance.* The Rule given about *Allegiance*, by the Judges, in the *Caſe of Union*, in Sir *Francis Moor's Reports*,

Reports, (*p.* 798.) is, That *if a King is expulsed by Force, and another usurp, nevertheless the Allegiance is not taken away, though the Law be taken away.* This seems also the plain Meaning of *Allegiance following the King's Natural Person*, as is declared, both in * *the Case of Union*, and in † *Calvin's Case*; which would be tied to the *Politick*, and go with *Possession*, if it inseparably depended on *actual Administration*. All which, to mention no more, is the plain Signification of all the forementioned *Attainders*, passed upon Men, either in *Statutes* or in *Courts of Justice*, for acting against a dispossessed rightful King. For *Treason* is the highest Breach of *Allegiance*, and if the Law judges Men guilty of *Treason* against such a King, it certainly judges them to owe *Allegiance* to him. And this is still the Sense and Understanding of *Publick Acts*; so many of the *Acts* (*a*) passed since this Revolution, having declared the *Irish*, then under K. *James*'s Possession and actual Government, or Administration, for all that, *to owe their Obedience to*, and, for Breach thereof, to be *Rebels against* King *William*. And all this shows, That by our Laws, as well as by the Laws of God and Reason, Obedience or Allegiance is due to the rightful Authority of a King out of Possession; and so is far from being tied by our Law, more than it is by the Scripture, and the Nature of Things, to actual Administration.

* *P.* 798.
† *P.* 10, 11.

But against this, (*p.* 53.) he objects the Opinion of some great Lawyers, for *Allegiance being due by Law to a King de Facto*. The Lawyers mentioned by him are the Lord Chief Justice *Coke*, who is followed in this Point by the Lord Chief Justice *Hale*, and the Lord Chief Justice *Bridgeman*; and the Allegations of Law, which my Lord *Coke* builds his Opinion on, are some Sayings in *Baggot's* Case, not the fullest to his Purpose: But what I chiefly observe, is not of the Judges, but only Allegations of the Council, as they who please may see in the Case it self (*An.* 9. *Ed.* 4. *Term. Pas.* *Fol.* 1, 2, 5.) and the *Statute* of 11 *H.* 7. *c.* 1. which declares, *Subjects bound by their Allegiance to serve their Sovereign for the Time being, in his Wars, against every Might and Power reared against him*; and indemnifies them for the same.

But how is this a Proof of *Allegiance to a King de Facto?* Doth the Statute say they are bound to do this to the *King de Facto?* No; it only says, To the *King for the Time being*. Do the Words, *for the Time being*, then signify the same as *De Facto*, in their ordinary and legal Signification? No; they are ordinarily used, both in Law and common Speech, to set off those that have Right; as the *Statutes*, when there is no Dispute of the Right of the King, or of those that act under him, every where mention, *the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord High Admiral*, or other great Officers, *for the Time being*. And the *Statute* 1 *Ed.* 6. *c.* 12. speaking of *King* Edward *and his Heirs and Successors Kings of this Realm*, (unquestionably rightful Kings) calls them several times, *Kings for the Time being*.

If the Signification of the Phrase will not do it, doth not the Thing there said of this *Service to the King for the Time being* (viz. *that it is against all Laws, Reason, and good Conscience, to lose or forfeit any thing for the same*) determine it to the *King in Fact?* No; but, on the contrary, if they are true, they will determine that *King in being*, I conceive, to be the *rightful King*. For suppose another to have the Right, and it must needs be very unrighteous to hinder him of it; and then he acts unrighteously that serves the King in Fact against the King in Right: And what is unrighteous, is against Reason and good Conscience; and 'tis neither against Reason nor good Conscience, that Men should suffer for unreasonable and unrighteous Actings. For if Reason and good Conscience would have them suffer for any thing, it must be for these. Yea, and 'tis as much against

(*a*) *See the Act for a Poll towards reducing* Ireland, *passed* 1 Guil. 1 Mary, 89. *and the Act for Re-* *of their Majesties Prot. Sub. in* Irel. *passed* 1 Guil. Jan. 27. 89.

Laws,

Laws, as againſt either Reaſon or Conſcience; there having been Laws enough, as I have noted in ſeveral Inſtances, for puniſhing and attainting Subjects, that acted againſt their Rightful, tho' Diſpoſſeſſed Sovereigns; and of theſe Laws, ſeveral in King *Henry*'s own Remembrance, ſome made againſt him by another, who thought he had the *Right*, and ſome made againſt them by himſelf, when he came to aſſert his own Right. And the *Allegiance* this Statute ſpeaks of, is the *Allegiance* as it had ſtood *in his Remembrance*, as the Preface of it notes, and as the Author himſelf alſo (*p.* 62, 63.) obſerves from it: In all which Time, and before, neither Law, Reaſon, nor good Conſcience, indemnified paying this to wrong, but only to rightful *Kings*.

But *mutual Attainders of each other's Adherents*, he ſays, (*p.* 59.) *is no Proof what the Law of the Land is.* What, not if the Law attaints? Muſt not Laws ſhew what the Law is? And if, as oft as the Law looks upon a Man to have had only Poſſeſſion, it attaints thoſe that ſerved him, it is plain, That Law did not look upon meer Poſſeſſion, without *Right*, to juſtify that Service. If *Poſſeſſion* in Law would have juſtified them in ſerving him, for ſuch Service the Law would not have condemned them. And as for that *Favour of Parliaments towards the Poſſeſſor*, which is all, as he ſays, (*ibid.*) that ſuch *Parliamentary Attainders* ſhew; that Favour to the Poſſeſſor, is favouring his *Right*, for oppoſing whereof the other Side may be attainted. But it would not go to attaint innocent Men for following Poſſeſſion, if it owned *Allegiance* were due to meer *Poſſeſſion*: For that were to do a Contradiction.

But whatever had been done in this Kind before, *Henry* VII. he ſays (*p.* 63.) *was now convinced it was ill done, and provides*, by this Statute, *it ſhall be ſo no more.* But the Statute doth not ſpeak of this, as of a new Proviſion, but as of the *Allegiance which the King called to his Remembrance*, and which had all this Guard of Law, Reaſon, and good Conſcience, aforetime. Declaring therein, as the Author remarks upon it, (*p.* 63.) *what was ſo before, and not made ſo now meerly by their Declaration*; and ſo, I think, was not thus to guard thoſe that ſerved againſt the *Right*. For as there was Reaſon and Conſcience, ſo likewiſe Law enough, if Statutes and judged Caſes are Laws, both in Time foregoing and Time following, to puniſh them.

I add to this, If this Service, as being a Service of the *Wrong* againſt the *Right*, is thus againſt Reaſon and good Conſcience, tho' there had been no expreſs Law againſt it, but an expreſs Law for it, yet would it have vacated that Law; for can any human Law bind againſt good Conſcience; or, authorize and bear Men out in unrighteous Actions? And thus this Statute would do, if ſtill owning another to have the *Right*, it ſhould authorize the Subjects to ſerve in War, and aſſiſt the Poſſeſſor, againſt him, coming to get his *Right*. But (*p.* 65.) *doth not Law limit Right?* and may not a King limit his *Right* by his own Conſent? Yes, and transfer it too if he will. But if the Law has ſtill left him the *Right*, and he has not conſented in this Law, to part with his *Right* when diſpoſſeſſed? Which is the Reality of the Caſe, as (*p.* 37.) *the learned Author*, whom he conſidered on this Point, ſhewed, and as it is ſuppoſed to be in this preſent Diſpute; which is for trying to give away *Allegiance*, admitting him ſtill to have the *legal Right*. What then is to be ſaid to a Statute authorizing Subjects to oppoſe him in ſeeking of his *Right? If the King himſelf*, as he ſuppoſes him to do in the Statute, *for good Conſiderations, conſent to this, What Iniquity*, (*p.* 65.) ſays he, *is there in this Law?* Yes, as it leaves ſuch Diſpoſſeſſed Prince ſtill to have *Right*, and bids Men oppoſe him in it, there is Iniquity therein; as there would be in any Law, that ſhould bid Men ſteal their Neighbour's Goods, or ſlay the Innocent. There is Iniquity in

ll Unrighteouſneſs; and this Law would this way bid Men oppoſe Right, vhich is to be Unrighteous. So that here, God's Law ſays, You ſhall not ppoſe any Man in ſeeking of his Right; and this Law would ſay you ſhall o it: And when any human Law bids us do that, I think, ſince God is bove Men, it muſt needs be enough, as is ſhewed in the *Doctor* and *Stu-dent*, to vacate that Law, to ſay that God forbids it.

But if this Statute is meant only of the right King, What need of in-emnifying? None, whilſt the Right is in Poſſeſſion. But that was made o cover them, as far as he could, againſt a Turn of Times; which it would e the more like to do, eſpecially in ſuch Doubted and Controverted Titles, ecauſe on all Sides, in this Quarrel of the Two Houſes, they had Cauſe nough to be weary of the Way of *Mutual Attainders*.

Thus much I thought fit to ſay here upon this Statute; which, ſince this lea has been ſtarted, other Papers have more largely conſidered. And no' the Author whom he replies to in this part of his *Book*, had no need, think, to ſuppoſe *the King for the Time being*, in that *Statute* to be a eer *King in Fact*: Yet any one that will peruſe, what with great Labour nd Skill he has laid together in that Book, will ſee enough to ſhew him ow far the Law is from carrying Allegiance to a meer King in Fact.

Now theſe Sayings of Council in *Baggot's Caſe*, and the Statute of *H.* 7. eing my Lord *Coke*'s Grounds for taking *Allegiance to be due to a King in act*: The Effect of what he alledges from the *Three Lord Chief Juſtices*, nd *Baggot*'s Caſe, to prove this Point, I think, when duly weighed, will nly amount to this, That my Lord *Coke*, followed therein by *Two eminent awyers*, upon the Authority of a Saying of Council, and of ſome Words a Statute, about Allegiance, not expreſly mentioning a King in Fact, ut according to their common Uſe in Law, ſignifying one that has Right, nd not admitting what the Statute affirms of them to be true, if meant of y other but the right, were of Opinion that Allegiance is due to a King Fact. Though, for further Abatement of theſe Authorities, my Lord *oke* ſays enough, I think, particularly in *Calvin*'s *Caſe*, to declare *Allegi-nce* inſeparable from the *Right*, whether poſſeſſed or no. And, I think, y *Lord Chief Juſtice Bridgeman* *, who Sentenced Men for Treaſon againſt e *Right*, after he was Diſpoſſeſſed, and my *Lord Chief Juſtice Hale*, † who *fuſed to ſit on any* under the late Uſurpation, that were to be *Tried for eir Adherence to the diſpoſſeſſed rightful King*, were plainly of the ſame pinion. And if 'tis due to the Right, when Diſpoſſeſſed, in their Opi-on, it is not, as the Author thinks, *due only to actual Government*. And it is due to the Right, out of Poſſeſſion, ſince, as he ſays alſo ‖, *we can-ot have Two Kings*, or *Two Allegiances*, there can be none due to the rong. So this Opinion of theſe Great Men, ſeems not to have been their x'd and ſettled Opinion; for which, a *Saying of Council*, or ſuch Sound f ſome Words in a Statute, as I have mentioned, ſeems not to be the beſt oundation.

* *Vid. Tryal of Regicid.*

† *Biſhop of Salisb. Life of Judge Hale, p.* 23.

‖ *Pag.* 14.

But on the other Side, That Allegiance is all the Time due by Law to e Right, even when Diſpoſſeſſed, and broke by [illegible] that act againſt him Adherence to the *King in Fact*; yea, by th[illegible] *Fact himſelf*, if he ere a Subject before, appears from numerous, both *Acts of Parliament*, nd *judged Caſes*; ſuch as *Calvin*'s *Caſe*, and the *Caſe of Union*, which ake *Allegiance to follow the King's Natural Perſon*; and from the *Judg-ent on the Duke of* Northumberland, who gave this Plea of a *King in act*, and for the Purpoſes it is now urged from the Statute of *H.* 7. for his

Acting under Q. *Jane*, againſt Q. *Mary*; but was * told by the Court, *That the Seal of an uſurping Queen was no good Warrant*; and the Judgment was afterwards confirmed by † *Act of Parliament*. From the *Judgment on the Regicides*, for what they acted againſt King *Charles* I. in his State of Diſpoſſeſſion, and the need of an *Act of Oblivion*, for what was done againſt his Son, whilſt kept out of the Adminiſtration: From the Statute of 13, 14 *Car.* 2. beforementioned, declaring, *Allegiance all that while due to him*; as another declared it due to Q. *Mary*, and the *Regal Authority to be veſted in her Perſon*, during the Time of Q. *Jane*'s-*Uſurpation*. And as other Statutes declared it to be due to *Henry the Eighth*'s right *Heirs*, whilſt others uſurped upon them. And another Statute did to *Richard the Second*, during *Henry the Fourth*'s Uſurping his Throne. And as is declared in all the *Statutes of Attainder*, upon the Kings in Fact, and their Adherents, when the Kings in Right recovered their Thrones, as has been obſerved in the (*Chap.* 2.) foregoing Diſcourſe. And as it is declared, laſtly, in the *legal Oath of Allegiance, which recognizes the King's Right*, and *ſwears to bear and pay Allegiance* to the Right, whilſt he has Right to defend and pay it to.

* *Bp. of Saliſb. Hiſt. Reformat. p. 2. p. 242. and Sir Rich. Baker in the Reign of Q. Mary.*

† *Stat.* 1. *Mar. Seſſ.* 2. *c.* 16.

And ſuppoſe the Statute of *Henry* VII. had authorized Men to pay it to the Wrong, and theſe Statutes of K. *James the Firſt*, about the *Oath of Allegiance*, make them ſwear to pay it to the Right, Which would be the Law in this Caſe? If two Statutes claſh, and interfere, like as if *two Wills* do, the later will be ſure to be ſtronger; and the other of *Henry the Seventh*, was only a Law; but this later of K. *James*, is both the Bond of a Law, and ſuch as makes a Man bind himſelf further, and both promiſe and ſwear too. So that, inſtead of doing what that Law ſays he ſhall do; having as good a Saying of Law here, nay, a better, becauſe a later, he will rather think himſelf bound to do, not only what this Law ſays he ſhall, but alſo what he has both promiſed, and moſt ſolemnly ſworn, he will do.

And whether all theſe Laws, and judged Caſes, are not enough to carry the Point of Law, in this Queſtion, Of Allegiance to rightful Princes, againſt the Opinion of the foreſaid Lawyers, ſtanding on ſuch Foundations, I leave any rational Man to judge.

He takes notice of the Judgment on the D. of *Northumberland*, for acting under a *Queen de Facto*, *viz.* Q. *Jane*; which the Statute of *H.* 7. would have juſtified, had that been meant of a *King in Fact*; and argues, (*p.* 64.) *It could not declare the Statute of* H. 7. *null and void*, as the Author of the *Caſe of Allegiance to a King in Poſſeſſion*, againſt whom he there diſputes, thought in effect it did. Which, if this Judgment doth not of it ſelf, yet the contrary Obligations, laid ſince by other Statutes, which that Author adds, as he obſerves likewiſe, will ſeem to do it. For if the Act of *H.* 8. *about Succeſſion*, and the *Oath of Allegiance*, make the contrary to the Statute of *H.* 7. or *Serving of the rightful King*, to take Effect; that will not differ much from declaring his Statute null in Effect, becauſe it will leave it no Effect. But tho' this Judgment ſhould not be enough in Law to *repeal that Statute*, yet, I fancy, in a Queſtion of *the Senſe thereof*, eſpecially in Words ſo liable to be expounded to that Senſe, which the Court declared in his Caſe, it muſt needs be allowed to be an *Authentick Interpretation* of it. For, I think, in expounding a Law, he will allow a *Court of Juſtice*, and eſpecially the *High Court of Parliament*, to have more Authority than thoſe Lawyers, tho' of ſo deſervedly Great Name whom he mentions.

And now, laying all theſe Authorities of Law before us, if we muſt preſume what the Law is in this Point, I think we have much more Reaſon

n to presume that is Law, which we hear from so many Statutes and dged Cases, than what we hear on the contrary from some particular udges and great Lawyers. So, as far as I see, the Law, in this Point, ould be presumed to lie on the rightful King's side.

But *Treason*, he observes, (*p.* 58.) *lies by Law against the King that ithout Right is in Possession*; and then *Allegiance must be due to him.* his may be true in such a King as *Henry* VI. of whom alone *Baggot's* ouncil affirm it, who, for near Forty Years, was King without any op- site Claim; and then was so still, by express Consent of concern'd Par- s, who had Authority to give to him, and agreed*, *That as he had been therto, so he should still be King for his Life.* But as to other meer Reg- nt Kings, against a right King that makes his Claim, I do not understand w in Law it can be Treason to act for the right King against them, when many Laws and Statutes of Attainder, and judged Cases, have made it reason to act for them. For Treason, as well as Allegiance, the Author ill own, can lie but one way, since we can have but one King. And as r the Statute of Treason, it speaks of that King, whose Succession the aw is careful to secure, making it Treason, as the Author of the afore- id Case observed, (*p.* 8.) *to kill the King's Eldest Son, to violate the Queen, e Prince's Wife, or the King's Eldest Daughter.* All which shew a Care the Lineal Successor, and so must be meant of the Lawful King, since e Law cannot be careful to secure the Succession to any other. It is pre- nded no otherwise to favour the Successor, than on account of Possession, r the Necessity of actual Government under him, which is only for his wn Time. And as for *Law looking on the Crown, as Hereditary still in s Children*, as he fancies, (*p.* 56.) sure that is not the *Hereditariness of lood*, or next akin, which is the *Hereditariness of our Crown.* And the aw cannot look upon the Crown, as what ought to go by Hereditariness Blood, or lineal Succession, if it makes it due to another's Children, ho, perhaps, are not at all of the Blood, or, however, not the next in lood, as the *Three Henrys* he mentions were not; whose Reigns were a al Interruption of the due Hereditariness of Succession, and who were one of them the true Hereditary King.

I grant, Treason may be committed under them: As to conspire against e present Possessor to set up another Usurper, or to give away the Crown a Foreigner, or other Things, which the Law makes Treason. But that hich makes these Things Treason then, is not, as I conceive, being com- itted against them, (nay, Treasonable Acts may be Treason, as has been ewn, when committed, not only for them, but by them;) but being ommitted against the Authority of the rightful King. For his Authority still in his Realm, tho' his Person be driven out; and the Faith of the ubjects is still due to him, and may be broken, as it is most highly in all reason, which is the Ground of all Attainders, and makes the Necessity f Oblivions and Acts of Grace, as I formerly observed. So all the ime he is away, the Subjects being bound in their former Faith and Al- giance to him, they may break that Faith and Allegiance in the several ays of Treason; only he is not here to Try and Punish them. And e Possessor, having got all his External Power, must do that, if it is done all; for 'tis External Power that Punishes: But as he punishes by an- ther's External Power, so for what was acted against another's Authority, ot against his own. And I see no authoritative Way of doing it; without Way can be found, which some have attempted, and I here discuss not, to erive Authority from the rightful King.

But the only Reason why any Things are made Treason by Law, says he, *p.* 58.) *is their being against the Order of Government, and destructive to it.* Which the same Things equally are, under any King, whether *in Fact*, or

* *Rot. Par.* 39. *H.* 6. *Nu.* 20.

in Right. But whatever be the End why they are made ſo, yet being a Breach of the Faith of the King, muſt come in to make them ſo. For the Nature of all Treaſon is to be a *Breach of Faith and Allegiance*; and accordingly the Form of Indictment is, That ſuch a Thing was done *Contra Debitum Fidei & Ligeantiæ ſuæ, againſt the Actor's due Faith and Allegiance.* And this *Faith and Allegiance is the Due of a Perſon*; not due to the Country, or to the *Order of Government*, but to the *King*. And accordingly, in *Cobledike's Caſe*, the Judges *rejected a Plea*, as my Lord *Coke* notes, (*p.* 9.) in *Calvin's Caſe* for ſaying only, *The Legiance of* England, but admitted it when they added, *and the Faith of the King. And therefore the King himſelf is* not capable to *commit Treaſon*, becauſe it *is only a Breach of that Faith which is due to his own Perſon; ſo that the Treaſon lies where the Faith and Allegiance doth*, that is, againſt the rightful King's Perſon.

As to what he ſays (*p.* 52, 53.) about *Cognizance which is the right King not lying before a private Subject*; I grant it would not, if once a Court competent had judged of it. But where is that Court that is of Authority competent, to ſentence and give away a lawful King's Right? It ſeems plain in the Eye of Law, That among us, a Parliament called by a Poſſeſſor without Right, cannot do it; becauſe, after they have done what they can, the Law ſays he has Right, and will puniſh the private Subject, as has been ſhewed, notwithſtanding the Warranty of their Judgment for acting againſt his Right. So there is no way, that I ſee, but for every Subject to take the beſt Advice and Care he can, to know which is the Right, that he may not act againſt him; for tho' he would have no Cognizance, were it a Thing that lay before authorized Courts, or that the Competitors had brought into Court, and there decided, as *H.* 6. and the Duke of *York* did in Parliament; and tho', where there is no Court competent to judge, he has no Cognizance to judge for others, yet he has to judge the beſt he can, and at his own Peril, for himſelf, as every Man muſt do, I think, in this Caſe. Allegiance he muſt pay to him that has Right, as I have proved, and ſo muſt ſatisfy himſelf who has it, to anſwer the Law of God. And as for the Law of the Land, to ſeek Protection from the Judgment of Courts, which are not *legal Courts*, but only *Courts de Facto*; or from *legal Courts*, if they meddle with that which is *not under their Cognizance*, will fail thoſe that truſt to ſhelter themſelves thereby, as my *Lord Chief Juſtice Bridgman* told * *Cooke*, when he pleaded that the *High Court of Juſtice, was a Court* de Facto, in Defence of his Acting under it.

* *Trial of the Regi. p.* 124, 145, 146. *and his Speech to the Gr. Jur. p.* 15.

But as to all this Diſpute about Law, *for Allegiance to the King in Fact*, againſt the *King in Right*, (*p.* 54, 65.) he obſerves, *That the Non-ſwearers would not abide by the Deciſion of the Laws:* Which may be true as to this Particular of *following a meer* King in Fact, *againſt the* legal Right, becauſe the Laws of God, as well as of the Land, are their Hindrance in this Caſe. But then, ſays he, *Why do they inſiſt upon Law?* They inſiſt on it, becauſe they think it one good Argument, and ſo they have Reaſon to think it ſtill, for any thing that I have yet ſeen offered from Law to the contrary. But they do not abide by it, or give up the Cauſe to ſtand or fall with it, becauſe it is not the only good Argument; and other Hindrances from God's Laws they think are no leſs than that. And this Learned Perſon knows very well, That any one Conſcionable Hindrance is enough to keep a Man from doing a Thing; and the Lawfulneſs in ſome Reſpect, whilſt 'tis Unlawful in others, is not enough to warrant him in doing it. *Bonum* (ſays the Rule) *oritur ex integra Cauſa*; *malum ex quolibet Defectu.* Though, I think, as to this painful Search, that has been made into the Point of Law, *for Allegiance to a* King de Facto, the Non-ſwearers did not begin it, but were driven to it: The Pleaders for the New Oath, pretending the Law in this Caſe to be for a King *in Fact*; which, upon Examination

mination, they find to be a Miſtake, and think the Plea from Law is on the other ſide.

And thus upon all Accounts, both of Scripture, and the Nature of Things, and of our own Laws, I think, it may ſeem ſufficiently manifeſt, that as he that has the Right has the Authority, ſo he that has the Authority, by the Laws, both of God and Man, muſt have the Allegiance, tho' he cannot actually Govern, but is forcibly kept out of his Throne.

And if the diſpoſſeſſed rightful King ſtill keeps the Authority, and the Obedience of the *Fifth* Commandment is ſtill due to him becauſe of that Authority; the leaving any ejected Prince to have the Right, and the Regnant or Providential King to be only King in Fact, without Right, would leave all, that take a new Oath for transferring Allegiance, under as evident a Breach of that Commandment, as of the reſt. So, upon the whole, I conclude, this Plea of *meer Poſſeſſion without Right*, leaves all the Non-ſwearers Difficulties againſt the Oaths untouched. For, ſuppoſe any Man, to be ſtill ones rightful King; and then what will hinder, but to bind ourſelves, by a contrary Allegiance, to oppoſe his Right, muſt be Unrighteous towards him; or to bind our ſelves thereby to act againſt his Authority, muſt be Undutifulneſs and Rebellion; and binding ourſelves to all this, againſt what we had promiſed, and aſſured by former Oaths, muſt be to forſwear ourſelves. So that when at the laſt Day, all that take ſuch Oaths come to be tried by theſe Laws, how they have kept Juſt to the Rights, and Obedient to the Authority, and True to the Oaths they had made to a Diſpoſſeſſed King: If they have no Exception to his Right, nor any Ground but this of *De Facto*, to plead, to me it ſeems there is great Danger, leſt all thoſe Laws ſhould condemn them. And however they think this Plea *of Poſſeſſion without Right*, may bear them out before God, in paying this Allegiance, I think, 'tis viſible no Poſſeſſed King truſts thereto in demanding it, either before God, or before the World; for we never yet had a Regnant King that ſet up upon that Title. And in the preſent Revolution, 'tis well known to all, what Declarations the *Publick Acts* have made of King *William*'s and Queen *Mary*'s legal Right and Title to their Father's Throne.

CHAP. V.

Of the Author's Right by providential Poſſeſſion, without other Title. It deſtroys the Obligations by Right and Wrong.

I Come now, in the Third place, to that which is more particularly the Plea of this Learned Man, which is the *Plea of Providence*, to *give or grant Right*: And this, tho' it be not a legal Right, but leaves that ſtill to go as Law directs it, yet, he ſays, is a better Right than that, and ſuch, as in the ſight both of God and Men, ought to ſet the legal Right aſide. And this he makes to be the Right of every Regnant King or Poſſeſſor of the Throne. Providence that gives Succeſs, and ſpeeds him in compaſſing it, he thinks ‖, is God's Grant, and gives him a Right to the Crown he has got to his Poſſeſſion. And *whoſoever is ſet up thus by God's Providence*, as every King is, that is ſet up at all, *is God's King*, in his Notion, or a *King of*

‖ *P.* 12, 13, 15, 16, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 34.

of God's making: And ſo, let who will have the legal Right, muſt be owned by all Subjects, that would receive him for their King, whom God has made their King, or be under one that he has authorized to Rule over them: And this, in ſhort, I think, is the Subſtance of his Notion.

Now as for this Plea, tho' it doth not carry Allegiance by *legal Right*, yet it is for carrying it by Right, *viz.* by the Right of *Providence*, which he thinks is a better Right, and ought to take place of Right by Laws, in as much as God's Prerogative carried in Providence is above human Laws. But this way the Poſſeſſor has the beſt Right; and that I own would go far in taking off all the foreſaid Difficulties, which are all on Suppoſition of the other's Right. So this way to engage in *Oaths of Allegiance* to ſtand by the Poſſeſſor, in keeping, or getting that Eſtate and Property he has the beſt Right to, would only be to do him Right, which is not to be Unrighteous; or to pay him Allegiance, who has the moſt rightful Authority over us, would only be to obey Authority, which is no Undutifulneſs. And as to Point of former Oaths, it would put an end to their Obligation, as to all Time coming; for we cannot bind our ſelves by any Oaths not to obey God, or not to obey thoſe, to whom he gives the beſt and moſt rightful Authority over us. But ſome Doubt may be made, whether it would not leave the *Oath of Allegiance* to have been a falſe Oath, and forſwearing of our ſelves at the Time of taking; as ſwearing to do what we were not to do, nor ought to perform: For that Oath recognizes, and proceeds upon the legal Right, and ſeems deſigned to bind Men to it, againſt all Providential Turns, promiſing to *defend it againſt all Attempts*, which ſuch Turns make, as long as they are continued; and that without any other Limitation, as may ſeem, than whilſt there ſhall be ſuch Legal Right to defend.

But as for this Plea, of the *Right of Providence*, or *Succeſs in ſeeking another's Crown, giving the beſt Right to it*; I think it is not only a great Miſtake, but of ſuch ill Conſequence, as would neither do the Cauſe of Authority and Allegiance, nor any thing elſe any good. I know the Conſequences which I think chargeable upon this Principle, the Piety of this Author will abhor as much as I do: But admit the Principle, and neither his Wit, and Reaſon, whereto the ſerious World ſtands ſo highly obliged, nor any human Underſtanding, I conceive, can keep them off and guard againſt them; and this Principle I come next to examine. And if upon Examination it ſhall appear, that this fancy'd Providential Right is no Right, or that it doth not ſet aſide the legal Right; then 'tis plain, that all the firſt mentioned Difficulties againſt the new Oaths for transferring Allegiance on ſuch Revolutions, are ſtill in full Force on the Suppoſition he lays down, *viz.* that the diſpoſſeſſed King's legal Right ſtill remains; and there will be no way left, either to juſtify thoſe that have, or to ſatisfy thoſe that have not Sworn; but proving *the legal Right* of thoſe they are required to ſwear Allegiance to, upon which the publick Acts make the King and Queen, and demand the Allegiance to them. So that the Queſtion, *Who has the legal Right*, muſt both come into this Diſpute, and determine it, which ſets aſide the whole Intent of this Revered Perſon's Book.

One Way there is of *Providence giving Right*, viz. *by giving a rightful Title to a Thing*, either before or after a Man has got it. Whoſoever comes by ſuch Titles, comes to have them by God's Providence, which orders them to fall on particular Perſons, as it doth all other Things. But the preſent Diſpute is about Providence giving Right, by meer Providential Poſſeſſion, without means of any rightful Titles: Or, whether Providence in giving one Man Poſſeſſion of another Man's Right, (as one Prince, ſuppoſe, of another's Crown) gives the Poſſeſſor a Right to it.

Now

Now meer Providence giving Poſſeſſion, or Succeſs in compaſſing of a Crown, doth not at all affect the Point of Right, I conceive, on one ſide or other; it doth not make Right, but ſuppoſe it otherwiſe made; and is not determined to the keeping, but as open to the breaking of it. If it be a Succeſs in Poſſeſſing what is a Man's own Right, it is a Righteous Succeſs; and that not as giving Right, but as getting what was ſo before. If in getting Poſſeſſion of another Man's Right, it is an Unrighteous Succeſs, as getting a Thing when a Man has no Right to it: In ſhort, meer Providence giving Poſſeſſion, or Succeſs, ſhews not the Right, but the Fact; it doth not make Right, but ſuppoſe it; and its Buſineſs is only to accompliſh Events, not to juſtify or authorize them, or the Actors in them.

To clear this Point *of meer Succeſs of Providence in giving Poſſeſſion*, without other Title, not giving any Man Right to another's Crown, or to any Thing, which another has a legal or human Right to; I ſhall *firſt ſhew that it gives no ſuch Right.* And *then anſwer thoſe Scriptures, and other Reaſons, which he hath brought to ſhew it doth give Right.*

I. Firſt, *I ſhall ſhew it gives no Right, nor alters any precedent Rights, either by Divine or Human Titles.* And moreover, *what its Part really is, and what Providence doth about Events, particularly about unrighteous Succeſſes.*

1. *Firſt*, I ſay, *Meer Succeſs of Providence, in giving Poſſeſſion without other Title, gives no Right, either to Throne or other Thing.* It doth not give Right to one that has otherwiſe no rightful Title; nor take it away from another that has; but leaves the Point of Right to reſt with the Titles to it, and lie at their Doors where it found it.

The Author thinks it doth give Right, becauſe this Poſſeſſion being by Providence to be Poſſeſſed *of a Throne, is to be ſet up and placed there by God.* As to be Diſpoſſeſſed, or *Thruſt from a Throne, is to be removed by God*: and all who are ſo *Placed in a Throne by God, are rightful Kings*; yea, *Equally Rightful with reſpect to God, viz.* as equally having his Grant, tho' one may have a legal Title, and another may want it. *P.* 12, 14.

But now, That ſuch Right is not either got, or ſet aſide, by ſuch meer Providential Poſſeſſion, without other Title, may appear, I think, on ſeveral Accounts, *viz.* from Conſideration both *of the Nature of Right and Wrong, of Providence, of our own Laws, and other Authorities.*

1. I ſhall begin, *Firſt*, with *the Conſiderations of Right and Wrong*, and from them I think it will appear on theſe accounts following:

1. Firſt, *This would deſtroy all Obligations by Right and Wrong among Kings.*

The Obligations of Right are, *Firſt, in getting*, to tie Men up from taking what is another's Right, and is the Juſtice of *not violently ſeizing.* Or, *Secondly, in holding*, to tie Men up from keeping what is another's, and is the Juſtice of *not violently detaining*, but *making Reſtitution.*

Now both theſe Obligations, this Principle of *meer Providential Poſſeſſion, without other Title giving Right*, deſtroys.

1. Firſt, as to the Obligation of *not holding or detaining another's Right, but making Reſtitution.* When one has taken another's Crown, it undeniably ſets that aſide. For, if a Man may with a good Conſcience keep it, what Obligation has he to reſtore it? And if, in the ſight of God, he has now the beſt Right to it, why may he not conſcionably keep it? For God will not be angry with any Man for holding his Right, or keeping what is his own; or for not reſtoring to the Loſer what now is no longer his, which then would be altered in Nature, and be Gift, not Reſtitution. And whatever

ever Men may think of his Right to what, in their Reckoning, was ſo unrighteouſly got; yet this Right he has, and as good as the beſt Right, as the Author tells us, (*P.* 14. *Prop.* 4.) *all Poſſeſſors of Thrones being equally Rightful with reſpect to God.* So that he may hold it very righteouſly, and with a clear Conſcience, as any other Perſons may their moſt rightful Properties.

But now, this is,

1. *Againſt Reſtitution of other Mens Rights, and the Obligations of Kings thereto, in common with all other Chriſtians.*

Thou ſhalt not Steal, is God's Command about other Mens Rights and Properties: and the inſeperable Conſequent thereof is, That when any one has violently taken them, he ſhall reſtore them The Juſtice thereby required is, to give every Man his own: and where it was unrighteouſly taken away before, to give it, is the ſame as to give it back, or righteouſly to reſtore it. So, when a Thing is taken by Wrong, if Right doth not bind to give it to the right Owner again, it doth not bind to give every Man his own; that is, it binds to nothing.

Now this Reſtitution is, of what a Man has got by *Providential Poſſeſſion.* The other muſt have loſt Poſſeſſion before he needs to have it reſtored to him: and he muſt have poſſeſſed himſelf of it, before he can reſtore it. And therefore if Right binds the unjuſt Taker to Reſtitution, it muſt bind againſt Providential Poſſeſſion; and the meer Poſſeſſor, without other Title, gets no Right by taking, if he is bound to reſtore to the rightful Owner what he has taken from him.

Again, theſe Precedent Rights, which the Commandment calls for this Reſtitution of, by thoſe that have taken them, and are the Providential Poſſeſſors, are *human* and *legal Rights and Properties.* For God made no Civil Properties, either to Thrones or private Eſtates, any where but among the *Jews:* All the World beſides, hold theſe Properties by human and legal Rights. And theſe Rights the Command of *not Stealing*, or of *giving and reſtoring Right*, enjoins the Providential Poſſeſſors, whether Kings or others, to reſtore to the right Owners: For it is a Command, not only for the *Jews*, but for all Perſons and Places; and ſo for guarding and reſtoring the Rights of all Places, *i. e. Human Rights*, againſt all that take them away, that is, *Providential Poſſeſſors.* So, meer Succeſs in taking another Man's human Right, or Providential Poſſeſſion, without other Title, gives the Poſſeſſor no Right to it, and leaſt of all, a better Right to it than the diſpoſſeſſed Owner, in the account of the Commandment; ſince the Command ſays, it is ſtill the other's Right, and bids him that has got it unrighteouſly into his Poſſeſſion, to reſtore it.

And this Reſtitution of others human Rights, which a Man, by meer Providential Succeſs, without other Title, has got into his own Poſſeſſion, is a Law to Kings, in common with all other Chriſtians. For Kings, tho' they are our Governors, are God's Subjects and Servants, and bound equally as we are to his Laws. If they are ſaved, it muſt not be as Kings, but as Chriſtians; and that is, by keeping the Commandments, as they promiſed in their Baptiſm, and this, of *not Stealing*, but reſtoring what ſhould be unjuſtly taken, among others; and this, in any Rights or Properties, they take from one another. The Command is, to *do this to thy Neighbour*; and one King is certainly Neighbour to another: and the Greatneſs of the Thing they have taken, when they unrighteouſly invade a Crown or Kingdom, will never be thought to leſſen the Obligation to Reſtitution. For no Man will ſay, they are bound to be Juſt in a little Thing, but not in a great one; and that if a Man ſteals Twenty Shillings, he is bound to reſtore it, but not if he ſteals a Thouſand Pounds.

2. Tis

2. 'Tis *againſt the Scripture Declarations about Kings, who had ſo unjuſtly poſſeſſed themſelves of others Kingdoms.* Who ſo guilty of this as the *Aſſyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings, (*Jer.* 25.) who were the great Robbers of Crowned Heads, and Spoilers of Nations, recorded in Scripture. This they ſucceeded in to admiration, as *the Scourge of God*; and got them into their Poſſeſſion, which is the *Right of Providence*: But what thought the Spirit of God of theſe *Poſſeſſors of other Kings Crowns, and Subjects Lands and Properties?* It calls them * *the Wicked, the evil Doers, the Oppreſſors, the Spoilers, the* ‖ *Lyons.* All their unjuſt Gettings, and devouring of Nations, it calls *an* ‡ *evil Covetouſneſs*, and ⸸ *eſtabliſhing their City by Iniquity and Violence, and* ∴ *filling their Holes with Prey and Ravine.* And for all theſe their Oppreſſions, *Hab.* 2. 8. *for Mens Blood and for Violence and Diſeption of the Land*, or of *Lands and Countries*, as |||| *Grotius*; and *for the Iniquity of their Fathers*, Iſa. 14. and Jer. 51. it denounces to the *Babyloni-ns* the moſt extream Plagues; yea, the Judgment of a juſt Retalliation, That they ſhould be *puniſhed*, Jer. 25. 12. 14. & *c.* 51. 56. by *recompencing and requiting them in their own way, and according to their own Deeds*; God *making other Nations to ſerve themſelves of them*, as they before had erved themſelves of others. Now if Succeſs and Poſſeſſion was God's Grant, and gave them the beſt *Right* to them, why is building up their Empire thereby, and having and holding ſuch an heap of Nations and new Poſſeſſions termed *evil and inſatiable Covetouſneſs, Iniquity, Violence, and Ravine?* And why all this Vengeance for the ſame? Sure, not for holding what God by a juſt *Right* had this way made their own.

* *Iſa.* 14. 4, 5, 6, 20.
† *C.* 21. 2.
‖ *Nah.* 2. 11, 12.
‡ *Hab.* 2. 5, 9.
⸸ *V.* 12. 8.
∴ *Nah.* 2. 12.
|||| *ad loc.*

This heaping up of ill got Nations, and unjuſt Poſſeſſions, is charged alſo *as increaſing what is not his* *, and great and ſudden *Woes* denounced thereto. And what ſort of *Right* then is it, That ſuch Poſſeſſion gives, when the Thing poſſeſſed is none of his, and heavy Woes light upon him, for taking and not reſtoring it to the right Owners? And thus *Simon* the *Chief Prieſt* told *Athenobius*, when he brought a Complaint from King *Antiochus*, of *their withholding Cities of his Realm*, and demanded a *delivery of the ſame*; That thoſe Cities were *the Inheritance of their Fathers*; and, that what † *Poſſeſſion their Enemies had of them for a certain Time*, gave no Title of *Right*, but was all the while a *wrongful Poſſeſſion.* So that what he call'd their *withholding of them*, was only *holding* of their own, not *a taking* other Mens Land, *nor holding that which appertains to others.*

* *Hab.* 2. 5, 6.
† 1 *Macb.* 15. 28, 29, 30, 31.
† *V.* 34.
V. 33.

3. *It would leave no ſuch Thing as an Uſurper in the World*; contrary to the common Senſe of Mankind: For an Uſurper is one that intrudes upon another's Right; but there is an end of Uſurpation, when a Man only holds his own, and the Poſſeſſor has the beſt *Right.* And thus it would be if Providential Poſſeſſion gave ſuch *Right*, as is pretended.

And the Effect of this would be, *That no diſpoſſeſſed Prince could ever righteouſly endeavour to recover his Throne*; or *any other Princes*, who thought him wrong'd, *righteouſly aſſiſt him therein.* For it would be very unrighteous in him, as in any other Perſon, to covet or take away the Poſſeſſor's Right; that is, not to let every one have his own, or to give him what in *Right* belongs to him; as the Throne this way would to the Poſſeſſor, more than to any other Man.

To this the Author ſays, *P.* 26. That *Providence leaves the diſpoſſeſſed Prince his Legal Right*; that is, for all this Providential change of Perſons, the Law, which makes the Legal Title, is ſtill the ſame it was. But has it the ſame Effect it had, to make the Crown his? No; Providence, he ſays, is a better *Right*, and makes the Crown another's. Now, if where another has got the better *Right* of Providence, this *Legal Right* cannot make the Crown his; with what Juſtice can he, or any of his Friends,

tho' leaſt obliged to the Poſſeſſor, ſeek by Force to get it? Can he juſtly take that by Force, which is none of his own? And would it be juſt to force away another's rightful Crown from him? So this *legal Right* cannot juſtify him in any Attempt to diſſeize the Poſſeſſor, who holds it by a better *Right*, than he can pretend to it. The Reaſon is, becauſe it has only the Name of *Right*, without any thing of the real Purpoſe and Effect thereof; for the Uſe and Intent of *Right* is to make a Thing his. Whereas, by a better Title, the Crown this way is another's; and it can be the Property but of one of them, not of both. And ſince it is all the Intent of *Right* to make *Property*, that only is the real *Right* that gives the *Property*; and both cannot have a real and effective *Right* to it at once, becauſe they cannot both be Proprietors: So the beſt *Right* alone ſtands for the *Right*, and, whilſt it laſts, ſets the weaker *Right* aſide; and therefore the diſpoſſeſſed Prince having only the *Legal*, which is the worſt *Right* in reſpect to the Poſſeſſor, whoſe Title is better, has no *Right*. And then his ſeeking to recover, and take Poſſeſſion of that Throne, whereto at preſent he has no good *Right*; and from him that has, muſt unavoidably, on this Principle, be very Unrighteous.

But now, it is not Unrighteous for thoſe Diſpoſſeſſed Princes, that have legal Rights to their Crowns, to ſeek to recover them, if they can, out of the Hands of the Unjuſt Poſſeſſors; as *David* did when diſpoſſeſſed and driven out of the Land by *Abſalom*; and K. *Charles* II. when kept out by Uſurpations of that Time; and as was done of late by the Duke of *Lorrain*; and is wont to be done in all Times, as ſuch diſpoſſeſſed Princes can find any Aſſiſtance, or Opportunity to re-poſſeſs themſelves: And the common Senſe and Juſtice of Mankind acquits them of all Unrighteouſneſs in ſo doing. And this the Author himſelf owns, both in the place laſt cited, and in other places.

Now this, I think, is a clear Proof, that Poſſeſſion, or a Right of Providence, doth not ſet aſide a legal Right; ſince, on the contrary, a legal Right ſtands Good, and is to ſet it aſide. The legal Owner may make any Attempts to diſpoſſeſs and turn out the Poſſeſſor, and it is all Right, and has nothing Unrighteous in it. And what a kind of Right muſt that of the Poſſeſſor be then, which may be broken and invaded without any Unrighteouſneſs, and which he may very righteouſly be hindred and diſpoſſeſſed of? This Right of Providence, which doth not render the diſpoſſeſſed Invader Unrighteous, is much the ſame for Right, as the former rightleſs Authority, which can challenge no Obedience, is for Authority; that is, ſome Men may call them ſo when they pleaſe, but in reality they are not ſo at all.

* *Chap.* 23. & *Can.* 23. || *De jur. B. & P. l.* 1. *c.* 4. *Art.* 18.

Particularly one Scripture Inſtance, juſtified by the * *Convocation* in Biſhop *Overal*'s Book, by † *Grotius*, and others, and by this Reverend Perſon himſelf, amounts fully to a judged Caſe, I think, in this Buſineſs, and that is, the Caſe of *Joaſh*. Here was plainly a Conteſt which ſhould have the Subjects Allegiance, *Legal Right*, or *Illegal Poſſeſſion*, which is ſet up by him as the Right of Providence. *Athaliah* was ſet up by Providence, and poſſeſſed of the Throne, and had been ſo *for above ſix Years*, 2 Kin. 11. 4. Young *Joaſh*, who had been kept from *Athaliah*'s Cruelty by the Care of his Aunt, had no Poſſeſſion, but had the legal Right, being *the legal Heir of the Houſe of* David. Now, when this young Heir was made known to them, Which were the *Jews* to own, and to whom were they to pay their Allegiance? To him that had the legal Right, or to her who had the Poſſeſſion? To him that had the legal Right they pay it: *Jehoiadah the Chief Prieſt*, and the other *Jews*, without any Regard or conſcionable Hindrance from her preſent Poſſeſſion, agreeing together, *by Covenant and Oath*, to ſet up and to ſerve their rightful King. And according

ly they did ſo, and thruſt her out of the Poſſeſſion of his Throne; and are all confeſſed to have done well therein.

To take off this, he ſays, (*p.* 34, 35.) *All this Story amounts to, is only returning to their Allegiance, after the legal Heir was poſſeſſed of his Throne*; Joaſh *being firſt Anointed and Proclaimed, before any ſtirred againſt* Athaliah. But I think *entring into Plots*, and *binding themſelves by Oaths and Covenants*, to pull her down, and ſet up another, and *coming all armed to ſet up and defend the new King*, were Breaches of *Allegiance* to the height, if their Allegiance was due to her, as *having the actual Adminiſtration of the Government*, and being in *Poſſeſſion of the Crown.* And all this was before they *Anointed and Proclaimed the young King*, (2 *Kings* 11. 4, *&c. to verſe* 12.) And when this Proclamation came, Is Proclamation in one Corner of a City *thorough Settlement*, ſo as immediately to ſettle one, and diſpoſſeſs the other, tho' in quiet Poſſeſſion, for any thing that appears of all the reſt of the Kingdom? And yet this *thorough Settlement* in the Exerciſe of Government, which this young Prince had not Time to exerciſe, much leſs to be ſettled in, is to carry *Allegiance* on any Change, according to his Notion. And after all, if the *Right* muſt have the *Allegiance*, after Proclamation, it will not ſerve in the preſent Diſpute; which is about the Dueneſs of *Allegiance* to one ſuppoſed to have *legal Right*, who had long been Proclaimed and Poſſeſſed *King*.

He adds, (*p.* 35.) *That in this Caſe God had intailed the Crown. And where the Right comes upon a Perſon by a divine Intail, when the Perſon is known, Subjects are never to ſubmit to any Uſurper's Government, but to perſecute them to the utmoſt.*

But what need of having Recourſe to the *Divinity of the Intail*, in this Caſe? The Purpoſe of it is only to make *Joaſh*'s *Right* to be a better Claim, and to ſtand good againſt *Athaliah*'s Unrighteous Poſſeſſion; and this is the common Effect of all *Right*, whether *divine* or *human*. For all *Rights*, whether *human* or *divine*, equally oblige the *Unrighteous Providential Poſſeſſor* to Reſtitution, as I obſerved; that being to give the ſame Guard to *Rights* out of *Jewry*, as to *Rights* in it. And if *human Right* equally oblige to Reſtitution, it will ſtand Good againſt the *Unjuſt Providential Poſſeſſor*, as much as *divine Right* would; for that could only oblige him to reſtore it. And all Right, obliging the violent Taker thus to Reſtitution, makes that *no Man can ever ground a Right on doing Wrong*.

The Validity and Goodneſs of *Joaſh*'s *Right* to the Throne then, which Athaliah held in her Unjuſt Poſſeſſion, was, as it was a *Right*, not as it was *Divine*. And had the Intail been human, his *Right* would have been as good againſt her uſurped Poſſeſſion. And having the beſt and only *Right* to the *regal Authority*, he only had the *Authority*, and then to him alone was the *Allegiance* due. *Authority* ſtill being his, who has the beſt *Right* to it, and obliging Subjects to Obedience, whether a Man is poſſeſſed or no of External Strength to exerciſe it; yea, and to as full and firm an *Allegiance*, when it is held by an human Title, as when by a Divine Title, as I have ſhewed before, *Chap.* 3.

And as for what he aſcribes to the *Divine Intail*, viz. *when the Perſon is known to make it unlawful to ſubmit to any Uſurper againſt him:* Was not this Divine Intail as ſtrong, for *Jehoiakim* and *Zedekiah*, as it was for *Joaſh*, they being all equally of *David*'s Line? And yet it did not make it unlawful for the *Jews* to ſubmit to the uſurping Kings of *Egypt* and *Babylon*, whilſt they knew of theſe Perſons, (2 *King.* *c.* 23. & *c.* 24.) Nay, God himſelf approved of that Submiſſion and Subjection, and threatens *Zedekiah*, (*Ezek.* 17.) for his Perfidiouſneſs and Rebellious Breach of the ſame. So the hindrance of Submiſſion to uſurping *Athaliah*, lay not in the Divineneſs of the Intail, which might as well have brooked Submiſſion unto her as

unto them, and which differed not in this from other Intails, *viz. in giving such Right as would laſt, and have its effect, after another was wrongfully poſſeſt of it*; but *ſuch as the right Owner himſelf might part with, and give up by his Conſent*: But it lay in the Crown's being entail'd at all to give a certain Perſon *Right*; and in his ſtanding upon that *Right*, and claiming it. What made the Difference in Point of Submiſſion, in theſe Caſes, was, becauſe there was no Competition in their Caſe; *Jehoiakim* and *Zedekiah* coming themſelves into thoſe Submiſſions, under the *Egyptian* and *Babylonian* Uſurpers. But in her Caſe, there was *Joaſh* claiming his rightful Throne, which ſhe was unrighteouſly poſſeſt of: And when he made the Claim, and ſtood in Competition, his juſt *Right* was to carry it againſt her unjuſt *Poſſeſſion*; as it will do in the Caſe of any other Perſon, no *Right* yielding to wrongful *Poſſeſſion*, but obliging the *Poſſeſſor* to reſtore it back again. And when his *Right* was Good, to carry the *Regal Authority*, and make it his own; it was of Courſe to carry the *Allegiance*, which was the Due thereof, and that without any Hindrance from her *Poſſeſſion*, as has been formerly proved, (*Chap.* 4.)

Thus, on all theſe Accounts, doth this Principle of *Providential Poſſeſſion, without other Title, ſetting aſide legal Right*, deſtroy all that Obligation of *Right* which lies in *not holding or detaining, or in making Reſtitution of what is unjuſtly got among Kings.*

2. *Secondly*, As to the Obligation of *Right* in *Getting*, *viz.* its tying Kings up from violently taking each others Crowns, which is the Juſtice of *not ſeizing a Neighbour's Rights*, in my Opinion it will ſet that aſide too.

The Reverend Author I know, is by no means for allowing of the unrighteous Invaſions, either of ambitious Princes, or rebellious Subjects, on any rightful Princes Crowns; which the *Convocation*, as he obſerves (*p.* 4, 5.) from Biſhop *Overal's* Book, has taken ſo great Care to condemn. Nor ſhould the Principle allow and juſtify it, if he could hinder it. But Principles of True and Falſe, Right and Wrong, muſt rule us, not we rule them. And if this Principle of his *Right of Providence*, or of God's Granting a Right to what *Providence, without any other Title, in Fact accompliſhes, and God declares he gives*, be true; I think it will give them a Right to make the Attempts, as well as to hold what they can take thereby. And if they can ſhew the ſame Right for one, as for the other, if this be a true Principle of Right, it will ſerve either, and make them equally righteous in both.

If *Poſſeſſion without other Title* is the Right of Providence, the Means of *Poſſeſſion, without other rightful Title*, is Power: And this Power is expreſt, in all the intermediate Attempts and Succeſſes, to poſſeſs themſelves. So as *Poſſeſſion* is the Right, theſe Attempts that give *Poſſeſſion* give Right. And it would be ſomewhat ſtrange, for that which directly and immediately creates and gives Right, to be itſelf Unrighteous.

But the main Reaſon I ſhall here urge, is, *Theſe Attempts have the ſame Right of Providence which Poſſeſſion itſelf has.*

The Grounds of the *Poſſeſſor's Right* are, becauſe *Providence, which is God's Act, helps him to it*: And becauſe *God declares in Scripture, That he has given the Poſſeſſor what he has thereby got.* Which real Act of God in Providence, and Declaration of Grant thereby, he thinks is a good Grant of God, whoſe Grant is the beſt Right, and muſt ſet any human Right aſide.

Now both theſe are as much for the intermediate Attempts, either of Rebellious Subjects, or Ambitious Monarchs, to poſſeſs themſelves of others Crowns, as for holding them when they are poſſeſſed of them.

They

They have plainly *the ſame Providence*, which, as the Author ſays, (*p.* 12.) *has a Hand in all Events, and doth order and diſpoſe them.* Every intermediate Step they take, and Advance they make, in pulling down or ſetting up Kings, is by, and under Providence, or as truly Providential as the laſt is.

They have as plainly alſo, *The ſame Scripture-Declarations of God's ſending, or charging, or giving Things*, into the Hands of the Ambitious, or Rebellious Attempters.

Thus 'tis plainly ſaid of as unjuſt Attempts, as ever were of *Ambitious Princes*; particularly of the *Aſſyrian*, when he was going, like a *ravenous Lyon*, to devour and prey upon all the neighbouring Crowns, and Kingdoms. In thoſe unjuſt Attempts, and Expeditions, (*Iſai.* 10. 6.) *I will ſend him, I will give him a Charge to take the Spoil, and tread the Nations down*, ſaith God, calling him in theſe Executions, (*ver.* 5, 15.) *the Rod and Staff, wherewith he ſmites, and the Ax and Saw wherewith he hews and tears the People of his Wrath.* And after of *Cyrus*, the *King of the Medes*, when he ſet out, on a like Attempt, to devour *Babylon*. *The Lord hath raiſed up the Spirit of the King of the Medes*, ſays the Prophet *, *of the Expedition of Cyrus againſt Babylon. Thou art my Battle-Ax, and Weapons of War*, ſaith God of him †, *with thee will I break in pieces the Nations, and deſtroy Kingdoms. With thee will I break in pieces the Horſe, and Chariot, and his Rider, Man and Woman, Young and Old, Shepherd and Flock, Captains and Rulers.*

* Jer. 51. 11. Iſ. 10. 26.

† Jer. 51. 20, 21, 22, 23.

And the ſame is as plainly ſaid of Rebellious Attempts of Diſloyal Subjects; yea, of *Abſalom* when he rebelled and roſe againſt *David*, the beſt of Kings, *I will raiſe up Evil againſt thee out of thine own Houſe*, ſaith God ‖, ſpeaking of this Inſurrection; and *I will take thy Wives before thine Eyes, and I will give them to thy Neighbour, to lie with them in ſight of this Sun*; (which *Abſalom* did on *Achitophel*'s Advice ‡, to aſſure all the People the Breach betwixt his Father and him was gone paſt Reconciliation.) *And this I will do before all Iſrael, and before this Sun.*

‖ 2 Sam. 12. 11, 12.

‡ Ch. 16. 21, 22.

Such as theſe are the Scripture-Declarations, concerning the Attempts of Ambitious Princes, or Rebellious Subjects, in this Caſe. He ſays, of the Attempters, *That he raiſes, and ſtirs them up; that he ſends, he charges, he ſmites, and hews, and ſaws, and breaks in pieces by them, and gives, and takes, and doth what is thereby done.* All this they may plainly produce, and plead, as ſaid by God, to give Right to them in their Attempts to get a Crown. And what more, or fuller Declarations, doth he pretend to give them a Right to wear it, when they have violently got one? So that this help of Providence, and theſe and ſuch like Scripture-Declarations, muſt carry, not only Accompliſhment, but a Right from God to the Actors in the Things ſo ſpoke of; they will carry as good Right to a Foreigner for Invading, or to a Subject for Rebelling to pull down a King, as they will to either for poſſeſſing his Throne when they have got him down; they are as full to make Right in the Unjuſt and Rebellious Attempts, as in the following unjuſt Poſſeſſions. And why ſhould they not be as effectual ſince Holding and Poſſeſſing is not leſs againſt Right, than Attempting is? And this way, not only the unjuſt Holders of others Crowns, but the Rebellious and Unjuſt Attempters of them, would have good Right for what they do; and Men were unjuſt in their Cenſures, that thought them either Wicked or Unrighteous.

I ſhall only add on this Point, that this Succeſs of Providence without other Title, is to give Right both ways, (*p.* 12.) both in *pulling down Kings, and ſetting up Kings.* And accordingly, (*p.* 11, 20.) one of his Proofs for this Providential Right, is that Saying of *Daniel*, (*ch.* 2. 21.) *that God removes Kings and ſets up Kings*, which he underſtands of God's Providence, tho' without

without other Title, not only accompliſhing ſuch Removal, or Advancement, but giving Right to it. Now Providence giving Right to pull down Kings, muſt be giving a Right to thoſe that pull them down; for *Right cannot be given more than Authority can*, as he notes, (*p.* 10. *Prop.* 2.) *but to ſome Perſon.* And who are they that pull down Kings, but either Ambitious Foreign Princes, or Rebellious Subjects? Therefore Providence muſt give this Right to them. And if they act nothing without a ſufficient Right of Providence, Wherein ſhould ſuch unjuſt Invaſions, or Rebellions, be thought unrighteous?

Thus would this Author's Principle of Providential Poſſeſſion, without other Title, giving the beſt Right to Crowns, *deſtroy all Obligation of Right and Wrong among Kings, either in Getting or in Keeping Crowns.* And what a calamitous Misfortune would this be to them? For what Men in this World have more to ſecure therein than Kings? And the Obligations of Right and Wrong, are the beſt Security to them, as they are to all Mankind beſides: If they are under no Obligation to do Right, they will have no Claim to receive any, but be left as Nature's *Out-Laws*; and where there is no regard to Right, the ſole Regard is to Power; and then as all they can take of another's is their own, ſo all that will be another's, either foreign Princes or rebellious Subjects, which can be taken from them: Now this is a State that is not Human but Divine. It is the State of *Beaſts*, or *Creatures of Prey*, that have no Reſtraint but Power, and catch what they can; and would be aggravated and made ſo much worſe in Men than it is in them, becauſe Men have Reaſon, and they have none: For Prey without Reaſon, is infinitely leſs miſchievous, than Prey with it; if making a Prey of others is the only Uſe to be made thereof. And can this poſſibly be the State of God's Vicegerents, which doth not only Unking, but Unman them, and make their State worſe than that of the Beaſts themſelves?

And this is to bring in all the miſchievous Effects of Mr. *Hobbs*'s *Notion of Power*, in making his *State of War*; for where all is *left to Strength and Power*, there is a *State of War*. *Peace* ſtands by Right, which is to reſtrain *Power*; for where Right Rules, it will be held quietly and ſecurely by the Weaker againſt the Stronger. But War gets and holds all by *Power*: And this is the moſt rightful Way of Getting and Holding, if *Power* carry away the beſt Right along with it. So that whoſoever has *Power* enough, has Right to ſeize as much, and to ſubdue as many as he pleaſes.

Mr. *Hobbs*, he obſerves, (*p.* 15.) *makes Power, and nothing elſe to give Right to Dominion.* But he makes a *Derivation of Right from God, who is Lord of the World by* a Title of Right, *having made it.* And makes *Power* only to carry this *Right* from God, which it carries *inſeparably*, tho' not *naturally*, or *as a certain Sign to us, that where God has placed and ſettled the Power, he has given the Authority.*

I will not here diſpute why it may not be left to *Power*, or *Strength*, to carry Right and Authority in the Spring, as well as in the Stream; and to give Right as well as inſeparably to carry it. But for all this Difference about the way, how it came by it, ſince Strength always has Right, there will be no Difference in the Effect. *Strength*, or *Power*, it ſeems, ſtill carries Right from God inſeparably along with it. And *Right* always carried by *Power*, is not a *Right* to ſettle *Peace* but to make *War*; not a *Right* to ſecure the *Weaker*, but to give all to the *Stronger:* So his *Power carrying Right*, throws all into a State of War, as much, I conceive, as Mr. *Hobbs*'s *Power giving it*; and adds the Grant of God to boot, as if in this way of getting all by War, and the Stronger taking from the Weaker, they all the while kept to that Courſe of Right, which God has given them to walk by. Nay, if at laſt, by breaking the Strength of rightful Oppoſers in this Way of *Power*, they come peaceably to enjoy ſuch Gettings; yet is not the

the Peace which God intends, which is a Peace with Juſtice, or for every Man peaceably to enjoy his own, not for one Man to live at Peace in poſſeſſing another Man's Rights and Properties; which God all the while calls upon him to reſtore to him, to whom of Right they do belong.

To this Effect, of its deſtroying *all Obligation of Right and Wrong among Kings*, I add,

2. *Secondly*, That this Notion of *Providential Right would confirm and authorize all illegal Invaſions of Kings upon their own Subjects.* The Reaſon is, becauſe when he invades either their Liberties or Properties, and graſps at more Authority or Poſſeſſions among them, than doth by Right and Law belong to him; all the Succeſs he has is by Providence: And theſe unjuſt Attempts upon his own Subjects, have like Scripture-Declarations, as other unjuſt Attempts on any neighbouring Kings. Let the Evil of the City be Arbitrarineſs and Oppreſſion; *ſhall there be any Evil in the City*, ſaith the Prophet, *and the Lord hath not done it? Amos* 3. 6. Do the *Iſraelites* labour under the heavieſt Servitude and Oppreſſions, whilſt ſubject to the King of *Egypt? God turned their Hearts to hate his People, and dealt ſubtilly with his Servants*, ſays *David*, *Pſal.* 105. 25. Doth *Rehoboam*'s Heart devise Tyrannical Rigours and Oppreſſions, and his *rough Anſwer* threaten the People *to Chaſtiſe them with Scorpions?* The Scripture tells us, *The Cauſe was from the Lord*, 1 King. 12. 13, 14, 15. *Unrighteous, Ravenous, and Oppreſſive Kings*, whom God calls his *Rod*, and *Staff*, and *Battle-Ax*, and the like; are as much ſo, when turned upon their own Subjects, as upon foreign Princes. And whatever are the Counſels of the King's Heart, whether againſt Subjects or Strangers, the Scripture declares in general, That *the King's heart is in God's hand*, and *that he turns it whitherſoever he will*, *Prov.* 21. 1. So that in their *Domeſtick Invaſions*, Kings have as good Plea of Providence, and as good Scripture-Declarations of *God's turning their Hearts*, and *cauſing*, and *doing*, and *acting*, by them therein, as in any others. And in Reaſon, methinks, if they were to get Right by any Invaſion of Rights, it ſhould be moſt eſpecially in invading the Rights and Liberties of their own Subjects. The Conſideration of their being Subjects may give more Pretence, and embolden him to take greater Liberties, and bind them to more patient Sufferance, than when the like is done to other Kings, that ſtand with him upon even Terms, and are no ways Subject to him at all.

But now, 'tis plain Kings do not get Right by ſuch meer unrighteous Invaſions, without other Title, of Subjects Rights and Properties. As *Ahab* did not, by unjuſtly poſſeſſing himſelf of *Naboth's Vineyard:* Nor *Jehoiakim* by *having his Eyes and Heart only for ſhedding innocent Blood, and Oppreſſion and Violence*, and by *building his Houſe by Unrighteouſneſs, and his Chambers by Wrong*; whom God did not look upon as having any Right therein, but denounces *a Woe upon him*, Jer. 22. 13, 17. And if this muſt be the Conſequence of this Right of Providence, to give as good Authority and Confirmation to any Invaſions our Kings ſhall make upon our Rights, as to any, that other Princes ſhall make upon theirs; I think neither Prince nor Subjects have any great Cauſe to be fond thereof.

3. Thirdly, *It confirms the unjuſt Poſſeſſions and Invaſions one private Subject ſhall make upon the Properties of another.* If *Robbers* or *Pirates* poſſeſs themſelves of other Men's Money or Goods, by this Principle they have a better Right thereto than the legal Owners. For their Poſſeſſion is by *Providence*, that delivered the Sufferers into their Hands: And it is as much authorized as the other, by Scripture-Expreſſions. *The Lord hath taken away*, ſaith *Job*, when the *Sabean* and *Chaldean* Robbers had taken

and

and carried away his Substance, *Job* 1. 21. And, *'Tis what the Lord hath sent*, is the Reflection of all serious Persons upon these Misfortunes. So there is as much Providence, and as much said of it in private as in publick Robberies. Both then have equally the Right of Providence; and that, says he, is better than any Right the legal Owners had by human Laws. So that as it ousts Kings of their Crowns, it will oust private Persons of their Purses; and make all private Robbers, as well as publick Usurpers, to hold their Purchase by the best and most rightful Titles.

To this he says, (*p.* 34.) *That the Dispute is not about human or legal Right in either Case.* 'Tis not, I grant, whether either Usurpers or Robbers have a legal Right to what they have got; which no Man, that understands what he talks of, will dispute; but 'tis, Whether they have not another Right, *viz. Providential Right*, which shall set aside both the dispossessed Prince's and private Owner's legal Rights? And if Providence, and the foresaid Scripture-Declarations made such Providential Right, 'tis plain they are as much on the side of a private Robber, as of an Usurper, and so would give that Right to both, if they did to either.

But the Dispute, adds he, (*ibid.*) *is about Authority*; *and no Man will pretend that Thieves and Pirates have God's Authority, which the Persons robbed are bound to submit to.* But who puts the Objection so? What the Thief pretends to is the *Purse*, which is Matter of *Property*; and what the Usurper claims, is the *Crown*, which is Matter of *Authority*: And Right is necessary to both in their respective Pretences, if they would hold them righteously. This can be no legal Right, which rests still with the dispossessed Prince and private Sufferers. But the Author has found a Providential Right, better than the Legal, to give the Usurper the best Right to the Authority. And that will serve as well for the Thief or Pirate, and give him the best Right to the *Property*. And if he can hold his stolen Goods by as good Right as Usurpers may their usurped Crowns; by this *Principle*, in the Eyes of God he may all the Time be very Righteous: For God is no *respecter of Persons*; and so when he justifies one, he will not condemn the other, when he can make the same *Plea*, and acts upon the very same *Grounds*.

If this Right of *Providence* is the best Right, it will be the best for every thing that is to go by Right; and then it will be the best Title to *Property*, as well as to *Authority*. Yea, *Goods* and *Properties* are expressly mentioned in those *Scripture-Declarations*, which are thought by him to carry this Right of *Providence* to unjust *Possessors* of others Crowns. *When I send the Assyrian against an Hypocritical Nation, I will give him a Charge to take the Spoil and the Prey*, saith God, *Isai.* 10. 6. And God is as expressly said to have *taken David's Wives*, and to have *given them to Absalom*, as to have given him his Crown, 2 *Sam.* 12. 12. So the Gift and Charge of God in *Providence*, was as much for *Estates* and *Properties*, as for *Crowns*; and gave a Right to both, if it did to either. Nay, there is more Likelihood of *Providential Possession*, without other Title, giving Right to *Goods* and *Properties* than to *Authority*. For Money and Goods may be forcibly taken, but Authority, as I formerly observed, cannot be forcibly taken, being a Moral Quality, and Spiritual Thing: And it seems very strange, that forcible *Possession* should be a Title to Authority, which cannot be forcibly *possessed*. But it would be more strange, if at the same time, it gives the Usurper a Title to what he cannot, it should be able to give him no Title to what he can, and doth by Force possess himself of.

To all this I might add, How the making such *Scripture-Expressions* of *God's acting in Providence*, a Commission of Right to the Actors, in all the evil Things spoken of, would lead us *to justify all other Unrighteousness*. *If the Jews murder our Saviour Christ himself by wicked Hands*; he was

firſt delivered to them, not only *by the Foreknowledge, but determinate Counſel of God*, ſaith St. *Peter*, *Acts* 2. 23. If one Man *kills* another, *God delivered the ſlain into the Hands of the Murderer*, ſaith the Law, *Exod.* 21. 13. *If the Righteous ſuffer Violence from the Wicked, thoſe Wicked are God's Sword*, ſaith the *Pſalmiſt*, *Pſal.* 17. 13. If in Extremities of a Siege, *Parents* ſhall act the moſt Unnatural Things, *eating the Fleſh of their own Children*, or, *each Man eating the Fleſh of his Friend, I cauſe it*, ſaith the Lord, *Jer.* 19. 9. In ſumm, Whatever Ill is done, it is brought about by the *Providence* of God, as well as by the *Wickedneſs* of Men. *Shall there be Evil in a City, and the Lord hath not done it?* ſaith the Prophet, *Amos* 3. 6. *I form Light, and I create Darkneſs; I make Peace, and create Evil: I the Lord do all theſe Things*, ſays God, *Iſai.* 45. 7. *He hath wrought all Things for himſelf*, ſaith the Wiſe Man, *even the Wicked for the Day of Evil*; or to vent their Wickedneſs on them, to whom he ſees fit to ſend Evil, *Prov.* 16. 4. So that if the part of Providence were not only to accompliſh the Events, wherein all that God himſelf doth is moſt juſt, and for juſt Ends, but alſo to give Right to others, that act in them, theſe Wickedneſſes would be rightfully done, and there would be no ſuch Thing as Unrighteouſneſs left in the Actions of Men.

And thus, on all theſe Accounts, I think, it may ſufficiently appear how this fanſied Right of Providence, or making meer Providential Poſſeſſion of other Mens legal Rights, without other Title, the beſt Right and Title to them, would quite deſtroy the common Nature and Uſe of Right and Wrong. If there is any ſuch Thing as Right, it muſt Govern Providential Poſſeſſion, and not Give Way to it. Attempts for Poſſeſſion muſt ſuppoſe Right to juſtify them: And Poſſeſſion it ſelf muſt ſuppoſe other Right, to continue and hold it on, becauſe if it is a Poſſeſſion, not of our own, but of another's Right, it muſt not be held, but reſtored and given back again. And the Governing and Guarding Poſſeſſion, is all the Uſe and Intent of Right among Men; which is for this very Deſign, that every Man may quietly and uninterruptedly have and hold his own. So once exempt Poſſeſſion from being ſubject to Right, and the Uſe of Right is gone; and make Right to go by Poſſeſſion, and there is neither Need of, nor Benefit by, Right among Mankind.

CHAP. VI.

This Right by meer Providential Poſſeſſion, diſproved by other Arguments.

Secondly, That meer Providential Poſſeſſion, without other Title, doth not give the Right of a Throne to one, or take it from another, may appear from the Uſe of *Providence*.

Providence, or Providential Succeſs, is ſeen in helping Princes to get other Mens rightful Crowns, or private Men to get their Neighbours rightful Poſſeſſions. But the Uſe it ſerves in theſe unjuſt Gettings, is not to give thoſe it helps and ſpeeds therein, any Right or Title to them. For,

1. Firſt, *Right is limited to righteous Events*; *but the Succeſs of Providence is to be common to all ſucceſsful Events*. If Succeſs carried Right, it would carry it to all that Succeeds; that is, to all that proſperouſly hap-

pens, or comes to paſs: And ſo all ſucceſsful Events would have Right in them, and then there would be none Unrighteous among them. But 'tis plain the moſt wicked Perſons, and Projects, have had the moſt envied Succeſſes: This has been the very Difficulty that has ever moſt ſcandalized, and ſtaggered the Righteous in the Belief of Providence, *to ſee the Proſperity of the Wicked*, and their ſtrange Temporal Succeſs in the moſt ungodly Courſes, as the *Pſalmiſt* obſerves, *Pſal.* 73. 2, 3, &c. and *Pſal.* 37. 7. *There is one Event*, ſaith the Wiſe Man, *to the righteous and the wicked*; the Obſervation whereof, *makes the Hearts of Men full of Evil*; *all things here come alike to all, and no Man knows either Love or Hatred, by all that is before him*, Eccleſ. 9. 1, 2, 3. So that Right is far from being ſo wide, and extending to ſo many, as Succeſs doth. It is confined to ſome Actions and Succeſſes; and an infinite Number of others, God knows, are unrighteous; and therefore that which carries Right from God, muſt be ſomething that is limited to thoſe good Actions and Succeſſes that have Right, and not any Thing that is unlimited or common to all thoſe bad ones that want it.

And this, in abſence of expreſs Revelation to make Divine Right, is Legal or Human Right. This is a Right that God owns; and his Laws about doing Right ſecure, as far as any Laws can do it. And this human Right limits Right only to righteous Actions and Succeſſes; for they are the only Actions and Succeſſes which are according to it: And ſo alſo do the Laws of God that back it; for they juſtify only the Obſervers of this precedent Right, and condemn all the violent Intruders and Detainers thereof. So this Ground of Right is *adequate* to thoſe Actions and Succeſſes that have Right; juſtifying all thoſe providential Attempts and Iſſues, that are according to this Right, and condemning all as Unrighteous, that are againſt it.

2. *Secondly*, The Providence in the Caſes here diſputed, *Is a Providence in Unrighteous Actions and Succeſſes.* And the Uſe thereof in them, cannot be to give Right to them; for that would be to make Men do Right, whilſt they are doing Unrighteouſly; which is a Contradiction.

The *Aſſyrian*, for Inſtance, all the Time he was ſpoiling Kings of their Crowns, and People of their Poſſeſſions, under the Shelter of this Plea of Providence, was moſt horribly Unrighteous. His Gettings, as I obſerved before, are term'd, *Violence* and *Ravine*. All his Violences, which if we look at the Hand of God, upon the oppreſſed Kings and Kingdoms, were God's juſt Scourge and Vengeance upon the Sufferers; as they concerned himſelf, *were a filling up the Meaſure of his own Sins*, and making him ripe for like fearful Vengeance. *When the Lord hath performed his Work by him, he will puniſh the Aſſyrian*, Iſai. 10. 12. *When all the reſt of the Nations had drunk of the Cup of Fury; the King of Sheſhach ſhall drink after them*, Jer. 25. 15, 26. And all the Vengeance that came upon Uſurping and Oppreſſive *Babylon* afterwards, was a requital of Vengeance for their former *Violences*. *The Vengeance of the Lord, and of his Temple*, Jer. 51. 11. *His Vengeance in recompenſing her, in the Way of her own Violence, and doing to her according as ſhe had done to others*, Jer. 25. 14, &c. 50. 15. *Even becauſe ſhe had ſpoiled many Nations, all the Remnant of the People ſhould ſpoil her: and the Woe ſhould come upon her, becauſe of Mens Blood, and for the Violence of the Land, of the City, and of all that dwell therein*, Habak. 2. 8. And the Caſe is alike with all other, either Princes or private Perſons, when they are made uſe of by Providence in any Unrighteous Acts, which are plainly againſt the Rules of Juſtice and God's Laws; as in all the preceeding Inſtances, of Providence ſerving it ſelf by Men, in their doing the worſt Things.

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Now since Providence is concerned here, in Acts that God blames and condemns, and for which he takes Vengeance; 'tis plain the part of Providence is not to give *Right* to the Actors, which would render them Unpunishable, Righteous and Blameless; but it has other Ends, which may be served by the Actors having no *Right* to what they do, but being therein most Unrighteous. For Providence justly serves itself of wicked and unrighteous Men, and Actions, not by commanding any Unrighteousness, or inclining Men to be Unrighteous, which would make Providence to be a sharer in the Unrighteousness; but, when in the way of free Creatures, *They are bent upon Unrighteousness themselves*, as God declares * the *Assyrian* was, in so ordering Occasions and Opportunities, and over-ruling Issues, as shall make them serve his own just Purposes thereby, against a *Prince*, or *People of his Wrath*; which the unjust Actors and Executioners, as he says of the *Assyrian*, never dream'd of. And this serving his own righteous Ends, by Mens unrighteousness, leaves *Right* and *Wrong* to be still the same they were among them. So that look only to the Actor, and there is no *Right* for what is done, or possessed by him; but look up to God, whose Providence ordered their unjust Actions to fall upon those that offended him, and which he will over-rule to accomplish his just Ends; and the Sufferers themselves must needs say, there is Justice in his Ordering.

* *Isa.* 10. 7.

And upon this I shall note, *What the concern of Providence is, in the unrighteous Acts and Successes of Kings*; or others he makes use of, which is expressed by his *Sending*, or *Charging*, or *Ruling*, or *Setting up*, or *Pulling down*, or *Giving*, or *Taking by them*, &c. All which speak God's Providence, *not giving Right*, or *authorizing the Actors, or their Actions, but effectually accomplishing, and serving his own Purposes thereby.*

They speak not God's giving Right, or authorizing the Actors, or their Actions; as is plain, because it is in Actions that he accounts and calls Unrighteous, and will take Vengeance for, as has been shewn of the *Assyrian*; and as is plain of all the forecited horribly wicked and unrighteous Actions; concerning which, notwithstanding, the Scripture uses these Expressions. And no Man that will retain any Reverence for God, or Regard for Good and Evil, can think otherwise.

But they speak Providence *effectually accomplishing*, and *serving its own wise Purposes by them.*

This is not by God's Counselling, or any ways Inciting the unrighteous Actors, to their wicked and unjust Attempts. The desire and disposition of Mind proceeds only from Satan and themselves. And when they ingage in them, it is only as set on by their own Ambition and Avarice, or other corrupt Passions; and all they seek to serve therein, is not God, or his Purposes; which, perhaps, they never think of, but only their own wicked and unjust Appetites. As God declares of the *Assyrian*, who meant nothing by all his Invasions, *as God did*, but only pursued an insatiable Thirst of Empire, and *thought to destroy and cut off Nations not a few*, Isa. 10. 7. No more than the wicked *Jews* thought of serving those Ends, by the Crucifixion of *Christ*, for which God had preordained it; or the Actors in any other Wickedness, think of ministring to those good Purposes, whereto an over-ruling Providence makes them serve, by bringing Light out of Darkness.

But when Men are fully disposed, and prepared of themselves, either unjustly to inlarge Empire, or to act any other Unrighteousness; the part of Providence, *in effectually accomplishing what God designs thereby*, I shall particularly note in these Two Things:

1. *In directing them to Objects.* This Providence doth, by suiting Accidents and Circumstances, and making all Things conspire that the People,

or Perſons of his Wrath, ſhall fall in the way of thoſe that are bent to ſpoil them, when they have no Diſcouragements, or Impediments, either to diſhearten or divert them. Or by over-ruling thoſe Things from which they take their Meaſures and Determinations, ſo as to fix their Reſolutions and Motions againſt whom he pleaſes. And this Act of Providence the Scripture notes in the *Aſſyrian*, whoſe general hunger to devour all, was by God thus fixt upon *Jeruſalem*; *Caſt a Mount againſt Jeruſalem*, ſaith God by the Prophet, *this is the City to be viſited*, Jer. 6. 6. And when he was *in Doubt* within himſelf, at *the diviſion of the Ways leading to each*, whether to march againſt the *Jews* or *Ammonites*; God over-rules *his Lots* and *Divinations*, to make them paſs by the *Ammonites* at that time, and fall upon *Jeruſalem*, as *Ezekiel* declares, *Ezek.* 21. 19, 20, 21, 22, 24.

2. *In determining and over-ruling Iſſues*, making the Actor's Violence and Unrighteouſneſs to ſerve his own Righteous Ends, which they never dreamed of: as he did the *Aſſyrian*'s Violence, to avenge his Quarrel on *the People of his Wrath*: and the Wickedneſs and Unrighteouſneſs of all others, either Princes or private Perſons, providentially limiting all, that they ſhall neither fall out ſooner, nor proceed farther, nor reſt longer upon the Perſons allotted for them, than he ſees fit: and that they ſhall ſerve, either for trial of Patience, or puniſhment of Wickedneſs; or prove Steps to Good or Ill in the End, as he pleaſes.

Now this Determination to Objects and Iſſues, effectually accompliſhes the Events; which therefore is called God's *ſending*, and *charging*, or *giving and taking*, and the like, in the foreſaid Scriptures: and all, without the leaſt regard to *authorizing* and *giving Right* to the Actors, which is not to be expected in unrighteous and puniſhable Actions, and which God therein doth not at all meddle with. What needs Right, is going at all on ſuch Errands, and violently ſeizing what is their Neighbours. And this they have not at all from him, but the Bent and Diſpoſition thereto is all their own. But when they are ſet upon this by their own Avarice, Ambition, or other corrupt Paſſions, Providence miniſters Accidents and Opportunities, which come not to them in the way of authorizing, but of trying, as they do to every one elſe in an unrighteous Action. And theſe Accidents and Opportunities, to a Mind ſo prepared, will aſcertain the Accompliſhments, and limit and over-rule it, as God ſees fit; and ſo bear out all theſe Scripture Expreſſions of God's accompliſhing, without any thing of his giving *Right*, and *authorizing*; which no one muſt expect from him in an evil or unrighteous thing.

3. *Thirdly*, That this *Right of Providence*, or meer Providential Poſſeſſion, without other Title, *doth not ſet aſide Legal Right*, *may appear from the Authority of our own Laws*. The conſtant Method of Law is, To give any thing in Diſpute to the legal Title, againſt the illegal Poſſeſſor. This is manifeſt in all private *Rights*. If a Man has a legal Title to any thing, the Law every Term ejects the illegal Poſſeſſor, for all he has the Plea of Providential Poſſeſſion againſt the other. And 'tis plainly ſo in the legal Title to the Crown too.

This appears by all the forementioned Proofs of the Laws looking upon the diſpoſſeſſed Prince with legal Title, *ſtill as King*; and making the Allegiance of all the Subjects to continue due to him; yea, of the Uſurper himſelf, if he were a Subject before. And attainting him, as well as them, for Treaſonable Breaches of the ſame: ſo making the Providential Poſſeſſor a Traitor to the legal Owner, as I have ſhewn from ſundry *Acts of Parliament* and *judged Caſes*, in behalf of the diſpoſſeſſed *rightful Kings*. All which, eſtabliſhing the *Legal King*'s Authority, againſt the Providential Uſur-

Uſurper's, ſhew plainly, That our Law thinks better of a *Legal Right*, than of the *Author's Right of Providence*. To which I will add the Judgment of the Parliament, 39 *H.* 6. on a Competition betwixt theſe two Titles. For *H.* 6. had the *Providential Right*, and had Reigned King himſelf for almoſt Forty Years; and all that the Duke of *York* had to oppoſe againſt it, was his *Legal Right*: and yet that Parliament confeſs *, *the Duke's Title of Legal Right could not be defeated.*

* *Rot. Parl.* 39. *H.* 6. *Nu.* 18.

Indeed, if Providential Poſſeſſion were the beſt Right, there would be very little uſe of the *Legal Right*. *Yes*, ſays he, (P. 15.) *it would bar all other human Claims*. But the Right of Providence, according to his Notion, has barr'd theſe better. And what uſe of a worſe Title, to do that which a better has done before? If a Prince is in the Throne, he needs not to hold by it; for his Providential Poſſeſſion will exclude all other Princes, and oblige his own Subjects, as effectually as any human Right would. And if he is out of the Throne, he cannot claim by it, becauſe it is the Poſſeſſor's by a better Right, and no Man can honeſtly claim that from another, which he has a better Title to than himſelf. And if it is of no uſe to a King, either for holding a Crown while he has it, or for recovering it when he has loſt it, I think there is no great account to be made of it.

I ſhall now,

4. *Fourthly*, In the laſt place, add ſome *Authorities in this Caſe, to ſhew how valid theſe Legal Rights have been held, againſt Providential Uſurpations and Poſſeſſions, both by the Primitvie and our own Church.*

As for the *Primitive Church*, they ſaw ſeveral Competitions of theſe two Titles, in one Part or other of the Empire, ſome were ſtill *aſſuming the Purple*, and ſetting up in *Fact* againſt the *Legal Emperor*; and theſe were poſſeſſed for their Time of the Countries where the Defection was, the People being all in their Power, and publick Acts paſſing in their Names; and this ſometimes continuing for Years, before they and their Adherents were Overthrown, or Reduced by the lawful Emperors. If Providential Poſſeſſion, without other Right then, carries the beſt Title, here was the Title of Providence, for ſo much as they poſſeſſed; the whole Power of thoſe Places being in their Hands, and they being able there to *cruſh* all Oppoſers. And if God grants *Right* where he grants *Power*, here was a *Divine Right*, to ſo much as theſe Uſurpers had got into their Power. But yet, the Chriſtians in thoſe Places never thought this a Warranty to caſt off their lawful Emperor, as being this way diſauthoriz'd by God, and to turn Subjects to theſe Uſurpers, as having God's Authority in theſe Countries put into their Hands: So, never any Chriſtians would ſtick to them, or act under them, as in Obedience to God's Authority they ſhould have done, had they thought them now to be the Emperors of God's making among them. *Nunquam Albiniani, nunquam Nigriani, &c.* † ſays *Tertullian*, that is, Their Enemies could never give an Inſtance when they turned to any ſuch Uſurper, or took part in ſuch Defection; Two whereof, *viz.* that by *Niger*, and another by *Albinus*, were freſh in Memory at that time: Herein keeping ſtrictly and conſcientiouſly to the Apoſtle's Limitation, who requires them *to ſubmit to the King as Supreme, and to thoſe ſent to govern the Provinces*, only as *as to Governors ſent by him*; and ſo not to ſubmit, and ſtick to them, when they ſet up for themſelves againſt him, 1 *Pet.* 2. 13, 14.

† *Apol. c.* 35. *& ad Scap. c.* 2.

As for our own *Church of England*, we have had a like ſignal Competition between them in the *long Uſurpations*, *till King* Charles *the Second's Reſtauration*; and as full a Declaration has been made of the Church's ſenſe therein, and of the Validity of the King's legal Title, againſt theſe

Uſur-

Uſurpers meer Providential Poſſeſſion, as can ordinarily be made by the Actings and Sufferings, the Preaching and Printing of the *Church Men*, both all the Time of the *Uſurpations*, and for near Thirty Years together ſince. And this, I think, is good Argument, in this Way of Arguing, *viz. from Authority*; tho' he ſays, (*p.* 45, 46.) *There is only Prejudice, but no Argument in it.* For ſuch Preaching and Suffering, for this Doctrine, by the Greateſt Lights and Confeſt Pillars of the Church, during all the Days of Uſurpation, and ſuch conſtant Maintenance of the ſame, both by Books and Sermons, on the Anniverſary Days, and other Occaſions of Treating on that Subject, in all places of the Kingdom ever ſince, till this Revolution, muſt needs clear this to have been the Churches Doctrine; and that after it had been put moſt upon ſtudying the Point, and delivering its Senſe therein. And this *Churches Authority*, he ſays, *is a venerable Authority*, and thinks there is good Argument in it, when (*p.* 3, *&c.*) he ſeeks to confirm his own Opinion, *from Biſhop* Overal's *Convocation Book.*

But a *great Prejudice*, he ſays, (*p.* 46.) *the received Senſe, and Cenſure of thoſe Uſurpations is to his Right of Providence:* And very well it may, upon many Accounts. For a *King*, in his Notion, (*p.* 12.) *is removed*, and diſauthorized, *by God, when Providence thruſts him from the Throne, and takes the Government*, that is, actual Government, *out of his Hand.* And another *King*, or Commonwealth, (for the Caſe is the ſame under any Form,) *is ſet up*, and cloathed with God's Authority, *when Providence advances them to his Throne, and puts the actual Government into their Hand.* Now, when K. *Charles* I. ſtood arrraigned before *the High Court of Juſtice*, Providence had thruſt him out of his Throne, and taken the actual Government out of his Hand, and put it in the Hand of the *Rump Parliament.* Then had he none of God's Authority, nor any Allegiance due to him? Then his Trial was no Trial of the real, but only nominal King; God having firſt removed that Authority and actual Government from him, which made him King, and Allegiance due to him. Then were his Judges no Traitors, and his Murder no Treaſon: Which is quite againſt the received Opinion of *Church of England Men.*

Again, as to his Son, K. *Charles* II. after his Death, when he came into *England* with an Army, at *Worceſter Fight*, the *Rump Parliament* were Providentially poſſeſſed of all the Power and Exerciſe of Government, and had been *for two Years and an half*; which is a longer Time than has paſſed hitherto for the Poſſeſſion of the ſame, or Settlement of the preſent Government. If then God's Authority goes with ſuch Exerciſe and Poſſeſſion, they had God's Authority here, and he had it not. Then if he came as an *Engliſhman* he could be nothing here but a Subject: Then was his leading an Army thro' *England*, and Attempts to raiſe one in it, againſt the *Rump Parliament*, a Rebellious Arming againſt *God's Authority and Ordinance*; and *he and all his Adherents were Rebels againſt the Commonwealth:* And all that ſtir'd in his Cauſe afterwards, were guilty of the *Scriptural reſiſting of Authority*, or *Higher Powers*; and their Sufferings were juſt Executions. They deſerved to die for it here, and without Repentance, were in danger to be eternally condemn'd for it hereafter. All which are likewiſe very croſs to the *Church of England* received Opinions; yea, and to the Opinion of this Reverend Perſon, who is far enough from charging theſe Things upon them: And his Endeavour in this Point is, to exempt his Principle of *Providential Right* from authorizing the Uſurpers of that Time, or aſperſing the *Loyal Adherents* of the *Legal Right*, with the foregoing Imputation.

There is *Difference*, he ſays, (*p.* 46.) *betwixt theſe two Caſes*; and he inſtances in many Particulars. The only Queſtion is, Whether any of the Points of Difference aſſigned make a Difference in *the Poſſeſſor's Authority*

nd Subject's Allegiance. If not, theirs was *God's Authority*, by his *Pro-idential Right*, for all the Differences; and the *King*, and all the *Loyaliſts*, eſiſting *God's Authority*, would therein have been *Rebellious*, as is before lledged.

For what is the Ground of all Conſcionable Allegiance? *God's Authority*, s he rightly obſerves, (*p.* 15, 34.) *and nothing elſe.* And what makes a-y Perſon, or Body of Men, to be *God's Authority or Ordinance?* Is it oming well by their Power, without *Villanies, or Murder of preceeding overeigns?* Or is it good Uſe of thoſe they have Providentially got un-er their Power, eſpecially of ſuch of them as had *bore Arms in the oppoſite auſe*, and ſtand ſtill *well affected to it?* Is it their *keeping up Biſhops and piſcopal Clergy*, and *Church Revenues?* Or *retaining Fundamental Laws nd Conſtitutions*; yea, or even *Monarchy* it ſelf, or *Legal Parliaments*; all hich are the Particulars of Difference aſſigned by him in this Point? p. 46, 47.) No, none of theſe makes any to be God's Authority or Or-inance, according to his Principles; but being *ſet up by Providence in Poſ-ſſion of Power, and actual Adminiſtration of Government.* This makes oth the *Change of Form* and *Government*, or *the new degenerate Forms of overnment*, as he tells us, (*p.* 4, 5.) from the *Convocation Book*, to be *God's rdinance:* And therefore as ſuch we muſt own them, when actually ad-iniſtring, whether they be Monarchy or Commonwealth; whether all ſtates, or only Commons; whether a full Houſe or a few Perſons. And ſo the *Change of Perſons*, (*ib.* & *p.* 34.) how villanouſly ſoever the *Change* as brought about; whether by the Injuſtice of *Ambitious Neighbours*, or the Treaſon and Rebellion of *Diſloyal Subjects.* Then, for all the Villa-es of thoſe Uſurpers, and the Murder of K. *Charles*, and their barbarous ſage of his Friends, and pulling down Biſhops and Biſhops Lands, and rning out malignant Clergy, and changing Monarchy to Commonwealth, d a full Repreſentative of the Nation to a *Rump Parliament:* For all eſe, I ſay, ſince Providence had put them into Poſſeſſion and Adminiſtra-n of Government, God had put them into his Authority, by this Prin-ple, and they were as truly a Power of his making, and his Ordinance, this Plea, as the preſent Power, or any other Providential Powe rand oſſeſſor is.

And having thus got into God's Authority, What can make them loſe it? ill Continuance of the ſame villanous Practices againſt the murder'd ing's legal Heir, or his Friends, or the Church and Biſhops? No, but ly like Diſpoſſeſſion again by Providence. Whilſt in this Poſſeſſion then ey were God's Ordinance, and for what Cauſe may *Subjects Arm againſt od's Ordinance?* May they do it for their pulling down the Church of *ngland*, or the King's Friends, out of an Abhorrence they have of paſt, or r the Oppreſſion they feel by preſent Villanies? No, for what then would come of the *Doctrine of Non-reſiſtance?* And if they could not with good Conſcience be reſiſted for theſe, What is like to become of thoſe ſing? Or, Who can bring them off from being as damnable a Reſiſtance, any other Rebellions?

But he adds, (*p.* 47.) laſtly, *That their Government was never ſettled; ng frequently changed, and having no National Conſent.*

As to *Settlement*, by theſe Principles I do not ſee, that *Settlement in Poſ-ſſion* ſhould *firſt give Right, or Authority*; but only that it ſhould *ſettle d continue them*; for *Poſſeſſion gives Authority*, by his Account, (*p.* 15, , 25, 32, 36.) Poſſeſſion of Government muſt needs give *actual Govern-ent*; and *actual Government gives Right to Allegianee*, as his Diſcourſe ll aſſerts, (*p.* 26, 27, 32.) Yea, all the *Scripture Texts for Obedience*, he thinks, (*p.* 21.) require it to be paid only to him, *that Exerciſes Go-vernment.*

vernment. And claiming Allegiance, it muſt imply and carry Authority, ſince *Allegiance is only due to Authority*, as he alſo ſays, (*p.* 15, 34.)

He then who has got Poſſeſſion of the actual Government, has therewith got poſſeſſed of the Authority to Govern: God by Courſe of Providence giving or taking both together, as he conceives, and never ſeparating them, ſo as to have Exerciſe of Government without Authority, or to leave Authority in one that cannot Exerciſe it and actually Govern; which Points his Proofs ſtill run upon. Then *Poſſeſſion* of Power and actual Adminiſtration, gives or carries *Authority*; and the Settlement of that *Poſſeſſion*, only ſettles the *Authority*. He that has a ſettled *Poſſeſſion*, has got a ſettled *Authority*; and he that is unſettled in *Poſſeſſion*, has this Way an uncertain and unſettled *Authority*; and as often as Providence gives or recals *Poſſeſſion*, it will this Way give and recal *Authority*. But where ever God's Authority is, or for how ſhort a Time ſoever it is, it muſt be obeyed out of Conſcience. And therefore as to Point of Conſcience, I think, by his Principles, the Queſtion ſhould be, Whether any Uſurper is poſſeſſed, or, at moſt, is thoroughly poſſeſſed of the actual Exerciſe of Government? That being the Thing wherein Conſcionable Allegiance is concerned. But as to the Point of ſecure Settlement, how long he is like to hold it, or what Appearance there is of its being alter'd; that is not Matter of Conſcience, to ſhew us our Duty; but of Prudence to conſult what may be wiſeſt for our own Safety. And that the Exerciſe and actual Adminiſtration of Government, was poſſeſſed by the *Rump Parliament*, and other Uſurpers, is too manifeſt to be diſputed.

But as to this Settlement he ſpeaks of, How long Time muſt go to it? He doth not ſay the preſent Government hath had the longeſt Time to ſettle it; and it had not had ſo much, when he judged it ſettled enough to take the Oath. And as for the Number of the Nation, he knows, that not many Weeks had paſſed for the Settlement thereof, before the Impoſers themſelves were to ſwear Allegiance; nor many Months, before all the Clergy, and all others in any Office obliged by Law thereto, were called upon to do the ſame. And thoſe Uſurpations were of a longer Term, than any of theſe amount to; So that there is no pleading want of Settlement in them, in point of Time.

Again, How much *Quietneſs* muſt go to *Settlement*? 'Tis thoroughly ſettled, he thinks, here, tho' there is an actual Struggle, and two great Armies, in one Kingdom, contending for the Throne; and unſubdued Riſings in another, with ſuſpicion of Pronenеſs in Numbers more among them, to do the ſame. Whatever be made of the Diſcontents there has been ſo much Talk and Apprehenſion of here at home, yet ſtill he will ſay this is a thorough Settlement, for all there are theſe Bars in the Way to Quiet. And thoſe Uſurpations might have ſhewn more Quietneſs than this; all the three *Kingdoms*, at ſome Times, being in a quiet State of Obedience.

And as to the frequent *Changes* he mentions, they were ſhort-liv'd indeed for *Forms of Government*. But yet, for all that, being poſſeſſed of Exerciſe of Government, they muſt have God's Authority by this Principle and be owned and obeyed accordingly, whilſt they ſtood. *Poſſeſſion* would carry God's Authority, and Subjects Obedience, to Change of *Forms* as well as to Change of *Perſons*. But if *frequent After-Changes* be an *hinderance to thorough Settlement*, thoſe are not knowable but by Time. And if ſuch Change, when it happens, make all the *Poſſeſſion* before to be no good Settlement; in what a Caſe, on the Author's Suppoſition of the *diſpoſſeſſed King's Legal Right*, are all Swearers Conſciences in ſuch Revolutions? For if they cannot in Conſcience ſwear away their Allegiance from the *Legal Right*, till a Poſſeſſor is well ſettled; nor his *Poſſeſſion* is well ſettled, if it will be changed; there would be no ſwearing Allegiance to

he new Government, on any ſuch Change, with a ſafe Conſcience, upon is Suppoſal of its wanting *Legal Right*, unleſs a Man knew beforehand it ill not be changed. And who can know that, of this Government, or f any other, without a *Prophetick Spirit*, which I ſuppoſe no Swearers ad. And then, by theſe Principles, for ought I ſee, they ſwore to do, hat the Event may chance to make them forſworn in, which Swearing is ot to be juſtified.

And then, as to want of *National Conſent*, (*p.* 47.) he means, I ſuppoſe, y a *legal Repreſentative of the Nation*. For a practical Conſent they had, l publick Acts proceeding in their Name, and publick Officers acting by ommiſſion from them, and all People ſubmitting accordingly, as they do ow, and acquieſcing under them. Not to mention any other Ways f Peoples expreſſing Conſent, by *Addreſſes*, and other *Applications* to em.

But why muſt we come to Conſent at all, for giving a Right of Provi-ence? For Conſent is the way of getting and giving human Rights, where e Conſenters have any Right to give. And if Providence be tied to ſet up ings, only by human Conſent; that will put an end to the fancied Right f Uſurped Poſſeſſion, and bring it to need a Bottom of Conſent, or hu-an Right, to ſtand upon. It will alſo *confine the Power of God, in ſet-ng up Kings*; which is (*p.* 25, 37, 38.) one of his great Exceptions a-inſt the *legal Right*. For God is confined, if he cannot make a King over len, without *human Conſent*, as well as if he cannot make one without *uman Laws*. And accordingly, *This Neceſſity of human Conſent, in Set-ng up and Authorizing a King*, (*p.* 25.) he expreſly excepts againſt up-n that Account.

And if *Conſent* were neceſſary, Why muſt it be *National in the legal orm?* This would be to tie the Right of Providence to Laws; when as the nd of ſeeking a Right from Providence is to fetch Right from God, not bſerving human Laws, but acting above and beſide them. And if the Right f Providence were to be tied to any Laws, ſure it is moſt fit to tie it to aws for Right, or *legal Titles*. And this alſo would be, not only a con-ning the Authority and Power of God in making Kings, but confining it human Laws, which is the very Thing he objects againſt *Legal Rights*; r 'tis certainly as much a Confinement of him to Laws, to confine him *legal Conſent*, as to *legal Titles*: Beſide, the *Providential Right* is to give uthority where Laws are changed, and legal Conſtitutions or Repreſenta-ves are alter'd; it is to authorize *Change of Forms*, as I noted, as well as *hange of Perſons*: And therefore would authorize new Forms of Parlia-ent, and making Repreſentatives, as well as all other Changes of the Con-itution; when once Providence had given Adminiſtration of Government, nd Poſſeſſion of Power into their Hands. Laſtly, This Conſent in Form f Law, is a particular Method of this Nation, but the Right of Provi-ence is to be a general Thing; and ſo if it needed any, would only require ch a Way as might be general, and ſufficient in every Nation. So that ch Conſent would have been ſufficient, to ſettle the Providential Right of oſe Uſurpers over us, as ſufficed to ſettle the ſame in the *Four Monarchies* ver the *Jews*, or other Conquer'd Nations; and ſuch a Conſent no Man ill need to look far for, in the preſent Diſpute.

But beſides this, *The Church of* England *has declared this Synodically*, I nceive; and this it has done, *in Biſhop* Overal's *Convocation Book*, which e has ſo unfortunately miſtaken, as if it were of his Mind. Some In-ances I ſhall give him, *Of their preferring legal Right, before his Right of rovidence, without other Title.*

1. The *Firſt* is in the Caſe of *Athaliah* and *Joaſh*. *Joaſh* had the *legal Right*, and ſhe *Poſſeſſion for ſix Years*, or the fancy'd Right of Providence; and *Jehojadah* and the *Jews* ſtuck to his Right, and ſerved him therein, againſt hers. And in this Competition the *Convocation* declares*, That *Joaſh*, the *legal Heir*, *was their only Natural Lord and Sovereign*, *tho'* Athaliah *had kept him for Six Years out of Poſſeſſion*. *That* Athaliah *was a Tyrannical Uſurper, the right Heir of that Kingdom being alive: And that nothing was done, in the Proceſs of that Action by* Jehojadah, *or the reſt, which God himſelf did not require at their Hands*, Joaſh *being their only Natural Sovereign*. Here is declaring the Legal Heir to be the only Natural Sovereign, and the Allegiance to be due to him againſt the Providential Uſurper in Poſſeſſion, which, I think, is a plain Deciſion of this Queſtion.

* *Chap.* 23. & *Can.* 23. *p.* 41, 42. *vid. 1 Can.* 17. *p.* 28, 29.

2. The *Second* is in the *Caſe of* Jaddus *and the* Jews, betwixt Two Competitors, *Darius* and *Alexander*. *Darius* had *human Right*, and to him they had ſwore Allegiance. *Alexander*, by worſting *Darius* at the Battle of *Iſſus*, got thoſe Parts in his Power by the Author's *Right of Providence*, and *he demands that they ſhould aſſiſt him in his Wars*, contrary to their former Allegiance, *and become Tributary to the* Macedonians, *as they had formerly been to the* Perſians. Jaddus *anſwered*, as the † *Convocation* relates it, *That he might not yield thereto, becauſe he had taken an Oath for his true Allegiance to* Darius, *which he might not lawfully violate whilſt* Darius *lived, being by Flight eſcaped, when his Army was Diſcomfited*. And in the ‖ *Canon* referring to it, they ſay, *Having ſo ſworn, he might not lawfully have born Arms himſelf againſt* Darius, *or have ſollicited others, whether Aliens or Jews, thereunto*. So preferring him that had the Right, to him that had got the Poſſeſſion; and approving of not turning Subjects, and transferring Allegiance to the Poſſeſſor, whilſt the rightful Prince was living.

† *Chap.* 30. *p.* 64.

‖ *Can.* 30. *p.* 65.

To this, he ſays, (*p.* 8.) *That the* Convocation *take no Notice, that* Jaddus *having ſworn to* Darius, *could not ſubmit to any other, whilſt he lived, in their Canon upon it.* But they recite it in the *Chapter* leading to the *Canon*; and the *Chapters* declare the Opinion of the *Convocation*, as well as the *Canons*, and ‡ *both paſſed with one Conſent, and were approved by Both Houſes*. And in Reference to his Pretence, *Of the former Oath to* Darius, *not to be infringed while he lived*, which he returned to *Alexander's Demand of Aſſiſtance*; they ſay in the *Canon*, *that having ſo Sworn, he might not lawfully have born Arms himſelf againſt* Darius, *or have ſollicited others thereto*.

‡ *Conv. B. p.* 92.

He adds, (*p.* 8.) that for all this, *Jaddus did ſubmit, when* Alexander *came to* Jeruſalem, *and that before* Darius's *laſt fatal Overthrow, when in his Flight he was murdered by his own Servants*. That the *Convocation* might believe too, from *Joſephus*, and yet think *Jaddus*'s a good Anſwer *about the Obligation of his Oath*; becauſe this Submiſſion, at laſt, was upon the Direction of the *Oracle* and *Divine Mandate*. For *Jaddus*, as *Joſephus* relates*, *on* Alexander's *coming to* Jeruſalem, *offered Sacrifice, and appointed the People, by Supplications, to ſeek to God for Help and Direction. And thereupon, the Night after, God appeared to him in a Viſion, and directed them what to do*, ordering *the Manner of their Proceſſion and Reception of him*, which he and the People accordingly did *with all Solemnity perform*. So what he firſt anſwered, they might put upon the Score of ordinary Rule and Obligation. But what Exemption he after practiſed, they might impute to divine Interpoſition, and ſpecial Revelation, that controuls and transfers all human Rights and Titles.

* *Antiqu. l.* 11. *c.* 8.

3. The

3. The ſame may further appear, I think, from the Reaſon they give*, * *Ch.* 31. *p.* 76.
Why Antiochus's *Uſurpation over the Jews was not ſettled*, viz. *its not be-*
ing either generally received by Submiſſion, or ſettled by Continuance; for *Sub-*
miſſion, and Continuance, or Preſcription, are ways of *human Right*. And
the *Romans*, who had received ſuch *Submiſſions*, and *long Continuance* there-
of from the *Jews* ||, they declare were *their lawful Magiſtrates, and lawful* || *Can.* 34.
Authority. And if they judged *Antiochus*'s Uſurpation not ſettled, till it *p.* 82. *and* *p.* 119.
came to ſtand on theſe Ways of Right; What is this but to make Right ne-
ceſſary to their thorough Settlement?

And ſuitable to their Deciſion in theſe Caſes, was the Determination of the ſame *Convocation*, not only in what they ſay thereto, in this *Book* of *Biſhop Overal*, but alſo in the *Book of Canons* made before theſe, and con-firmed by K. *James*: Wherein they determine for the *King's Legal*, and the *Church's Canonical Rights*, againſt the *Papal Providential Uſurpations*, as I ſhall preſently obſerve.

And from theſe Inſtances, he may ſee how the *Convocation* (as I ſee a (e) Learned Pen has lately taken pains to prove more at large,) when, in caſe of Uſurpations, or Governments of an ill Beginning, they declare *Obedience due to them if once they are thoroughly ſettled*, take Right into the conſideration of thorough Settlement; not admitting an Uſurper to be thoroughly ſettled in his uſurped Power, whilſt there is a Competitor alive that has the legal Right, and makes Claim of it. The Extinction of his Right by Death, or tranſlation of it by his own Conſent, is neceſſary, in their Account, before the other can be ſettled: And good Reaſon they had to take Right thereinto, becauſe it is a Settlement of *Authority*, which, as I formerly † ſhewed at large, is to go by Right. And if the Conſideration † *Chap.* 3.
of Right, which may be acquired by the Submiſſion of People themſelves, when thoſe are dead that had Right over them, or by the rightful Compe-tors coming themſelves into the Submiſſions, muſt come into their Settle-ment; he will own that his *Providential Right* can have no Confirmation, from all thoſe Paſſages he has cited from the *Convocation*.

I ſhall only add further on this Argument, *That Eccleſiaſtical Authority is God's Authority*, as well as *Civil:* For God has inſtituted Government in the *Church*, as well as in the *State*; and the reſpective Rulers are his *Depu-ties* and *Miniſters* in both. And God's Providence equally ſets any Perſons up, and advances them to their Authority in each Caſe; and, I think, will be allowed, in the Author's Way of Arguing, to have the Chief, and over-ruling Power in Diſpoſal thereof. And then, in any Diſpute and Compe-tition of Perſons, for *Church Authority*, *Poſſeſſion*, or *Providential Right*, ſhould prevail and carry it againſt the *Canonical Right*; the *Canons* being the ſame for making, and bounding Right in the Church, that *Laws* are in the State.

But that, on the contrary, the *Canonical Right* is to prevail over it, I ſhall ſhew briefly in *Two* Inſtances.

Firſt, From the *Synodical Determination* of our own Church, in Caſe of a *Papal Uſurpation over us*. His Juriſdiction, in this Realm, ſtood upon a long Poſſeſſion, which is the Author's *Providential Right*. But it was a-gainſt the Canonical Privileges of the Church of *England*, which being a-mong the *Autocephali*, ought to have been independent upon him, and ſub-ject only to its own *Primate*, ſo it infringed their *Canonical Right:* Nay, it was an Uſurpation, moreover, on the *Civil Power* and *Regality*, or on the *Rights of the Crown*, ſo as to invade the King's *legal Right*. But in

(e) *An Anſwer to a Pamphlet, intituled*, Obedience and Submiſſion to the preſent Government, de-monſtrated from Biſhop *Overal's Convocation Book*.

Synodical Judgment about this Competition, the Church of *England* gave it for the *King's Legal and Statutable Right*, and for the *Church's* **Canonical Right*, againſt his *Right of Providence*, or *Uſurped Poſſeſſion*. Declaring his *Power to be aboliſhed and taken away, for moſt juſt Cauſes; and that therefore no manner of Subjection and Obedience, is due thereto in theſe Realms.* And if this throwing out his Uſurped Right, by Legal and Canonical Right, were not a good Deciſion, How ſhall we juſtify the Reformation? And the ſame Determination was made by thoſe Statutes, which aboliſh the *Pope's Supremacy*, and make his Providential Poſſeſſion give place to the King's Legal Rights. So that both Church and State, gave like Deciſion and Sentence in this Caſe.

* *Can.* 1.

Secondly, From the *Synodical Determination of the Catholick Church*, and that in one of the *firſt four General Councils*, viz. the *Council of* Epheſus†, againſt *all Uſurpations on the Freedoms of other Churches*. For *thoſe Fathers*, on Complaint of the *Biſhops of* Cyprus, *That the Biſhop of* Antioch *had invaded the Liberties of their Church, which, by the Canons and ancient Cuſtom, was not to be ſubject to him, but only to themſelves*, Determine for the *Canonical Rights*, againſt all *Providential Invaſions:* And, *That the Invaders ſhall get nothing by any Succeſsfulneſs of their unjuſt Force therein*, but ſhall be *bound to recede from all they have ſo unjuſtly gotten*; and that the *Canonical Right and Priviledge* ſhall ſtill ſtand good againſt them. And had the ſame Queſtion been put to thoſe Fathers, concerning the legal Right of Princes, as was about the Canonical Right of Biſhops; I fancy they would have been as juſt to Right in Princes, as they were to it in themſelves; and have given as much Preference to legal Right, above illegal and uſurped Poſſeſſion, in their Prince's Caſe, as they did in their own.

† *Conc. Eph. Can.* 8.

CHAP. VII.

Of his Scripture Proofs, and ſome of his Reaſons, for his Right by Providential Poſſeſſion.

HAving hitherto endeavoured to diſprove the *Author's Right of Providence*, and to eſtabliſh a *Legal* or *Human Right*, for Crowns and all Things elſe to go by, againſt all the fanſied Prevalence and oppoſite Force thereof; which I have done from the *Nature of Things*, both the *Nature and Effect of Right*, and the *Nature and Uſe of Providence*; and from the *Sentence and Determination of our own Laws*; and the Judgment, both of the *Ancient Church*, and of the Church of *England*, given both in the *Opinions and Practices of Times*, and *Conſent of Writers*, and *Synodical Deciſions*, here produced, and pertinently, as I conceive, to this Purpoſe.

And having ſaid thus much, to ſhew his Providential Poſſeſſion, without other Title, gives no Right; I now proceed,

2. *Secondly*, To *anſwer thoſe Scriptures, and other Reaſons which he has brought to ſhew it doth give it.* All which I ſhall the ſooner diſpatch, having already anſwered ſeveral, and ſubverted the main Grounds whereon the reſt are built, in what I have before ſaid.

1. I be

1. I begin, *Firſt*, with the *Scriptures he alledges*, (*p.* 11, 12, 20.) Theſe are, *Dan.* 2. 21, 37. and *Chap.* 4. 17. and *Am.* 3. 6. which declare, *God's ruling in the Kingdoms of Men, and giving them to whom he will, and ſetting up whom he will over them, and removing and ſetting up Kings upon any Changes, and doing what is done in a City.*

Now, when theſe are applied to Providence removing or ſetting up Kings, by means of human Titles, where Revelation doth not interpoſe, there is no Diſpute, but that doth give or remove God's Authority, and therewith the Subjects Allegiance. And this way, all Kings that are to be obeyed, are ſet up by God; and all that are to have no more Obedience paid to them, are removed by him.

But when they are applied, as the Author's Principle doth, to Providence doing both, without means of preceeding Titles, but by means only of Succeſs and Poſſeſſion, againſt human Rights, all the foreſaid Scriptures may ſpeak Providence acting in theſe Matters; but none of them by way of giving a Right, or authorizing thoſe that get thereby, or act in them. God Rules by his Providence among *Rebels*, and *Thieves*, and *Pirates*; but, as the Author ſays, he gives none of them a *Right to act Rebellions*, *Thefts*, or *Piracies*. And Providence ſets up every one that proſpers, and removes every one that is removed, whether from publick or private Right; and gives what is gotten, and takes what is taken, from every other Perſon, as well as from the King. But his giving, or ſetting up, or proſpering, is not giving or ſetting up Right in any of them, if it be in an unrighteous Thing; nor his taking or removing, taking away the Right which the legal Owners had therein. All theſe Expreſſions, when uſed in ſuch Caſes as I have before ſhewn, (*Chap.* 5. *&* *Chap.* 6.) ſpeak God only accompliſhing theſe Events, not authorizing or giving Right to them. And accordingly they are uſed about the moſt unrighteous Things, which God himſelf condemns and puniſhes, and which all Mankind cry out of, as the moſt horrible Wickedneſs and Injuſtice; as may appear above more at large. So that if not meer accompliſhment of an Event, or Poſſeſſion, but God's giving Right to a Throne, is the Point in Queſtion; theſe Scriptures, that in theſe Caſes ſpeak of God's *Giving*, or *Doing*, with a reſpect only to *Accompliſhment*, not to *Right*, will not ſerve the Turn.

There are ſeveral Steps and Degrees in *God's removing* (and ſo anſwerably in his *ſetting up*) *a King*. The true and full way is, when he removes him by way of *Right*, or by the known ways of taking his *Right* from him. One great way of this is, *removing his Perſon*, by taking him out of the World; which removes his *Right* with him. And this way of *removing Kings* is particularly meant in *Dan.* 2. 21. where *the Changes in removing and ſetting up of Kings*, is particularly ſpoken of the Changes from one to another in the *Four Monarchies*; the firſt whereof was to be from the *Babylonians* to the *Medes* and *Perſians*, and was accompliſhed in *Belſhazzar*, *who was ſlain when the City was taken*, and the Empire therewith transferred to the *Medes* and *Perſians*, *Dan.* 5. 28, 30, 31. And like was the way of removing the *King* in the next great Change, *viz.* by the Death of *Darius*, when the Empire paſſed from the *Perſians* to the *Macedonians*. And by this way of removing their Perſons by Death, or of conquered *Kings ſubmitting* and *giving* up their own Rights, which is another way of removing human Rights, were the Removals of *Kings* brought about, in the ſeveral Changes of the Monarchies there ſpoken of. And both theſe are full Removals of *Kings* and *Kingly Rights*; yea, and that againſt human Laws, whereby God removed them in the Nations: Beſides that more immediate way of removing one and ſetting up another, by Perſonal Nomination, as he did ſometimes among the *Jews*.

Another

Another Degree of *God's removing a King* is, not quite removing him from his Regal Right and Title, but from actual Exercise of Government. And this God doth sometimes by *Internal Incapacities*, depriving them of use of Reason, that renders them for the present incapable to Govern: As He did by *Nebuchadnezzar*, *taking from him the Heart of a Man*, i. e. Human Reason, *and giving him a Beast's Heart*, i. e. making him turn Brutish, fancying himself a Beast, and fit only to live among Beasts, and to delight in them, *Dan.* 4. 16, 31, *&c.* This took away his Exercise of Government; yea, of Conversation, (*Ver.* 25, 32.) *making him to be driven from among Men*; and made a Necessity of some Regent, or other Provision in the Interim, till he should recover his Wits again. But the Title and Authority, noted in the *Vision* by *the Stump of his Roots still in the Earth*, (*Ver.* 15, 26.) was still remaining in him, *to secure his Kingdom to him*, and to bind his *Lords and Counsellors to seek unto him*, as he says they did, (*V.* 36.) *when his Reason should return.* And of this Removal of him, and giving away his Kingdom, not the Right and Title, but actual Administration, is his other Text, *Dan.* 4. 17. spoken, which calls this, *God's giving it to whom he will, and setting up and ruling in the Kingdoms of Men.*

Or, sometimes instead of Internal Incapacities, God removes them from this actual Administration by *External Force*, when others, without any good Title of Right, are providentially possessed of the External Power of their Kingdoms. But when God doth this alone, he doth not fully remove a King, but leaves the Right, and Authority that goes by Right, still with him. So, this is not God's Removal, or Setting up of Kings, that is to remove or transfer Allegiance; God's giving or acting by this way, not of Title, but meer Providential Possession, not conferring Right or Authority, as I have shewn before.

He also (*P.* 18.) urges, *Rom.* 13. 1, 2. which declares *all Powers to be of God, commanding them to be obeyed, and forbidding them to be resisted.* But these Powers are only rightful Powers and Authorities, not meer Providential and Usurping Possessors; who can have no Authority till they first have some good Title to it, as I think I have sufficiently proved (*Ch.* 3.) So this will give no Right to his usurping Possessors.

Neither will our Saviour's Argument against the *Pharisees*, which is another of his *Scripture-Proofs* (*p.* 21.) from the *Superscription of the Coin*: Which was an Argument to those who were under a rightful Power, and could not pretend Obligation to any rightful Competitor; and to shew they were subject to the *Romans*, who were the only Pretenders to Power over them: But not to shew whether they should have owned them in Competition of a more rightful Prince, as I have declared above, (*Ch.* 3.)

Nor will he prove it from (*p.* 21.) Jeremiah's *Prophecy*, *calling them to submit to the King of Babylon*, who had an human Right over them at that time, and against whom, as I shewed, they were then in Rebellion. Nor from the *Four Monarchies*, which he also alledges, (*p.* 20, 22.) because what Right they had over any they subdued, was in way of human Rights; by the Submission of People, when they had no rightful Kings left; or by the rightful Kings coming into the Submissions, as is before explained. Nor from the *Roman Emperors*, whom he likewise particularly adds, (*p.* 20, 21.) because their Government, both over the *Romans* and others, stood on legal or human Rights, as I have formerly shewed. Nor will it add any Force to any of these, to say (*p.* 20, 22.) they were *foretold before in Prophesies*: For Predictions only respect the Events, but carry no Right or Authority to the Actors, nor alter the Moral Natures of the Events themselves, to give Right to that which is in itself unrighteous. *Christ* foretold *Judas's Betraying him*, and the *Jews Crucifying him*; and the Scriptures foretel what *Antichrist shall do* when he shall come, and many more unrighteous Events

Events and Accompliſhments. But as thoſe Events would have been unrighteous without the Predictions, they were unrighteous with them; the Scriptural Foretelling giving Right or Authority to none of them. And theſe, I think, are all that is material in his Proof from Scripture.

I come next to anſwer *his Reaſons* for the foreſaid Right of Providence, and its Power to over-rule and ſet aſide human Rights.

1. His *Firſt* Reaſon is, (*p.* 23, 24, *&c.*) becauſe this giving Authority by Right of Providence, *is the beſt and moſt intelligible Account of the Original of human Government, and of fetching all Authority of a Governor from God.*

But as to this, it doth not fetch any Perſon's Authority from God, any better, or more immediately (as I have ſhewn, *Chap.* 2.) than human Right doth: nay, by a worſe Means, in as much as it puts them in Authority by Means of human Wickedneſs. And human Rights ſeem a much better and better way of carrying Right from God, than human Unrighteouſneſs. But God's Authority is carried in God's Commandment, immediately to ſuch a State, and by means of Rightful Title to ſuch a Perſon; thoſe Rightful Titles putting the Perſon in that State which God has authorized, and making the Authority to become his, before he act by it, as I have above diſcourſed. And as to the Queſtion, which particular way of giving this Right, whether free election of a Governor, or Submiſſion to a Conqueror, or enlargement of Paternal Power by the Continuation of Duty under the Multiplication of Families, to the *Father*, or the *Firſt-born*, did in Fact give Riſe to the firſt or the moſt Governments? That is not accounted for either way, but is an Hiſtorical Diſpute. But by which ſoever of the ways any Government was ſet up, theſe Rightful Titles are a good way of giving the Perſons God's Authority, which his meer Providential Poſſeſſion is not.

As for the Objections he ſtarts and anſwers under this Point, as *p.* 25, *&c.* *of barring Injured Princes to recover their Rights*; and *p.* 34. *giving Right to Pirates and Robbers*; and *p.* 34, 35. *the Caſe of* Athaliah *and* Joaſh: I have already ſpoke to them, *Chap.* 5. as they fell in the way of the Principles I have been hitherto laying down. And as to what he ſays, *p.* 27, 28, *&c.* about the difference betwixt a *maintaining and defending*, and a *reſtoring Allegiance*, I may take ſome notice of that anon.

2. His next Reaſon, *p.* 36. for this Right of Providence, is, That *without it, there is no defending the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience.* But why ſo? *becauſe there is no irreſiſtable Authority, but that of God; and unleſs Sovereign Princes received their Authority from God, Non-reſiſtance would be Nonſenſe.* But they may and do receive Authority from God, and not by a Right of Providence; but either by Divine Nomination, as ſometimes in *Iſrael*; or by human Rights and Titles, as in all other Places. And this way of Right doth give a Perſon God's Authority, as I have ſhewn; which this way of Providence doth not: And his fancied way of Providence would not be more immediate, nor ſo good and righteous a way of giving it. And this Authority of God, conveyed thus to a Perſon by Rightful Title, is an irreſiſtable Authority, becauſe *it is God's*, and becauſe it is a *Sovereign Authority*. There is no reſiſting any Authority derived from God, but under God, or by ſeeking to have it by an higher Authority, which is God's too. And thus the Authority of Fathers or Maſters, which is God's Authority, may be reſtrain'd and check'd, when it is abuſed, by the Authority of the Prince, which is God's too, and an higher Authority. And ſo may the Exceſſes of any inferior Magiſtrate, by the Authority of the ſupreme Magiſtrate. All which oppoſing Authority, by way of regular Appeals, and under

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Protection of an higher Authority, is not the *criminal reſiſting God's Authority*, but keeping under it, and ſeeking to be relieved by it. But when this Authority is not only given by God, but is a Sovereign Authority; then there is no Reſiſtance or Worldly Remedy againſt that, becauſe the Sovereign has none above it.

Thus may the Doctrine of *Non-Reſiſtance* be a rational Doctrine, without his Right of Providence. The Law of *Subjection to Sovereign Powers*, and not *Reſiſting*, makes it a *Sin to reſiſt*; for (1 *Joh.* 3. 4.) *Sin is the Tranſgreſſion of a Law.* And Sovereigns having not only *God's Authority*, but a *Supream Authority* under God on Earth, is a Reaſon why it neceſſarily ſhould be ſo. But that they ſhould come by this Divine and Supream Authority, by his Right of Providence, is neither neceſſary, nor juſt, nor fit, in my Judgment. But the Way of rightful Title, either by Divine Nomination, or Human Right, is the beſt, and juſteſt, and, I think I may ſay, from what I have diſcourſed thereupon, is the only true Way of coming by it.

But tho' the Doctrine of *Paſſive-Obedience*, and *Non-Reſiſtance*, may very well ſtand without his *Right of Providence*, and ſtill transferring and paying Allegiance to preſent *Powers*, againſt *rightful Titles:* I think, on the other hand, it is neceſſarily overthrown by it. I know Numbers of thoſe that ſwear the preſent Allegiance, upon the Ground of a *King de Facto*, are of another Mind; and believe it is no Breach of *Paſſive-Obedience* to one that has a legal Right, to transfer and engage their Allegiance to ſtand by another, who is poſſeſſed of his Right; which, I judge, only ſhews Non-Attention to the Nature and Import of ſuch Actings. For *Paſſive-Obedience* implies, above all Things, *to keep under a King's Obedience:* And to caſt off his Authority, is the higheſt Diſobedience. And in this lies the uttermoſt heinouſneſs and aggravation of Reſiſtance, that thereby Subjects diſclaim their King's Authority over them, and throw off all Obedience to him; and this is plainly done by transferring Allegiance from him. They cannot bear Allegiance to Two, nor *have any more than One King*, as the Author truly ſays, (*p.* 14.) So that in transferring Allegiance to another, they throw off all to him, and are as Men no longer under his Obedience and Subjection: Beſides, it puts them among Reſiſters, and ſo can be no good Payment of the Duty of *Non-Reſiſtance*: For it engages them, as I obſerved the Nature of all Allegiance is, to ſtand by the Poſſeſſor, and to withſtand the other; ſome by Arms, others by Prayers, every one in his Station. And ſince both Competitors cannot have the Crown, and both ſeek it, all that will ſtand by and ſupport one, will therein unavoidably reſiſt the other, who comes to recover and get it from him.

3. Another Reaſon is, (*p.* 37.) *If we deny this Right of Providence, to carry Allegiance to Uſurpers againſt legal Titles, we deny God's Authority to remove, or ſet up Kings againſt human Laws.*

But if God pleaſe to ſet up a King by particular Revelation, that will make him a King againſt human Laws, becauſe God is above Laws; and this no Man denies, that denies this Right of Providence. If God is not pleaſed to take this Way of ſpecial Revelation, he is pleaſed to leave Authority to be carried by human Rights: And, I ſuppoſe, he will think it no Impeachment of God's Authority, in making or removing Kings, to ſay he cannot do them, but by human Rights, when he will take no other Way, but is pleaſed to leave it to them.

Beſides, to come to Ways of doing it among other Nations, as well as among the *Jews*, *human Rights*, as I obſerved, is larger than *human Laws*. And when a Man cannot be ſet up, or removed by the Laws, God may do both according to *human Right*, by the Death, or Submiſſion of Competitors. If God pleaſe to take a King out of the World, which is his

reat Way of Removing them, and is a Way particularly referred to in his Scripture Phraſe of *Removing Kings*, as I before obſerved, his Right is emoved with him: Or, if he bring him to give it up, by his own Con-ent, his *legal Right* is that Way too removed from him: And the other ets *Right* over a willing People, by his Competitor's Oath, or Submiſſion.

Tho' Kings then are denied to be *ſet up*, or *removed*, *by meer Providence without other Title*, yet is that no Denial of God's *Setting up of Kings*, which he may do by all the Ways of *Setting them up*, *viz.* by all the Ways of *giving Right to Kingly Authority*; yea, and that againſt Laws oo, if he pleaſes, by all the other Ways of conferring that *Right*, viz. *pecial Revelation*, which is above Laws, or *Death of Competitors*, or *Con-ent of Parties*, which departs from the *Right*, that accrued by them. nd this limitting God in *giving Right*, *to Ways of giving it*, is a Limita-ion he has made himſelf, and is very well pleaſed with. And in Matters f *Right*, to be limitted to Ways of *Right*, ſeems no harder Limitation than eing limitted to be Righteous.

Indeed it denies his Way of Setting them up, *viz. By Providential Poſ-eſſion, without other Title.* But that, I think, is no Denial of the Autho-ity of God in this Point, becauſe God doth not convey his Authority to ny one, or revoke it that way. Authority he conveys by Ways of Pre-edent Right thereto; and Providential Poſſeſſion doth not carry Right to uthority along with it, as has been proved. It will poſſeſs a Man of all he External Strength of a King, and when he has that, he will uſurp the overnment, and act as a King. But God's Authority, as I noted, is not ways joined to that External Strength: So after Providential Poſſeſſion as done its part, Right to Authority will ſtill want to be conveyed. nd till God has conferred that on a Perſon, he has not finiſhed the Work f making him a King; nor till he has removed it from him, has he finiſhed e Work of removing him from being King.

And this is no more to deny God's Authority, *in removing or ſetting up King againſt human Laws*, than the ſame would be a denying his Autho-ity, *to remove*, *or ſet up a Proprietor againſt human Laws*; for Property uſt go by Right as well as Authority. And if God, by Revelation, will ke it from one, or give it to another, againſt Laws, it will go againſt aws. But if God will not be pleaſed to interpoſe by Revelation, if he ill ſet up a Proprietor, it muſt be by giving human Right to him; or if e will remove one, he muſt remove the ſame from him, ſince there is no her Way of giving him Right, to make him a Proprietor, more than of ving it to the other to make him King, if he is not pleaſed to do it by Re-elation.

This denying his *Right of Providence* then, that is, *Providential Poſſeſ-on without other Title*, in conveying Regal Authority, or making of a ing, is not to deny any Authority in God, or any Way of his deriving uthority to Men, which really doth derive it, that is, by giving Right to ; but it denies that to carry his Authority, which doth not carry it; or nrighteous Uſurpers to have his Authority, whilſt they have it not. It enies the Wickedneſs of Men, when 'tis uſed and over-ruled by him to be uthorized by God; or that which is Wrong to be made Right, as it would e, if Providence, that ſpeeds and makes Men ſucceed in the Wrong, car-ed Right to them that ſucceed thereby, and to that they ſucceed in.

CHAP. VIII.

Of his remaining Reaſons for the ſame.

HIS next Reaſon is, (*p.* 37, 38.) That ſuch Denial of his Right of Providence, *limits the Providence of God, in governing Kings, and protecting and preſerving injured Subjects.*

But as to *Government of Kings, Is not the King's Heart in God's Hands,* as *Solomon** ſays? Then he may Govern Kings, if he pleaſes, by changing their Tyrannical and Oppreſſive Purpoſes: Or, Providence can at any time throw in Hindrances and Diverſions, that when they ſeem moſt bent thereupon, they ſhall not be able to effect them: Or, over-rule Iſſues, that what they deſign for the Hurt, ſhall prove and turn to the Advantage of their Subjects. And as to Puniſhment of Oppreſſive Kings, God may, at his Pleaſure, heap Puniſhments heavy enough upon them, by removing them from the Poſſeſſion, tho' he leaves them the Right to their Crowns. Such Right, indeed, will make the Invaders unrighteous; but his Providence moſt juſtly ſcourges one unrighteous Man, by another's Unrighteouſneſs. And if he ſees fit to puniſh them with Loſs of Right, as well as of Poſſeſſion, he wants not Ways of doing that, without ſending them out of the World, if 'tis his good Pleaſure to continue and try them longer therein, by either bringing them to give it up by their own Conſent, or by taking it more immediately from them by expreſs Revelation. But when he doth not take any of theſe Ways of Deſpoiling them of Right, 'tis plain he doth not think fit to puniſh them with Loſs of that. And yet he has Ways ſufficient of curbing them and taking exemplary and preſent Vengeance for their Oppreſſions notwithſtanding.

* *Prov.* 21. 1.

And then, as to *Protection and Preſervation of injured Subjects*; God never intends they ſhall always be protected from ſuffering Injuries as Subjects, more than from ſuffering Injuries as Men. And when God ſends ſuch Sufferings, there is no Way but to receive them as of his ſending, and to endeavour patiently to bear, and to profit by them; poor Subjects, that are tied to them, muſt be content to ſuffer under ill Kings, as poor Wives muſt under ill Huſbands, till God ſee fit to put an end to their Suffering, either by changing of their Hearts, or hindering, or over-ruling of their evil Practices, or removing their Perſons, or their Right from their Perſons, (as may be done in Kings, tho' not in Huſbands,) by transferring it to others, in ſuch Ways as can transfer Right. For all which the diſtreſſed Sufferers muſt wait with Faith and Patience upon God, and ſtill thankfully receive Eaſe, in one kind or another, as God, who is the Orderer and Diſpoſer thereof is pleaſed to ſend it.

But what if God doth not remove the Right from their Perſons, and Subjects could find Eaſe by acting againſt it? May they not act againſt their Prince's Right, to eaſe themſelves? No, they muſt prefer doing Right, before getting Eaſe; and have a greater Regard to the Diſcharge of Duty than to Temporal Security. And a greater Reverence for Right, and conſcionable Care of keeping Innocent and Righteous, would make us hear more of the Danger of Subjects tranſgreſſing their Duty, than of their loſing Temporal Security in theſe Changes.

What is to be done then about this External Security and Preſervation, at ich Times? Truſt it to God's Providence, as the Author ſays*, *We muſt be Recovery of the Diſpoſſeſſed Prince's Right*, which ſeem irreeoverable by is Principles. We muſt not truſt there, when 'tis our Prince's Danger, and iſtruſt here, when 'tis our Own; for that would be, not to truſt Provi- ence with our Selves, but to truſt it very eaſily with other Men. And hilſt Subjects take Care, faithfully and righteouſly to ſerve God, they ay comfortably truſt him.

* P. 32, 33, 34.

But beſides all this; Why muſt this obſerving Duty, and doing Right to rinces, be thought againſt the Preſervation of Subjects? It may chance expoſe them on ſome accidental Turns indeed; but ſo all Rules of Pre- rvation may, which never hit in all Caſes, and yet are to be kept as in- olable Rules, and would give no Preſervation at all, if Men might break em at their Pleaſure, to ſerve Turns. And, as for the contrary Way of eaking Right and Duty, to preſerve and ſecure our ſelves, I am ſure, if at is brought into Rules, it deſtroys all Security and Preſervation; for if ere is no Guard in Right, a Man is ſecure of nothing; and Right is no uard, if Men are free to break it, when they can get by it. And as for s Way of *Right by Providential Poſſeſſion, without other Title*, that, in the onſequents, would overthrow all Security, in as much as it overthrows l Right, as I have ſhewn above. And as to the *particular Preſervation of ubjects*, tho' it might flatter them with preſent Eaſe and Preſervation, when ch Changes are brought about; yet would it preſs more upon them other ays, and at other Times, than this would compenſate: It would autho- ze their King's Invaſions upon their Rights and Liberties, as I ſhewed; d that is not for the Security and Preſervation of their Liberties: And would multiply ſuch Revolutions, and that is againſt their Security like- iſe; there being nothing ſecure to Subjects where the Struggle is, whilſt e Change is only going on. And when it is finiſhed, and an Uſurpation ttled, tho' thoſe Conſcientious Perſons, that ſtand off, in regard to the o- er's Right, are great Sufferers in it, yet, thro' the Moderation of Poſſeſ- rs, and, above all, thro' the Care of God's good and watchful Provi- nce, their Sufferings do not always proceed to ſuch *utter Ruin*, as Men, at are more afraid of Suffering than of Sinning, are apt, beforehand, to fright themſelves withal.

In ſuch Caſes as he puts indeed, *pag.* 40. *viz.* where an *Uſurping Poſſeſ- r, that has Power in his Hand, will perſecute and ruin them for it, by eſtroying, Impriſoning, or Tranſplanting them*; this doing Right and keep- g Allegiance to a diſpoſſeſſed Prince, would be ruinous to Subjects: But would any other Duties, when a Tyrannical Prince ſhall require the reach of them on like Conditions. And if the Poſſeſſor happen to do ſo, hich is the worſt Caſe that can be put, Why muſt they not ſuffer for theſe well as for other Commandments? When any Duty is perſecuted, Per- cution doth not authorize Men to break the Duty, but the Duty obliges em to bear the Perſecution. To *bear the Croſs*, and *ſuffer for Righte- ſneſs*, is their Duty at ſuch Times.

But † *Self-Preſervation is as much a Law to Subjects, as to Princes, and it will juſtify him, to ſave himſelf, by leaving his Kingdom, will it not ſtify them, to ſubmit to the prevailing Power, ſo far as is neceſſary for eir Preſervation?* Self-Preſervation, I grant, is common to both, that is, *Liberty* for each, not a *Law*, as he terms it, to either. But this Liberty limitted by Right and Duty; ſo neither King nor Subjects muſt do any ing unrighteous or undutiful, to preſerve themſelves. And his Flight for afety is not unrighteous, nor would theirs in like Neceſſity. But if they ould preſerve themſelves by acting againſt his Right, and by making Pay-

† P. 42.

ment of their Allegiance to another, against him, whilst he has the Right to it, that acting against his Right is unrighteous.

He adds, (*ibid.*) *If the Necessities of Self-Preservation absolve him from his Oath of Governing and Protecting his People, why should not the same Necessity absolve them from their Oath of Allegiance to him?* It will absolve both, from the actual Performance and Discharge, whilst they are out of Capacity actually to discharge them: But it absolves neither of them from the Obligation and Disposition to discharge it, when, and as far as they can. He must look upon himself, unless he has resigned his Power, still as their King, that ought, and would, (tho', being forcibly kept separate from them, he cannot) actually Govern them. And they answerably, on themselves as his Subjects, that are under, and must keep under his Obedience, (unless his Resignation has given them a Discharge,) and stand obliged and prepared to do it, tho', thro' Hindrance of the same Force, they cannot actually obey him. Actual Performance of any Duties supposes Opportunity, which Men have not, whilst they are out of Capacity; which Incapacity is brought upon both Prince and People by the foresaid Necessity. So that Necessity, whilst it lasts, will exempt from actual Discharge, so far as it incapacitates. But it leaves them under the same Relation, and the Obligation and Disposition of Mind dependant thereon. And these, whilst in most Things they cannot actually perform with him, will hinder them from turning Subject, and transferring Allegiance to any other Person.

5. Another Reason alledged for his *Providential Right giving Authority, and claiming Allegiance to Usurping Possessors*, is, * *the Preservation of human Societies*, which cannot be *without Government*, nor that but under the present Possessors.

* P. 38, 39. & *sequ.*

Now as to this, there are several *States of Society:* Either a *Natural*, wherein all the Communications thereof are derived regularly and as they ought to be, which is a sound and perfect State; or *Unnatural* and *Forced*, when those Communications of the Vital Parts thereof are stopped or intercepted; which is a sickly, lame, and imperfect State. And answerable to these, will be the different *Courses of Government:* Proceeding, either upon right Principles, which is the Way of a sound and perfect Government, when Society is in its natural State; or upon such other as it can get, which is the Way of a lame and imperfect Government, that is off its natural Hinges, when Society is put into an unnatural Frame. And answerable, likewise, will be the *Benefits of Government and Society*; which will be more full and perfect, or lame and limitted, according as the other are.

Now the Case which he puts, of a *Rightful King being violently kept out of the Administration of his Authority*, is an unnatural and maimed State of Society: And the Preservation of Government and Society therein, must be preserving it, so as suits with that Condition.

I confess, 'tis a great Blow to Society, to have the Head of the State kept from Communication with the Body. It is then out of the natural Course, and labours in a maimed and forced Condition.

But this doth not dissolve the *Being of the Society*; for that lies in the *Mutual Relation*, and *Obligation of the Head and Members*. The respective Societies betwixt a Bishop and his Flock, an Husband and Wife, a Prince and People, are not dissolved when the Prince, or Bishop, or Husband, are kept apart by Force, and hindred from affording their proper Offices and Communications to their several Societies; because the mutual Relation and Obligation still remains.

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But beſides the *Being*, there are the *Benefits of Society*, And how ſhall they be had, when the Head and Body are thus divided?

Concerning this, I obſerve, That all ſeeking of theſe Benefits is to be under Rules and Limitations. And theſe are all the Duties of the *Second Table*, which are *Social Duties*. So the Rules of Righteouſneſs muſt rule and bound us in compaſſing any Benefits of Society, which we muſt never pretend to ſet up, or purſue by unrighteous Ways.

All theſe Benefits of Society then, are only ſuch Benefits as can be had in Obſervance of God's Laws, of Juſtice, Truth and Faithfulneſs. And how ſhall theſe Benefits be had in Societies, in the forementioned maimed, forced, and unnatural State, when the Head is kept from free Communication with the Members? 'Tis plain, in a lame unnatural State, they cannot be had in the natural and perfect Courſe; and therefore Men muſt do the beſt they can to ſecure them by other Methods, conſiſting with theſe Rules of Juſtice, which are to limit all Purſuits thereof.

The Great * Prelate he diſputes againſt on this Point, (*p.* 38, *&c.*) is for binding all Subjects, even thoſe that *adhere to the ejected Prince*, to ſeek the Benefit of Society: And in order thereto, to pay much Regard, and to ſubmit to the Uſurper in the great Points thereof. As, *to be obedient to him in Defence of the Country againſt Foreigners, in his Adminiſtration of Juſtice, and Preſervation of Trade and Commerce, and Obſervance of Laws.* Limiting them only herein by *their Obligations to the rightful King*, that they do not obey the Uſurper in any thing againſt him, or in Violation of that Faith which they owe to him. And to this he thinks they are bound, *in prudent Care of themſelves, in grateful Return for Protection, in conſcionable Care of the Publick Benefit*; tho' they are not bound by the *Authority of the Perſon*; as the Learned *Grotius* alſo taught in this Caſe, (*de Jur. B. l.* 1. *c.* 4. *Art.* 15.)

* *B. Saunderſ. Prælect.* 3. *de Oblig. Leg. Hum. Sect.* 16, 17, 18, 19, 20.

Now what is there deſtroyed in Society, yea, or loſt of the Benefits thereof, which can righteouſly be kept, in this ſuppoſed defective, unnatural, and forced State of Society? His main Objection to it is, (*p.* 39.) that there is *a want of Authority. And Authority and Obedience is eſſential to Civil Government, and Civil Society.* And want of a perfect, and natural Courſe there is of both theſe, as there is like to be in ſuch an unnatural State; but no abſolute want thereof.

There is no abſolute want, *either of Authority, or of Allegiance.* For the rightful King has Authority, and the Subjects owe him Allegiance; and betwixt theſe, as the Head and Body, is the Being of the Society.

But what is to be ſaid then, to Adminiſtration of Government, ſhould there not be Authority alſo in that? Yes, and always is, when Government goes on in a natural Courſe; and would be in the Caſe ſuppoſed, if he that has the Authority, could be allowed to exerciſe his Authority, and to Govern by it: But he ſuppoſes he is not allowed to that. And the other, who is poſſeſſed of External Strength, but without Authority, will Adminiſter the Government, and uſurp the Exerciſe of all Acts thereof, tho' he has no Authority for it. So there will be Authority in this Society, tho' he that has it is not allowed to Exerciſe, and Govern by it. And there will be Adminiſtration and Exerciſe of all Acts of Government, tho' he that uſurps this Adminiſtration has no Authority for it. The want, is neither of Authority, nor of Adminiſtration, in the Society; but of an Union of theſe two, ſo as that he who Adminiſters might do it with Authority. This, I grant, is maimed and unnatural; but the ſuppoſed State is maimed and unnatural. And in an unnatural and lame State, when the authorized King and People are kept apart, like as when the Head and Members

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are in other Societies, there muſt be an unnatural and lame Courſe of Government.

Now when one that has not the Authority, which goes not by Strength, but Right, yet having got external Power in his hands, will adminiſter the Government; if the Subjects will all ſubmit to him therein, the Society will competently enjoy the Benefits of Adminiſtration. The natural and beſt Ground of Subjects Obedience is *Authority* indeed; but that cannot do here in an unnatural State, and in a Caſe that ſuppoſes he will adminiſter who has Poſſeſſion againſt *Right*, and ſo wants Authority for it. But this Obedience the Biſhop fetches from other Grounds, and thoſe of Conſcience too, as well as of Prudence; and carries it as far as it righteouſly can be carried, that is, in all Things that are not prejudicial to the true Owner's Rights, or to their Fidelity and Obligations to him. And farther than this none muſt go in ſeeking any Benefits of Society; they being always under the Reſtraint of this Limitation, as I obſerved, and never to be ſought unrighteouſly.

The Biſhop (*Sect.* 21.) fetches a *Liberty for the Subjects to obey the Uſurper* in the 'foreſaid Inſtances, from the *Rightful King's preſumed Conſent*. And great Reaſon there is to preſume he will conſent to what is done to keep up Government, and not to keep himſelf out. For a People he would have kept together, and ſome Order kept up among them; and 'tis to an United People that he claims a *Right*, and hopes to be reſtored again. And this *preſumed Conſent*, ſome, as the Learned Author *, whom he mentions, carry farther, to derive *Authority in theſe Acts*, to the *Uſurper and thoſe that act under him*, from the *Lawful King*. And whether this preſumed Conſent can give him or them Authority to do them, or no; 'tis certainly very equitable that his Acts for keeping up common Order and Juſtice, no ways prejudicial to the *Lawful King*, ſhould ſtand good when they are done, and be made authoritative when they can. And ſo accordingly they uſe to be made by the *Rightful King's* Ratification at his Return: as they were by *Edward* IV. by Q. *Mary*, and K. *Charles* II. on their ſeveral Reſtorations to the Throne.

* *P.* 19, 20, 69, 70, 71.

But this *preſumed Conſent*, he thinks, is not enough to derive Authority to the Uſurper. And, not to diſpute that Point, whether it be or no, doth he know of any better way? If not, all I can ſay is, That no body is bound, in my Opinion, to find *two Regal Authorities*, more than *two Kings*, which he thinks an Abſurdity for one Society, (*p.* 14.) Nor to find Authority in him that has no *Right* to it, ſince *Authority* can go by nothing elſe but *Right*. And if a Man has it not of his own, nor can borrow it, I ſee no Remedy but he muſt want it. However, having external Strength, he will adminiſter all the ſame Acts of Government, as he would do if he had Authority to do them. And if all People ſubmit, in regaad to private Intereſts and publick Peace, where there is no Authority to have regard to, his Adminiſtration will not want good Effect of keeping up Order, and Peace, and common Juſtice among them. Indeed, they that act in place of *Authority*, under ſuch as they ſuppoſe to have no *Legal Right*, are concerned to look more to the *Authority* they act by. But as for others, they will have Benefit by the Adminiſtration, whether it be with *Authority* or no.

One Objection he makes (*p.* 40.) *viz.* of *the uſurping Poſſeſſor, that has Power enough in his hand to do it, either deſtroying, impriſoning, or tranſplanting all that ſtand out*. And would not an *obſtinate Allegiance deſtroy Society in this Caſe?*

He ſuppoſes all Subjects to do their Duty, and ſtand out: Which tho' all are equally bound to do *in Right*, yet they are never like to do ſo *in Fact*, the Courſe of this World giving little appearance of a whole Nation being unanimous in quitting all Temporal Intereſts for a good Conſcience. But

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ppoſe they ſhould, and the Uſurper, being too ſtrong for them, requires em all, either to ſwear *Allegiance*, or undergo theſe hard Things; then ey muſt ſuffer as Confeſſors, for their Duty in this, as other Good Men ave done for Duty in other Inſtances. And the Duty of Confeſſing is ne-r the leſs, becauſe there is ſo great a number of Confeſſors. And if at Society be broken up by this means, it is not too good to be parted ith, to keep Innocence and a good Conſcience. All Civil Society, and e Benefits thereof, being under the Reſtraint of the Rules of Righteouſ-eſs, and never to be ſought or preſerved by breaking any of God's Laws out Society, or any others; but only ſo far as they can be had by keeping them: Men muſt never purchaſe any Society by Sin; and Sin is never e leſs ſinful for being required of them on that Condition.

But (*p.* 45.) is not *Obedience to Government itſelf, for the Preſervation of man Society*: Yes, as all other Rules of Righteouſneſs, which are Social irtues. But they are for it, not as diſcretionary Means, which Men may e or omit, as they ſee it ſerves turns; but as ſtanding Rules and Laws of od, which they are to keep without Exceptions. They muſt rule us in Caſes and Purſuits, either of Society, or any thing elſe. And a Liberty tranſgreſs theſe, when it may ſeem to ſerve preſent Turns, would leave either Security in, nor Benefit by, any Societies.

But as for this Objection againſt an *obſtinate Allegiance*, it is not peculiar it, but will lie equally againſt an *obſtinate Piety*, or any other Virtues, hen they fall into the hands of ſuch Perſecutors as will allow no benefit Society, without breach thereof. In the * *Dioclefian Perſecution*, he ows, *the Chriſtians were removed from the Emperor's Protection, and from Claim and Uſe of Laws*, (and what benefit of Society then?) *if they uld not firſt Sacrifice to the Heathen Gods.* And the like may be under y Idolatrous or Heretical Prince, who will tyrannically make any other ſtances of *Idolatry* or *Hereſy* the Condition of living under him, or of vil Society: Or ſuch a Decree as *Nebuchadnezzar* did, to deſtroy *all ople, Nations, and Languages, that would not worſhip his Golden Image*, an. 3. 6. And ſo it may in any *Church*, when they will tyrannically poſe any Sins, or Errors, as Conditions of their Communion, to all that e under them, or of *Church Society*: Which yet all good Chriſtians are und to ſeek, for the benefit of their Souls; as much as Civil Society, for e benefit of their Bodies and worldly Intereſts. So that Obſtinacy in y Truths or Duties, will as much deſtroy Society, as Obſtinacy in Alle-ance, when they fall into ſuch Princes or Perſons hands, who will let ne live in their Country, or have any Protection there, if they do, with-t renouncing them. And yet theſe are Duties then notwithſtanding, and en are then called to lay down, not only the benefits of Society, but their ry Lives, for them.

* *Lact. de Mort. Perſect. c.* 13, 15.

6. His laſt Reaſon is, (*p.* 43.) That *theſe Principles of his anſwer all the nds of Government, for Security both of Prince and Subjects.*

But, *Firſt*, Do they anſwer all the *Ends of Juſtice*, and *keeping the Com-andments?* I think I have made it plain they do not do that; becauſe they not give every Man his own, but juſtify unjuſt Poſſeſſion, and give ght to unrighteous Actions, deſtroying the Obligations laid, and the Se-rities given by Right and Wrong, among Men. And Government and vil Society are for having theſe Things done, and for being ruled in all ings by them; and the greateſt Bleſſing that comes thereby, is the Ob-rvance of them.

Then, as to the Purpoſes of Princes, his Principle indeed anſwers an U-rper's Purpoſe, which is *to keep what he has unjuſtly got*; and it ſhews m he may very juſtly and conſcionably do that; and that he has the

People

People as fast tied, and as far obliged to him, for all he has no good Title as they would be, if he had the best Title. But yet all his Purposes will not serve; for he that is once possessed of a Crown, would not have it lie at other Peoples Liberty, if they can, to take it from him, but would be glad of some such Title (and such an *human Right* will prove, if once he came to acquire that) as would make every one else afraid in Conscience, if they make any Conscience of what they do, to desire or attempt to wrest it out of his Hands. And this the Title of *Providential Possession* doth not do; for as that way he holds it only by Strength, any other, that can make a greater Strength, will start a better Title to it than he has.

And as for the Rightful King's Purpose, I think it no way answers it. For his Purpose, and that a very reasonable and just one too, would be to have his *Right*; to hold it when he has it, and to have it unlawful for any Man to disturb his Possession of it, or to get it from him, or, when he has done so, to keep it as his own, and not restore it to him again. Yea, to have *Right* from his Subjects, as well as from the Usurper: That, since it is his *Right*, they should not help to hinder him of it; and since he has Authority over them, that they should keep under Obedience to him. And, as it is the constant Purpose of Authority, to bind to such Obedience; so it is the constant Purpose of *Right*, to have these Effects, not only in the King, but in any other Person.

And lastly, as to the Purpose of Subjects; if they all purpose, as they all should do, in the first place, to keep a good Conscience, I think his Principles may appear, from what I have said, to be far from that, since they would carry them to resist him that has Authority over them, which would be Rebellious, and to oppose Right and maintain Wrong, which is very Unrighteous. And as to their Preservation and outward Security in this World, tho', in making them more externally easy under the Possessor whilst he holds the Possession, it would serve this End at that Turn; yet would it deserve it a great deal more, as I before noted, in destroying Right and Wrong, the best Guard of their Worldly Preservation; and in multiplying such Changes and Revolutions, all the Compassings whereof are the greatest Blow and Bane thereto. And tho' I am sure this is no End, either of Government, or Governors, who are not for serving, but keeping out such Changes and Revolutions; yet it seems a very natural, and the most natural End of his Right of Providence. And then, as he (*p.* 43.) grants, Princes themselves, as well as Subjects, have Cause enough *to be jealous of it*; since, *whatever Service it might do them at one Turn, it might do them as great Disservice at another.*

For to give Authority to Revolutions, and to justify those that act in them, I think, are the great Ways that any Principles can serve Revolutions. Now he designs his Right of Providence to give Authority to the Revolution, that is, to authorize one's being pulled down, and the other's being set up; or to make God transfer the Authority from one to the other thereby. And the Principle it self, and like *Scripture-Sayings* about Providence in that Case too, will give as good Right to those that act in them, as to what is got by them, as I have formerly shewn. So, by this Principle, the Usurpers, in Revolutions, get Right to attempt and invade a Prince's Rightful Crown, and when they have got it from him, to make it their own, and to bind all the Subjects as fully and fast to them, as they were bound to the former King. And what more Service would a Man desire from Principles, whose Part is not to act and accomplish Things, but only to justify and confirm Actions, and the Actors in them?

But,

But, quite contrary, the other Principle of *Legal Right*, gives all the heck to Revolutions, that Principles can do; leaving no Man Right to inade a rightful Prince's Throne, nor to hold it when he has unrighteously ot it, but to restore it to the true Owner again; nor Liberty to the Subcts, to turn over to the Usurpers against their rightful Prince, which ere both to resist Authority, and to oppose Right, and support Wrong. nd this is to bar and prevent Revolutions, as far as Principles can do it; at is, among all that will be guided by Principles, and do only righteous hings.

But *if it would prevent all Revolutions of Government, that*, says he, *p.* 44.) *is a Demonstration against it, that it is a bad Principle, and comes ot from God.* Indeed this seems an odd Fetch, That doing *Right* cannot me from God, if it would prevent *Unrighteousness*; which therefore mes from him, because it would do so. But his Reason is, because then od could not exercise a *Prerogative he has reserved to himself, of reoving, or setting up a King*; *when he cannot set up, unless he can oblige e Subjects to obey him.* He should have inferr'd, therefore when God ill exercise that Prerogative, he will remove one King's Right, that the ubjects may owe him no Obedience, and give it to another, that they may ay him Obedience; and that because God will have them follow Right, nd carry themselves righteously towards both. And tho' *human Laws* are he ordinary Way, yet God has other Ways of making, or unmaking ings, that is, rightful Kings, when he pleases. For he may put an end o the dispossessed King's Right, by taking him out of the World; or by ringing him, whilst he lives, to resign and part with it by his own Consent, r give it away from him to the other, by immediate Revelation, if he ees fit, as I shewed before. And these are his Ways of exercising this *rerogative, of removing, or setting up Kings*, when that is to remove and ransfer the Allegiance of Subjects: But if he only by Course of Provience changes Possession, but neither by human nor divine Title, transfers he Right to a Crown, it is a Punishment or Trial, both on dispossessed rince and People, and is not the Removal of a King which sets them loose rom him. And this adhering to such dispossessed Princes, till they are ome Way disauthorized, and deprived of Right, as well as Possession, is ot *for Mankind to be Slaves of Princes*, as he says, (*p.* 45.) but only to e Slaves of *Right*, if Slavery must be the Term for it, as Princes themelves must be too, if they will be righteous.

He also (*p.* 43, 44.) charges the Inconvenience and Defects *in Governent, all the Time such dispossessed rightful King is shut out*, upon this rinciple of *unalterable Allegiance to Legal Right*. Those Inconveniences nd Defects indeed are apparently to be imputed to his being kept out; but nalterable Allegiance to his Legal Right, surely doth not keep him out. And in such Case, if a Man will speak Justice, and direct the Charge where the Blame is, he must not say, they cause all the Inconveniences or Overthrow of Government, for want of him, that are careful conscientiously to do him Right, but they, who unconscionably keep him out of his Right.

Before I dismiss this Consideration of *his Reasons*, I shall take notice of he Distinction he makes, (*p.* 28, 29.) between *Maintaining, and Defending*, nd *Restoring* in the Matter of *Allegiance*, and the *Oath* for it.

But unless he can set this aside, by the *Convention's Principle*, and that f the *Publick Acts*, viz. *the Translation of the Legal Right*, this Nicety, believe, will not solve or take it off.

He (*p.* 27, 28.) distinguishes between *Natural* and *Legal Allegiance*. And they are distinct, as to the Bond, and Ground of Obligation, one being from the Law of Nature, and the other from our own Laws. But the main of that Distinction lies, not in their calling for distinct Offices, particularly not in *Legal Allegiance binding Subjects to defend their King's Authority, and Natural Allegiance binding to no Defence thereof*: For all Subjects were bound to defend their Kings, before they had any written Laws for Allegiance. By the Law of Nature, when Authority is set up, it is to be defended; and it can have no other Defence, but the Subjects Allegiance. Its inseparable Effects is to oblige, and if it oblige to any Service, it must oblige more especially to such as is necessary for its own Preservation and Defence. The Union of Subjects to a Prince, is that of Members to the Head, which are certainly bound to defend it, as I at first noted. And therefore when the Law comes to bind this Defence faster by the *Legal Oath*, it doth not pretend to bring in a new Duty; but by the Addition of an Oath, to make that more secure, which Nature had bound on all before. *The Effect and Substance of Ligeance is by the Law of Nature*, as is declared in * *Calvin*'s Case, *but the Form and Addition of the Oath*, ex provisione hominis. And the *Statute* it self, which imposes the *Legal Oath*, declares it, † *To tend only to the Declaration of such Duty, as every true and well-affected Subject, not only by Bond of Allegiance, but also by the Commandment of Almighty God, ought to bear to the King's Majesty.*

* *Vid. p.* 14, & 25.

† *Stat.* 7. *Jac.* 1. *c.* 6.

Now, since Defence is implied as a necessary Duty and Ingredient of Allegiance, if he leaves any Man Authority to call for Allegiance, How will he hinder him by the same Authority, from challenging Defence? And this, whether it be in holding Possession, or in getting it, and seeking Restauration to it. If Allegiance is left due in both, Defence will be like to be left due in both, because Defence is part of Allegiance. Indeed, as he says, (*p.* 31, 27.) *All Subjects are not bound to turn Soldiers.* Nor will they be alike (*p.* 29.) in the Way of obliging Calls and Opportunities, to defend a Prince, when out of his Throne, as when seated on his Throne. But as to such Defence, as every one is bound to in his Station, whilst a Prince is among them, How will his Way exempt them from paying the same, when they have an obliging Opportunity, whilst he is dispossessed of his Throne? This, I think, King *William* claim'd from the *Irish* Subjects, requiring them to *come in to him, and to return to their due Obedience*, whilst his Errand was *Restoring, or getting Possession*: And this, in virtue of their Natural Allegiance, they having taken no Legal Oath to him.

And more particularly, as to the *Legal Oath*, *the Maintenance and Defence* swore in that, is with respect to the *Legal Right*, as is plain in the *Oath*, and as he himself observes, (*p.* 28.) And here, methinks, it should be harder to get off from *Maintaining and Defending*, if the *Legal Right* be allowed to remain, which they swore to Maintain and Defend him in. And the *Maintenance* promised, was *against all Attempts whatsoever, against his Person, Crown, and Dignity.* Now the *Crown and Dignity* is his, who has the best Right to them; Right making Property, as I formerly observed. So leaving the *Legal Right to any dispossessed King's Person*, will leave him the *Crown* and *Dignity*; and then all Continuance of *Attempts to deprive his Person of the Crown and Dignity*, will be *Attempts against his Person, Crown, and Dignity*, I think. And how will this *making Attempts* thereupon, be *Maintaining and Defending*, both his Dignity and Him, against them? So no Way will remain, but the *Translation of Legal Right*, to take off this Maintenance and Defence, in my Opinion.

He thinks also, (*p.* 30.) *That we are not bound to defend a King, when he illegally subverts the Laws, or legal Religion of a Kingdom.* 'Tis enough

in Conſcience, he fanſies, (*p.* 27.) *patiently to bear ſuch an one; but a little too much for Subjects to venture all, to keep him on the Throne to oppreſs them.* This, I think, makes Kings illegal Actings a Diſcharge of Subjects Allegiance, and Legal Defence; which agrees equally ill, in my Opinion, with the *Oath of Allegiance*, and with *Paſſive Obedience*. For that is to be ſo *Paſſive* as to make no *Reſiſtance*, and to be ſo *Obedient* as to pay all *due Service* and *Allegiance*, even to ſuch illegal Invaders of Religion and Laws.

Nor is this Duty taken off, by the Abuſe they will make of the Subjects Performance, in turning that Power upon them afterwards, to perſecute and oppreſs thoſe who were its dutiful Supporters; for no Duty is taken off, by the accidental Abuſe which others may make of our Payment of it; nor was this in particular thought to be taken off, by the Primitive Chriſtians. They were not without plain Appearances, that if a Perſecutor kept the Throne, he would turn or continue his Power, to perſecute and oppreſs them. But yet for all this, they durſt never be wanting in any Part or Duty of good Subjects, in their ſeveral Stations, to keep him thereon, either againſt any Domeſtick Rebellion or Foreign Invaſion. The Subjects Duty in theſe Caſes, I think, is, as to the illegal Ways, never to act under him, or ſerve him in the illegal Thing. But yet for all that, to be ready in their ſeveral Stations, to defend his Perſon, and the Cauſe of his Crown, when either Subject or Foreigner ſhall riſe againſt him. And 'tis their acting in the illegal Thing, that the Law puniſhes, but no Law will puniſh them for acting to ſupport his Perſon, and defend his Crown. Tho' a *Man may be a Traitor*, as he urges, (*p.* 30.) *for acting for him againſt Law*, yet never for Defending him when Aſſaulted, for that is according to Law. So tho' they are not to defend ſuch illegal Oppoſer, in an illegal Thing, yet are they bound to give him the due Defence of *Allegiance*, and the *Legal Oath*, notwithſtanding it.

And thus I have conſidered both the *Scriptures* and *Reaſons*, he has offered for this *Right of Providence*. And as the former Proofs, I think, have new Reaſon enough to overthrow it, ſo he has brought no good Reaſon to ſupport it: And therefore meer Providential Poſſeſſion of another's Crown, without other Title, is no Right; much leſs ſuch as ſhould ſet aſide the Legal Right: So that the Legal Right will ſtand good notwithſtanding it.

And if he that has the Legal Right, has the beſt Right to the Crown, tho' another be got into Poſſeſſion, the *Suppoſal of a Legal Right* in another, will leave all the firſt mentioned Difficulties in Force, againſt tranſferring Allegiance to the Poſſeſſor. For in engaging by ſuch Allegiance, to help him in keeping out the right Owner, Subjects would be very Unrighteous; and engaging alſo thereby, to reſiſt the Authority of their rightful Prince, they would be very Undutiful and Rebellious; and therein, moreover, to break their former Promiſes and Oaths, they would be very Perfidious and Perjurious. All which, I think, are not to be taken off, by the Suppoſal of *Legal Right* in the ejected Prince, but only by proving he has parted from it, and that the Poſſeſſor is veſted with it, which uſes to be the Principle of the Publick Acts on ſuch Revolutions, and particularly is ſo in our preſent Caſe; and which, as the Author has not at all medled with, ſo neither ſhall I.

And thus, Honoured Sir, I have conſidered what this Reverend and Learned Perſon has offered on this Argument: Wherein I have endeavoured to take the Freedom which is fitting, with his Opinion, but to ſhew the Reſpect which I have, and his many Excellent, both Pious and Learned Labours, have ſo long given the Serious and Wiſe part of Men Cauſe to have for his Perſon.

I pray God to enlighten, and thereby to awaken, the Consciences of all concerned in this Question. Some may be apt to take Offence, at a free Discussion of these Grounds, thinking it may touch too near on Reputation. But as many as prefer Religion before themselves, will be more careful to keep its Duties in Credit, than to keep up their own Credit. And, I am sure, all that have a serious Sense of Christianity, and Reverence for the Commandments of God, must needs see, that they have a much higher Concern than Reputation, in this Dispute. The Difficulties are of highest Importance, in that Account we must all one Day make, before the Great Judge of the World. And if the Grounds several Men satisfy themselves upon at present, will not take them off, it nearly concerns them to see it in Time, whilst there may be Ways of providing a more comfortable Answer, against they come to be posed upon them. God, in his abundant Mercy, grant us all the Grace to have, and keep Minds raised above this World, and both to see the Truth, and follow it. I remain,

SIR,

Your most Faithful

and Affectionate Servant, &c.

A COMPANION FOR THE PERSECUTED: OR, AN OFFICE

For Thoſe who Suffer for

Righteouſneſs.

CONTAINING,

Particular Prayers and Devotions for Particular Graces, and for their Private or Publick Wants and Occaſions.

LONDON:

Printed in the Year M DCC XVIII.

LONDON:

Printed in the Year MDCCXXVIII.

Antipapal Prayers and Devotions for Antichristian Chapels, and for their Private or Publick Uses and Occasions.

CONTAINING

Antipsalms.

FOR THE USE AND SERVICE

OF

PERSECUTED

FOR THE

COMPANION

A

THE INTRODUCTION.

Reader,

I HERE present thee with *Prayers* and *Devotions*, fitted to support the Spirits, and to direct and improve the Virtues, of those who at any Time, or in any Place, are call'd out by the Wisdom and Goodness of GOD, to suffer for the Cause of *Truth* and *Righteousness*.

The charitable Helps and Offers of this Kind, are very needful, and will be very acceptable, to those who are actually labouring under the Cross, and bearing Affliction for the Blessed JESUS. And as for others, who think they have no need thereof for themselves; yet may they at all times find occasion enough, if they please, to put up such Prayers for their persecuted Brethren and Fellow-Members: For the Church of CHRIST is still bearing his Cross in one Part or other; and whilst in one place he is cherishing some with the comforts of Peace, he is elsewhere proving others of their Brethren with Tribulations. Nay, since these Trials are common to Men, and more especially to Christians, he who says at present that he is most free from them, knows not how soon the Alwise GOD may see fit to bring him under the same. And 'tis good to be forearmed and provided for a sharp Conflict, which we are liable to be tried withal, and the rather, because in the heat thereof, when these Helps are most needed, they are usually hardest to be got, and 'tis not so easy then to put them into the hands of those, who want to be directed and assisted by them. Indeed, by the Bounty and Indulgence of Almighty GOD, the true Disciples of CHRIST have here their Intervals of Rest and Quietness, and are oft-times comforted and refreshed with Worldly Peace, and the Favour of Princes. But when GOD gives them this outward Ease, it is more than his Gospel promises. Their Profession is to be Followers of a Man of Sorrows, and to look for Crosses and Persecutions in his Service; and, when they come, to take them up, and bear them patiently after him. So that it must neither be contrary to their Spirit, nor Expectations, to hear of Sufferings; and it should never be thought a Service out of season, to instruct them how to bear them, and to furnish them with such Prayers and proper Reflexions, as may afford them both Direction and Support therein.

The first Care, in this Case, is to see that their Sufferings be for the Truth's sake, or for a good Cause. Without this, the Hopes of Sufferers are but a Dream, and there is no true ground of Comfort or Support in them. If they suffer only for their own Follies, or Fansies, what Reason has their Blessed Lord to thank them, for being Fanciful or Foolish? Or, if they suffer for maintaining dangerous Errors, or for turning out of the way of Truth and Righteousness, these are not Things for Him to reward, but to punish. 'Tis only their suffering for some Doctrines, or Precepts of his, that can render them his Martyrs, or Confessors: And when they take care to be found in that way, and suffer for hearkening unto Him, He will support them whilst they suffer, and afterwards make them ample amends for the same.

But when they take care to be found in a Righteous Cause, they must be careful withal to honour him, and approve themselves by all the Parts and Vertues of a Righteous and truly Christian Carriage. Their study then must be to shew Minds advanced above all earthly Fears and Desires, to support them-

themſelves with the Comforts of Religion, and the belief of GOD's Promiſes, to bear their Afflictions for CHRIST's ſake, with Patience and Thankfulneſs, to weary out their Perſecutors Fury with their Religious Conſtancy, to vanquiſh all their Injuries by returning Prayers and Kindneſſes; and in all Things to evidence a Spirit that is full of Love, and holy Zeal, and humble Confidence in GOD; but that is not either to be corrupted by the Eaſe and Comforts, or ſhocked and broken by the Threats or Loſſes of this World. And by theſe and ſuch like Virtues, they will be made conformable to the Image of their Suffering Saviour, and perform a Service moſt fragrant and pleaſing unto Him, and moſt honourable to Truth and a Righteous Cauſe. For the World doth not afford a more glorious ſight, than to ſee a Chriſtian with Religious Bravery and Conſtancy bearing CHRIST's Croſs, and by Magnanimity and Meekneſs triumphing over all the Powers of Error and unjuſt Violence.

Theſe, indeed, are hard Services. But as they have great Difficulties, they will at laſt have glorious Rewards, and at preſent have great Aſſiſtances. The Almighty Spirit of GOD will ſupport thoſe, who ſeriouſly and religiouſly ſet themſelves to ſuffer Chriſtianly in his Cauſe: They will be ſet above themſelves, and will be guarded and fortified againſt human Weakneſs, by the Powers of the Divine Grace. And this, as they muſt humbly and firmly depend upon, ſo muſt they conſtantly and earneſtly ſeek from him, by Prayers and Devotion.

In the following Offices, it has been my Aim and Study, to be as helpful to them as I can for this purpoſe. And therein, according as I was able, I have not only ſuggeſted the true Comforts and Supports, but directed their Eye to the true Spirit, Duty, and Carriage of Goſpel-ſufferers. And have taught them, under the ſame, to expreſs ſuch Reſentments, and aſpire after ſuch raiſed Affections as may become thoſe who would honour GOD, and ſecure their own future happy Reward by their Sufferings, and who count it a Priviledge to be thought worthy by the Bleſſed JESUS to ſuffer in his Cauſe. And on this account this little Book may be put into the hands of the Perſecuted, not only as a Form of Devotion, to be put up to GOD in holy and fervent Prayers, but likewiſe as a Treatiſe of Inſtruction, to be read for the knowledge of their Duty, and as a Guide to their Practice; ſince therein they have a Draught and Delineation of that Spirit which they are to nurſe up and ſhew forth, and of thoſe Habits and Virtues wherein they are to dreſs up their Souls at ſuch Times.

I have been very particular in the Devotional Proviſions and Supplies for theſe Purpoſes, and have had regard both to private and publick Neceſſities. Which Pains, I hope, will be acceptable to devout Minds, who, when they are deſirous to expreſs their Devotion on thoſe Particulars, will not be unfurniſhed with fitting Forms, and may at any time uſe more, or fewer thereof, as their Leiſure permits, or as their Needs require.

And to the Body of *Prayers* and *Devotions*, I have prefixed a Collection of ſelect Scriptures upon the ſeveral Duties, and moſt important Needs and Deſires of Sufferers for Righteouſneſs. And this I have done, for the Sufferers Guidance and Inſtruction, as well as for their Devotion. For, beſides the kindling and quickning of Devout Affections, and the ſtrengthning and ſupporting of their Spirits amidſt their Heavy Trials, when they uſe them as ſacred Hymns, or as a Matter of their Religious Meditations: Theſe Texts will teach them the Neceſſity, and help to ſhew them the Nature and Offices of all thoſe reſpective Duties, which are as * *the Salt to the Sacrifice*, without which their own Oblation of themſelves would be inſipid, and their Loſſes for CHRIST's ſake would neither gain his Favour and Acceptance, nor effectually recommend and do Honour to his Cauſe. And both the Scriptures collected, and the Prayers compoſed for theſe Ends, are as follows.

* *Lev.* 2. 13. *Mark* 9. 49.

A

AN OFFICE FOR ufferers for Righteouſneſs under Perſecution.

Scriptures for thoſe who Suffer for Righteouſneſs.

al. 94. & *Pſal.* 125. *Heb.* 12, to *ver.* 18. 2 *Cor.* 1. to *ver.* 13. } { *Pſal.* 12. & *Pſal.* 14. *Iſai.* 51. *Heb.* 10. *ver.* 23, to the end.

I.

For receiving Perſecutions, as Chaſtiſements for former Offences.

HEN we ſuffer ſtriving againſt ſin, we are chaſten'd and corrected of the Lord, Heb. 12. 4, 5, 6, 9.

The time is come, that judgment muſt begin at the Houſe of God, 1 Pet. 4. 17.

I will bear the Indignation of the Lord, becauſe I have ſin- d againſt him, until he plead my cauſe, and execute judgment for me, ich. 7. 9.

O Iſrael! Return unto the Lord thy God, for thou haſt fallen by thine ini- uity, Hoſ. 14. 1.

Remember your ways, and all your doings, wherein ye have been defiled, nd loath your ſelves in your own ſight for all your evils that ye have com- itted, Ezek. 20. 43.

Remember from whence thou art fallen, and repent and do thy firſt works; elſe I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy candleſtick out of his lace, unleſs thou repent, Rev. 2. 5.

If the Fig-tree continues barren, the Lord will ſay to the Dreſſer of his ineyard, cut it down, Luke 13. 6, 7.

Without Repentance, *the Kingdom of God ſhall be taken from you, and iven to a Nation bringing forth the fruits thereof,* Matth. 21. 43.

II.

or receiving Perſecutions, as Trials of our Obedience, and as they bring upon us Loſſes for Righteouſneſs.

1. To be received with Contentedneſs, and with Thankfulneſs.

If the World hate you, you know that it hated me, before it hated you.

Remember the word that I ſaid unto you, the Servant is not greater than he Lord. If they have perſecuted me, they will alſo perſecute you.

If you were of the world, the world would love his own: but becauſe you re not of the world, but I have choſen you out of the world, therefore doth he world hate you, Joh. 15. 18, 19, 20.

If any man ſuffer as a Chriſtian, let him not be aſhamed, but let him glorify God on that behalf.

If ye be reproached for the Name of Chriſt, happy are ye; for the Spirit of Glory, and of God, reſteth upon you.

Rejoice, in as much as ye are partakers of Chriſts Sufferings; that when his Glory ſhall be revealed, ye may be glad alſo with exceeding joy, 1 Pet. 4. 13, 14, 16.

Rejoice, and be exceeding glad, and leap for joy, for great is your reward in heaven: for ſo perſecuted they the Prophets which were before you, Matth. 5. 11, 12. Luke 6. 23.

2. With free Confeſſion of Chriſt and his Truths.

If ye ſuffer for Righteouſneſs ſake, ſanctify the Lord God in your hearts. And be not afraid of their Terror, neither be troubled; and be ready always to give an Anſwer to every man, that aſketh you a reaſon of the hope that is in you, with meekneſs and reverence, 1 Pet. 3. 14, 15.

Whoſoever ſhall confeſs me before Men, him will I alſo confeſs before my Father which is in Heaven.

But whoſoever ſhall deny me before Men, him will I alſo deny, before my Father which is in Heaven, Matth. 10. 32, 33.

For with the Heart Man believeth unto Righteouſneſs; and with the Mouth Confeſſion is made unto Salvation, Rom. 10. 10.

3. With Integrity and prudent Caution.

And let them that ſuffer according to the Will of God, commit the keeping of their Souls unto him in well-doing, as into the Hands of a faithful Creator, 1 Pet. 4. 19.

Hold up my goings in thy paths, that my footſteps ſlip not, Pſal. 17. 5.

Though all this is come upon us, yet have we not forgotten thee, neither have we dealt falſly in thy Covenant.

Our heart is not turned back, neither have our ſteps declined out of thy way.

Though thou haſt ſore broken us in the place of dragons, and covered us with the ſhadow of Death, Pſal. 44. 17, 18, 19.

Stand, having your loins girt about with Truth, and having on the breaſtplate of Righteouſneſs, and your feet ſhod with the preparation of the Goſpel of peace, Eph. 6. 14, 15.

Walk in wiſdom towards thoſe that are without, redeeming the time.

Let your ſpeech be always with grace, ſeaſoned with ſalt, that ye may know how ye ought to anſwer every man, Col. 4. 5, 6.

See that ye walk circumſpectly, not as fools, but as wiſe.

Redeeming the time, becauſe the days are evil, Eph. 5. 15, 16.

Beware of Men, for they will deliver you up to the Councils.

And ye ſhall be brought before Governours, and Kings for my ſake.

Behold! I ſend you forth as ſheep in the midſt of wolves; be ye therefore wiſe as ſerpents, and harmleſs as doves, Matt. 10. 16, 17, 18.

4. With Stedfaſtneſs and Conſtancy.

Finally my Brethren, be ſtrong in the Lord, and in the power of his might, Eph. 6. 10.

Stand faſt in one ſpirit, with one mind, ſtriving together for the faith of the Goſpel; and in nothing terrified by your Adverſaries, Phil. 1. 27, 28.

Contend earneſtly for the faith, which was once delivered to the ſaints, Jud. 3.

Put on the whole Armour of God, that ye may be able to ſtand againſt the wiles of the Devil.

That

That ye may be able to ſtand in the evil day, and having done all to ſtand, Eph. 6. 11, 13.

Let us hold faſt the profeſſion of our Faith without wavering, (for he is faithful who hath promiſed.)

Not forſaking the aſſembling of our ſelves together, as the manner of ſome is; but exhorting one another, and ſo much the more, as ye ſee the day approaching, Heb. 10. 23, 25.

And now, Lord! behold their threatnings; and grant unto thy ſervants, that with all boldneſs they may ſpeak thy word, Acts 4. 29.

5. With Faith.

1. *Wherefore take unto you the whole Armour of God.*

Above all, taking the ſhield of faith, wherewith ye ſhall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked, Eph. 6. 13, 16.

Caſt not away therefore your confidence, which hath great recompence of reward, Heb. 10. 35, 38.

Look unto Jeſus, who for the joy that was ſet before him, endured the Croſs, deſpiſing the ſhame, and is ſet down at the right hand of the Throne of God, Heb. 12. 2.

It is a faithful ſaying, if we ſuffer with him, we ſhall alſo reign with him, 2 Tim. 2. 11, 12.

Our light affliction, which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of Glory.

While we look not at the things which are ſeen, but at the things which are not ſeen: for the things which are ſeen, are temporal; but the things which are not ſeen, are eternal, 2 Cor. 4. 17, 18.

2. *And fear not them which kill the body. For not a ſparrow ſhall fall on the ground, without your Father.*

Fear ye not therefore, ye are of more value than many ſparrows.

But the very hairs of your head are all numbred, Mat. 10. 28, 29, 30, 31.

When ye do well, and ſuffer for it, hereunto were ye called, 1 Pet. 2. 20, 21.

It falls to none to be *conformed to the image of his Son in ſufferings,* but *to them, who are called thereto, according to his purpoſe,* Rom. 9. 28, 29.

Whilſt God continues *his hedge about them, Satan cannot touch them,* Job 1. 10.

When he brings them under *heavineſs, through manifold temptations,* 'tis only *for a ſeaſon,* and *if need be,* 1 Pet. 1. 6.

When he permits their Perſecutors to give them ſome trouble, the *remainder of wrath ſhall he reſtrain,* Pſal. 76. 10.

God is faithful, who will not ſuffer you to be tempted above what you are able; but will with the temptation alſo make a way to eſcape, that ye may be able to bear it, 1 Cor. 10. 13.

He is a *very preſent help in trouble,* Pſal. 46. 1.

From him we ſhall *obtain mercy, and find grace to help, in the* * *moſt fitting ſeaſon,* Heb. 4. 16.

* Εις ευκαιρον βοηθειαν.

My Grace is ſufficient for thee, my ſtrength is made perfect in weakneſs, 2 Cor. 12. 9.

And ſince what they ſuffer, is only *according to the will of God, let them that ſuffer, commit the keeping of their ſouls to him in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator,* 1 Pet. 4. 19.

6. With Truſt in God.

The fear of man bringeth a ſnare; but whoſo putteth his truſt in the Lord, ſhall be ſafe, Prov. 29. 25.

Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whoſe mind is ſtayed on thee, becauſe he truſteth in thee, Iſai. 26. 3.

Bleſſed is the man that truſteth in the Lord, and whoſe hope the Lord is, Jer. 17. 7.

For he is a refuge for the oppreſſed, a refuge in times of trouble, Pſal. 9. 9.

He maketh wars to ceaſe unto the end of the earth, he breaketh the bow, and cutteth the ſpear in ſunder, he burneth the chariot in the fire, Pſal. 46. 9.

Some truſt in chariots, ſome in horſes; but we will remember the name of the Lord our God.

We will rejoice in thy ſalvation, and in the name of our God will we ſet up our banners, Pſal. 20. 5, 7.

It is better to truſt in the Lord, than to put confidence in man.

It is better to truſt in the Lord, than to put confidence in princes, Pſalm 118. 8, 9.

Our Fathers truſted in thee, and thou didſt deliver them, Pſal. 22. 4.

Thou Lord haſt not forſaken them that ſeek thee, Pſal. 9. 10.

He ſhall deliver them from the wicked, and ſave them, becauſe they truſt in him, Pſal. 37. 40.

He will ariſe and have mercy upon Sion, *when the time to favour her, yea, the ſet-time is come*, Pſal. 102. 13.

I the Lord will haſten it in its time, Iſai. 60. 22.

But if you will not believe, ſurely you ſhall not be eſtabliſhed, Iſai. 7. 9.

And *he that believeth ſhall not make haſte*, Iſai. 28. 16.

7. Againſt Truſting more in other Things, than in God, and fixing too much on Earthly Dependances.

There is no King ſaved by the multitude of an hoſt; a mighty man is not delivered by much ſtrength.

An horſe is a vain thing for ſafety; neither ſhall he deliver any by his great ſtrength, Pſal. 33. 16, 17.

Truly in vain is ſalvation hoped for from the hills, and from the multitude of mountains; truly in the Lord our God is the ſalvation of Iſrael, Jer. 3. 23.

Surely men of low degree are vanity, and men of high degree are a lye: to be laid in the ballance, they are altogether lighter than vanity, Pſal. 62. 9.

Ceaſe from man, whoſe breath is in his noſtrils, for wherein is he to be accounted of? Iſai. 2. 22.

Put not your truſt in Princes, nor in the ſon of man, in whom there is no help.

His breath goeth forth, he returneth to his earth; in that very day all his thoughts periſh. Pſal. 146. 3, 4.

Curſed be the man, who truſteth in man, ſaith the Lord, and maketh fleſh his arm, and whoſe heart departeth from the Lord.

For he ſhall be like the heath in the deſart, and ſhall not ſee when good cometh, but ſhall inhabit the parched places in the wilderneſs, in a ſalt land, and not inhabited, Jer. 17. 5, 6.

But bleſſed is the man, that maketh the Lord his truſt, and reſpecteth not the proud, nor ſuch as turn aſide to lyes, Pſal. 40. 4.

Truſt not in oppreſſion, and become not vain in robbery, Pſal. 62. 10.

Truſt in the Lord with all thine heart, and lean not to thine own underſtanding, Prov. 3. 5.

For there is no wiſdom, nor underſtanding, nor council againſt the Lord, Prov. 21. 30.

Who is among you that feareth the Lord, that obeyeth the voice of his ſervant, that walketh in darkneſs and hath no light? let him truſt in the name of the Lord, and ſtay upon his God.

Behold all ye that kindle a fire, that compaſs your ſelves about with ſparks, walk

walk in the light of your fire, and in the ſparks that ye have kindled. This ſhall ye have of my hand, you ſhall lie down in ſorrow, Iſai. 50. 10, 11.

8. With Patience.

Endure hardſhip, as a good ſoldier of Jeſus Chriſt, 2 Tim. 2. 3.
If thou faint in the day of adverſity, thy ſtrength is ſmall, Prov. 24. 10.
Wait on the Lord, and he ſhall ſave thee, Prov. 20. 22.
He that believeth will not make haſte, Iſai. 28. 16.
It is a good thing, that a man ſhould both hope, and quietly wait for the ſalvation of the Lord, Lam. 3. 26.
Ye have need of patience, that after ye have done the will of God, ye might receive the promiſe.
For yet a little while, and he that ſhall come will come, and will not tar- 1 Pet. 5. 10.
y, Heb. 10. 36, 37.
The rod of the wicked ſhall not reſt upon the lot of the righteous, leſt the righteous put forth their hands unto iniquity, Pſal. 125. 3.
Behold! the Huſband-man waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, and hath long patience for it, until he receive the early and the latter rain.
Be ye alſo patient, ſtabliſh your hearts, for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh.
Take, my brethren, the Prophets for an example, of ſuffering affliction, and of patience.
Behold! we count them happy which endure. You have heard of the patience of Job, *and have ſeen the end of the Lord, that the Lord is very pitiful, and of tender mercy,* Jam. 5. 7, 8, 10, 11.
In your patience poſſeſs ye your ſouls, Luke 21. 19.
For whoſoever will ſave his life, ſhall loſe it; and whoſoever will loſe his life for my ſake, ſhall find it, Matth. 16. 25.
Let us not be weary in well-doing, for in due time we ſhall reap if we faint not, Gal. 6. 9.
Conſider him, that endured ſuch contradiction of ſinners, leſt ye be weary, and faint in your minds, Heb. 12. 2.
He ſhall not fail nor be diſcouraged, till he have ſet judgment in the earth, Iſai. 42. 4.
Becauſe iniquity of Perſecutors *ſhall abound, the love of many ſhall wax cold. But he that ſhall endure unto the end, the ſame ſhall be ſaved,* Matth. 24. 12, 13.
Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a Crown of life, Rev. 2. 10.
Here is the patience, and faith of the ſaints, Rev. 13. 10.

9. With Prayer and unwearied Devotion.

Be patient in tribulation, continuing inſtant in prayer, Rom. 12. 12.
Take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to ſtand in the evil day.
Praying always, with all prayer and ſupplication in the ſpirit, and watching thereunto with all perſeverance, and ſupplication for all Saints, Eph. 6. 13, 18.
Is any among you afflicted? let him pray, Jam. 5. 13.
For my love they are my adverſaries; but I will give my ſelf unto prayer, Pſal. 109. 4.
Let us hold faſt the profeſſion of our faith, without wavering.
Not forſaking the aſſembling of our ſelves together, as the manner of ſome is; but exhorting one another: and ſo much the more as you ſee the day approaching, Heb. 10. 23, 25.

10. With

10. With Charity towards Perſecutors.

1. *When ye ſuffer for well-doing, take it patiently; for this is acceptable with God,* 1 Pet. 2. 20.

And be ready to give an anſwer to every man that ſeeth you ſuffer, and *aſketh a reaſon of the hope that is in you, with meekneſs and reverence,* 1 Pet. 3. 18.

Bleſs thoſe that curſe you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that deſpitefully uſe you and perſecute you.

That you may be the children of your Father which is in Heaven, who doth good to the juſt and unjuſt, Matth. 5. 44, 45.

Moreover, *Hereunto are ye called, becauſe Chriſt alſo ſuffered for us, leaving us an example that we ſhould follow his ſteps.*

Who when he was reviled, reviled not again; when he ſuffered, he threatned not; but committed himſelf to him that judgeth righteouſly, 1 Pet. 2. 21, 23.

He was oppreſſed, and brought as a Lamb to the ſlaughter, yet he opened not his mouth, Iſai. 53. 7.

When *they crucified him, then ſaid* Jeſus, *Father forgive them, for they know not what they do,* Luke 23. 34.

They *ſtoned* Stephen, *and he kneeled down, and cryed with a loud voice, Lord! lay not this ſin to their charge,* Acts 7. 59, 60.

Being reviled, we bleſs; being perſecuted, we ſuffer it; being defamed, we intreat or intercede for our defamers, 1 Cor. 4. 12, 13.

2. *Let not thy heart envy ſinners, but be thou in the fear of the Lord all the day long.*

For ſurely there is an end, and thy expectation ſhall not be cut off, Prov. 23. 17, 18.

Fret not thy ſelf becauſe of evil men, neither be thou envious againſt the wicked.

For there ſhall be no reward to the evil man, the candle of the wicked ſhall be put out, Prov. 24. 19, 20.

Rejoice not when thine enemy falleth, and let not thy heart be glad when he ſtumbleth.

Leſt the Lord ſee it, and it diſpleaſe him, and he turn away his wrath from him to thee, Prov. 24. 17, 18.

Charity ſuffereth long, charity vaunteth not it ſelf, is not puffed up.

Doth not behave it ſelf unſeemly, ſeeketh not her own, is not eaſily provoked, thinketh, or imputeth, *no evil.*

Rejoiceth not in iniquity, beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.

And though I give my body to be burned, and have not this charity, it profiteth me nothing, 1 Cor. 13. 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

Bleſs them which perſecute you; bleſs, and curſe not.

Recompence to no man evil for evil.

Avenge not your ſelves, but give place unto wrath; for it is written, Vengeance is mine, I will repay, ſaith the Lord.

Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him, if he thirſt, give him drink.

Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good, Rom. 12. 14, 17, 19, 20, 21.

11. With Charity towards the Perſecuted.

1. *I will weep bitterly, labour not to comfort me, becauſe of the ſpoiling of the daughter of my people,* Iſai. 22. 4.

O! that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night, for the ſlain of the Daughter of my People, Jer. 9. 1.

Wo unto them that are at eaſe in Sion; *that lie upon beds of Ivory.*

That chaunt to the ſound of the Viol, that drink Wine in Bowls, and anoint themſelves with the chief Ointments; but they are not grieved for the affliction of Joſeph, Am. 6. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6.

Whether one member ſuffer, all the members ſuffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it, 1 Cor. 12. 26.

Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep, Rom. 12. 15.

2. *Remember them that are in bonds, as bound with them; and them which ſuffer adverſity, as being your ſelves alſo in the body,* Heb. 13. 3.

Be not thou aſhamed of the Teſtimony of the Lord, nor of me his Priſoner: but be thou partaker of the afflictions of the Goſpel, according to the power of God.

The Lord give mercy unto the houſe of Oneſiphorus, *for he oft refreſhed me, and was not aſhamed of my Chain.*

But when he was in Rome, *he ſought me out very diligently, and found me,* 2 Tim. 1. 8, 16, 17.

Ye endured a great fight of afflictions, partly whilſt ye were made a gazing-ſtock, both by reproaches and afflictions; and partly whilſt ye became Companions of them that were ſo uſed.

For ye had compaſſion of me in my bonds, and took joyfully the ſpoiling of your goods, knowing in your ſelves, that ye have in Heaven a better, and an enduring ſubſtance, Heb. 10. 32, 33, 34.

Beloved, thou doeſt faithfully, whatſoever thou doeſt to the brethren, and to ſtrangers, which have born witneſs of thy Charity before the Church: whom, if thou bring forward on their journey after a godly ſort, thou ſhalt do well.

Becauſe that for his Name ſake they went forth.

We therefore ought to receive ſuch, that we might be fellow-helpers to the truth, 3 Joh. 5, 6, 7, 8.

He that receiveth a Prophet in the name of a Prophet, ſhall receive a Prophets reward; and he that receiveth a Righteous Man, in the name of a Righteous Man, ſhall receive a Righteous Mans reward.

And whoſoever ſhall give to drink unto one of theſe little ones, a cup of cold water only in the name of a Diſciple, verily I ſay unto you, he ſhall in no wiſe loſe his reward, Matth. 10. 41, 42.

I was an hungred, and ye gave me no meat; thirſty, and ye gave me no drink.

A ſtranger, and ye took me not in; naked, and ye cloathed me not; ſick and in priſon, and ye viſited me not.

In as much as ye did it not, unto the leaſt of theſe, ye did it not to me, Matth. 25. 42, 43, 45.

12. With Motives and Encouragements to ſuffer.

Whoſoever will be a friend of the World, is the enemy of God, Jam. 4. 4.

If any man love the World, the love of the Father is not in him, 1 Joh. 2. 15.

Ye cannot ſerve both God and Mammon, Matth. 6. 24.

And what is a man profited, if he ſhall gain the whole world, and loſe his own ſoul? or what ſhall a man give in exchange for his ſoul? Matth. 16. 26.

Fear

Fear not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the ſoul; but rather fear him, which is able to deſtroy both ſoul and body in hell, Matt. 10. 28.

As the ſufferings of Chriſt abound in us, ſo our conſolation alſo aboundeth by Chriſt, who comforteth us in all our Tribulation, 2 Cor. 14. 5.

It is a faithful ſaying, if we ſuffer we ſhall alſo reign with him: if we deny him, he alſo will deny us, 2 Tim. 2. 11, 12.

Whether we be afflicted, or whether we be comforted, it is for your conſolation and ſalvation; which is effectual in the enduring of the ſame ſufferings, which we alſo ſuffer.

And our hope of you is alſo ſtedfaſt, knowing, that as you are partakers of the ſufferings, ſo ſhall ye be alſo of the conſolation, 2 Cor. 1. 6, 7.

I would ye ſhould underſtand, that the things which happened unto me, have faln out rather unto the furtherance of the Goſpel.

And many of the brethren of the Lord waxing confident by my bonds, are much more bold to ſpeak the word without fear, Phil. 1. 12, 14.

I ſuffer trouble as an evil-doer, even unto bonds, but the word of God is not bound.

Therefore I endure all things for the Elects ſake, that they may alſo obtain the ſalvation which is in Chriſt Jeſus, with eternal glory, 2 Tim. 2. 9, 10.

13. For Deliverance from Perſecutions.

O! Let the wickedneſs of the Wicked come to an end, but eſtabliſh thou the Juſt, Pſal. 7. 9.

Return, O Lord, how long? and let it repent thee concerning thy ſervants.

O! Satify us early with thy mercy, that we may rejoice and be glad all our days.

Make us glad according to the days wherein thou haſt afflicted us, and the years wherein we have ſeen evil.

Let thy Work appear unto thy Servants, and thy Glory unto their Children, Pſal. 90. 13, 14, 15, 16.

Help us then, O God of our Salvation, for the Glory of thy Name, Pſal. 79. 9.

Ariſe, and plead thine own Cauſe; Remember that the Enemies have blaſphemed thy Name, and how the fooliſh Man reproacheth thee daily.

Forget not the voice of thine enemies; the Tumult of thoſe that riſe up againſt thee, increaſeth continually, Pſal. 74. 18, 22, 23.

Wherefore ſhould the Heathen ſay, Where is their God? Pſal. 79. 10.

Wherefore doth the Wicked contemn God? He hath ſaid in his heart, thou God wilt not require it, Pſal. 10. 13.

Grant not the deſires of the Wicked, O Lord, further not his wicked device, leſt they exalt themſelves, Pſal. 140. 8.

Put them in fear O Lord, that they may know themſelves to be but men, Pſal. 9. 20.

Fill their faces with ſhame, that they may ſeek thy Name, Pſal. 83. 16.

14. For Truſt in God, to be preſerved under the ſame, and delivered from them.

The Wicked watcheth the Righteous, and ſeeketh to ſlay him.

But the Lord will not leave him in his hand, nor condemn him when he is judged.

Though he fall, he ſhall not be utterly caſt down, for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand.

They ſhall not be aſhamed in the evil time, Pſal. 37. 19, 24, 32, 33.

Thou ſhalt hide them in the ſecret of thy preſence, from the pride of man; thou ſhalt keep them ſecretly in a Pavilion, from the ſtrife of tongues, Pſ. 31. 20.

Shall

hall the throne of Iniquity have fellowſhip with thee, which frameth miſ-
by a Law?
hey gather themſelves together againſt the ſoul of the Righteous, and con-
n the innocent blood.
ut the Lord is my defence, and my God is the rock of my refuge.
nd he ſhall bring upon them their own Iniquity, and ſhall cut them off in
own Wickedneſs; yea, the Lord our God ſhall cut them off, Pſal. 96. 20,
22, 23.
or yet a little while, and the wicked ſhall not be; yea, thou ſhalt dili-
ly conſider his place, and it ſhall not be, Pſal. 37. 10.
ut the needy ſhall not always be forgotten; the expectation of the poor
not periſh for ever, Pſal. 9. 10.
or thou wilt ſave the afflicted people; but wilt bring down high looks,
. 18. 27.
o that a man ſhall ſay, verily there is a reward for the righteous, verily
s a God that judgeth the earth, Pſal. 58. 11.

15. An Hymn of Thankſgiving for deliverance from Perſecutions.

O how great is thy goodneſs, which thou haſt laid up for them that fear
; which thou haſt wrought for them that truſt in thee, before the ſons of
! Pſal. 31. 19.
For thou, Lord, haſt heard the deſire of the humble; thou wilt prepare
ir heart, thou wilt cauſe thine ear to hear:
To judge the Fatherleſs and the Oppreſſed, that the man of the earth may
more oppreſs. Pſal. 10. 17, 18.
Light is ſown for the righteous, and gladneſs for the upright in heart,
l. 97. 11.
Bleſſed are they that mourn, for they ſhall be comforted, Matt. 5. 4.
They that ſow in tears, ſhall reap in joy.
He that goeth forth, and weepeth, bearing precious ſeed, ſhall doubtleſs
ne again with rejoicing, bringing his ſheaves with him.
The Lord hath turned our captivity, he hath done great things for us,
hereof we are glad, Pſal. 126. 3, 4, 5, 6.
Many ſhall ſee it, and fear, and ſhall truſt in the Lord, Pſal. 40. 3.
The Righteous ſhall be glad in the Lord, and ſhall truſt in him, and all
upright in heart ſhall glory, Pſal. 64. 10.
Zion heard, and was glad, and the daughters of Judah rejoiced, becauſe
thy judgments, O Lord! Pſal. 97. 8.
O love the Lord, all ye his Saints, for the Lord preſerveth the faithful,
d plentifully rewardeth the proud doer.
Be of good courage, and he ſhall ſtrengthen your heart, all ye that truſt
the Lord, Pſal. 31. 23, 24.
Rejoice in the Lord, O ye righteous, and give thanks at the remembrance
his holineſs, Pſal. 97. 12.
Sing unto the Lord, bleſs his Name, be telling of his ſalvation from day
day, Pſal. 96. 2.
And my tongue ſhall ſpeak of thy righteouſneſs, and of thy praiſe all the
ay long.
I will give thee thanks in the great congregation; I will praiſe thee among
uch people, Pſal. 35. 18, 28.

PRAYERS for Thoſe who ſuffer for Righteouſneſs.

I.

A Penitential Prayer under Perſecutions, as they are Chaſtiſements for our former Offences.

O Almighty Lord! who art wont to ſhew both thy Power and Mercy in correcting Sinners, when the cry of Sins grow great, and nothing but Affliction will make them wiſe; juſtly art Thou moved now at length, to viſit thy People in this Land with Perſecutions, after we had firſt turned a deaf Ear to all the Calls of thy Mercy, and had long abuſed the Bleſſings of Peace. There is need, O God, of our Sufferings to keep up a reverence for thy Juſtice, and to reclaim us from our Iniquities; and this fiery Trial comes to purge us from our Droſs, and to chaſtiſe us for our paſt Offences; as well as to prove our preſent Obedience and Conſtancy to thy Holy Laws.

Our Peace, O Holy Father, had made us Looſe and Contentious; and our Plenty had ſerved chiefly to maintain Pride and Luxury. And the worldly Endowments about Religion, had ſtoln our Affections away from it; and inſtead of continuing thankful and true to Thee, our Hearts grew Covetous and Ambitious after them, and preferr'd and took up with them for their Portion.

We are, O Lord, a ſtubborn and a ſtiffnecked People, ſtill lifting up ourſelves againſt Thee, and againſt thy Vicegerents. We are given to Hypocriſie and take delight in Lies; Oppreſſion and Rapine are to be found in our Dwellings; and Drunkenneſs and Adultery have grown common and faſhionable Wickedneſſes, and have ſet up without Shame in our Streets. The pure Worſhip and Service had been grievouſly and ſhamefully neglected, or careleſly and indevoutly attended, before it was given up to be perſecuted amongſt us. And thine Holy Things have been defiled; thy Miniſters have been deſpiſed and evil intreated; and thy Sacred and Dreadful Name has been commonly and horribly prophaned, by raſh and falſe Oaths, and
* *Iſ.* 59.6. by the moſt preſumptuous and terrible Imprecations. * *Our Works*, O Great and Righteous God! *have been Works of Iniquity*; and when Thou haſt called us, we have not hearkened unto Thee; when Thou haſt ſmitten us, we have
‖ *Neh.* 9. 29. not repented, but have ‖ *dealt proudly, and hardned our necks againſt thy Word.*

To us, therefore, O Lord, belongeth Shame, and Sorrow, and Confuſion of face; and Thou art Righteous in all that Thou haſt brought upon us. Our Sufferings are far below our Deſerts, and we muſt needs juſtify Thee, and condemn ourſelves.

† *Dan.* 9. 9. But † *to thee*, O *God, belongeth mercy and forgiveneſs, though we have rebelled againſt thee:* And we return unto thee with true Contrition and hearty Repentance for all our Iniquities, that Thou may'ſt have Mercy upon us. O for the ſake of thy dear Son's moſt precious Blood, pardon all our Sins, and purify our Souls. Perfect our Repentance, and bring us home intirely to thyſelf, and prevent all our Backſlidings. Help our ſlow and ſlothful Souls, to be quick and vigorous; and our drowſy Spirits to be watchful in the ways of Righteouſneſs. Help Thou us, Good Lord, for we are not able to help ourſelves, and thou alone art our help. And when our Sufferings have by thy help and Grace reduced us to our Duty, we ſhall then, O Holy Father, thankfully receive any Loſſes for Righteouſneſs ſake, and look on all the violent attempts of the Enemy, as ſo many Inſtances and Meſſengers of thy Mercy, through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

Out of the Office of Commination.

O moſt mighty God, and merciful Father, who haſt Compaſſion upon all Men, and hateſt nothing that thou haſt made, who wouldeſt not the death of a Sinner, but that he ſhould rather turn from his Sin and be ſaved; mercifully forgive us our Treſpaſſes; receive and comfort us, who are grieved and wearied with the burden of our ſins. Thy Property is always to have Mercy; to thee alone it appertaineth to forgive Sins. Spare us, therefore, good Lord, ſpare thy People whom thou haſt redeemed; enter not into judgment with thy ſervants, who are vile earth, and miſerable ſinners: But ſo turn thine Anger from us, who meekly acknowledge our vileneſs, and truly repent us of our faults; and ſo make haſte to help us in this world, that we may ever live with thee in the world to come, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

II.

Prayers under Perſecutions, as they are Trials of our Obedience, and bring upon us Loſſes for Righteouſneſs.

1. *A General Prayer for Mercies and Qualifications needful in Suffering Times.*

O Bleſſed Jeſus! who now calleſt us out to bear thy Croſs, and to ſuffer Afflictions for thy ſake, who ſufferedſt a moſt ignominious Death for ours; bring none of us to ſuffer, till thou haſt firſt prepared us for it; nor let us ſuffer more, or longer, than thou wilt enable us willingly and thankfully to endure.

Let not any among us, O Lord, come to ſuffer for our own Follies, nor be afraid to ſuffer for thy Righteouſneſs. And give us all Grace to live according to thy Precepts, that we may all have Courage and Comfort in ſuffering for them. Let us not take liberty to tranſgreſs ſome Duties of our Holy Religion, whilſt we ſuffer for others; nor ever hope to recommend ourſelves, or our Sufferings, to thy merciful Acceptance, without ſtudying to be intire in our godly Care, and having an eye to all thy Laws.

And when our Afflictions preſs moſt upon us, let the Graces and Comforts of thy Holy Spirit abound moſt in us. Whatever elſe we loſe thereby, let us not loſe Truth and a good Conſcience. Preſerve us ſtedfaſt in the belief of thy Heavenly and Oppreſſed Truths, and undaunted in the Profeſſion of them. Grant us Patience to bear thy Croſs, and not grow faint or weary; and Meekneſs to bear our Perſecutors, and not grow angry and bitter of Spirit; and Charity to forgive their Wrongs, and to overcome their Evil with Good. Strengthen our Faith, of thy heavenly Joys, to recompence all theſe earthly Sufferings; and of thy neverfailing Help and Grace, to aſſiſt and ſupport us under them, and to deliver us from the ſame in thy due time. Let the greatneſs of our Diſtreſſes drive us to be more conſtant and earneſt in our Prayers. And as faſt as Afflictions come from our Perſecutors, let Succours and Supports ſtill come from Thee. O! Let us always have thy Strength to bear us up, and find Thee an help at hand in our greateſt Needs; and then our Patience and godly Stedfaſtneſs ſhall triumph over all the Malice of our Perſecutors.

And ſuffer us not, O Father of Mercies! to be daſhed to pieces in this Storm, and ſwallowed up in theſe Waves. But in thy tenderneſs to our Infirmities, after we have ſuffered a while, ſend us Eaſe. Shorten the days of theſe Sufferings, and haſten thy coming for our Deliverance; and bring us at length to everlaſting Reſt and Peace in thy heavenly Kingdom, through Jeſus Chriſt or Lord. *Amen.*

2. *A Prayer out of the* Litany.

O God, Merciful Father, that deſpiſeſt not the ſighing of a contrite Heart, nor the Deſire of ſuch as be ſorrowful; mercifully aſſiſt our Prayers which we make before thee, in all our Troubles and Adverſities, whenſoever they oppreſs us; and graciouſly hear us, that thoſe Evils, which the Craft and Subtilty of the Devil or Man worketh againſt us, be brought to nought; and by the Providence of thy Goodneſs, they may be diſperſed, that we thy Servants, being hurt by no Perſecutions, may evermore give Thanks unto thee, in thy Holy Church, thro' Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

Particular Prayers.

I. *For Integrity, and not ſeeking to any evil Ways for Help.*

* *Iſ.* 59. 15.

O Almighty Lord, thou haſt reſerved us for Days, when * *he that will depart from Evil, is like to make himſelf a Prey.* But grant (*a*) me Grace, to eſteem no Loſs, comparable to that of Innocency, and of a good Conſcience; nor to harbour any Fear, like to that of thy Diſpleaſure, and of the intolerable and eternal Pangs of Hell-fire.

Let thy Laws, O my God, direct all my Steps, in my greateſt Dangers. Keep me more ſtudious in all my Counſels, of what is lawful for me, than of what ſeems ſafe and ſerviceable in my Neceſſity: And never ſuffer me to ſtoop to any Sin, in hopes thereby to put by fleſhly Trouble, or to ſerve any worldly Turn.

In thy Providence, O Father of Mercies! lies all my Safety and Protection. And O! that I may ever commit my ſelf to that protecting Providence, by keeping cloſe to thy Commandments. O! that I may never in any Caſe forſake them, but always look upon that as the ready way to have thee forſake me! Whatever Streights or Dangers encompaſs me, the Ways of my Duty, O Lord, are the ſureſt Ways of thy Mercy, and of my own Safety. And O! that I may find them to be Ways of Preſervation and Deliverance at preſent, and of everlaſting Peace and Joy in the end, thro' our Bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

II. For Conſtancy in Perſecuted Duties.

1. *Againſt being turned aſide by worldly Dangers or Loſſes.*

* *Phil.* 1. 27, 28. † *Eph.* 6. 13. and *Jude* 3. || *Gal.* 6. 9. & *Heb.* 12. 13.

O Almighty and Everlaſting God, keep me conſtant to thy Truths and Precepts, amidſt all theſe violent Perſecutions, which are ready to come upon me for the ſame. O! that I may * *ſtand faſt* in thy Ways, and *be nothing terrified by the Adverſaries* thereof. That I may † *ſtand faſt in the evil Day, and contend earneſtly for the Faith.* Let me not || *grow weary of well-doing*, or of Godly Suffering, nor *wax faint* in a good Cauſe. Enable me to ſtand to my Duty at all Hazards, and to be ready, if the Will of God be ſo, to witneſs it unto Bonds; yea, or even to ſeal it with my Blood, and to die for thee, as thou, bleſſed Saviour haſt done for me.

Let not the Fear of Men make me forſake thee; nor let my Love of this World, make me throw up my bleſſed Hopes of a better. Nor give me up, for the ſake of any Loſſes or Terrors, to fall from my Duty, or to ‡ *deny thee before Men*, that *thou* mayſt not finally *deny me before the Angels which are in Heaven.*

‡ *Matth.* 10. 33.

(*a*) *Theſe Prayers, that are made in the Singular Number, for ones own ſelf, may be turned into common Collects for others as well as our ſelves, by a light Change of* We *for* I, Us *for* Me, Our *for* My *or* Mine, *&c. as often as theſe Words occur therein.*

O

O! that I may never leave thee, O holy Jeſu, becauſe thou art a Man of Sorrows. But give me Grace, with *Moſes*, * always to prefer the Afflictions of the Godly when they are perſecuted, before the Joys of the Wicked; and to chooſe to be among thoſe who ſuffer for Righteouſneſs, rather than among thoſe, who ſeem beſt to thrive and proſper in the Ways of Violence. * *Heb.* 11. 24,25,26.

O! that I may not grudge to take up the Croſs, when that is in my way to win the Crown; nor to endure a ſhort Tribulation for the Kingdom of Heaven, which thou art ready to give to all that faithfully ſerve and ſuffer for thee, thro' our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

III. Againſt being ſhaken in Mind, or Scandalized.

1. *By the Defection of others, or by Variety of Opinions.*

O Almighty and moſt Merciful God, keep me from being any ways unſettled, or ſhaken in Mind, about the Way of thy Truth, and of thy Righteouſneſs. O! that thy Judgments may not make us harbour any ſuſpicion of the Truth of our Holy Faith; but make us ſee that they all come upon us, to try how far we can ſuffer for it; or to puniſh us, becauſe we have not been true to it. They are ſent, O righteous Lord! to puniſh the Looſeneſs and Wickedneſs of our Lives, amidſt the Orthodoxy and Holineſs of our Profeſſion.

And let not any other Perſons Unſtedfaſtneſs in thy Ways, how great or numerous ſoever they be, cauſe me to waver, or once think of varying from the ſame. O! that I may never follow weak Minds, in their Fickleneſs and Inconſtancy; nor worldly Minds, in varying Belief and Profeſſions, according as they are blown about with every Blaſt of worldly Intereſt or Convenience. Let me not think the worſe of thy Truths, becauſe others forſake them; nor run in to thoſe, who prefer the Ways of worldly Eaſe, before the Ways of Innocence; nor grow weary of the Ways of everlaſting Life, becauſe others, ſetting more by worldly Enjoyments, are ready to exchange them, when there is hopes of preſent Security thereby, for Ways of everlaſting Death. Thy Truth, O Lord, is everlaſting, and ſtill the ſame. And O! that my Belief and Love thereof, may always be one and the ſame too, for our bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. *Amen.*

2. Or, *By a Reverence of any Mens Perſons.*

ESpecially, O Lord, let not my Reverence of any Mens Perſons, cauſe me to err from the Way of thy Precepts; let not them carry me againſt my own Knowledge; nor ſuffer me to aſcribe more Authority, or to have more Belief in their Examples, than in the plain Voice of thy Word, or in the clear and common Notions of Right and Wrong, and of natural Conſcience. If they would have me ſhut mine Eyes againſt this Light, let me no longer reverence or give ear to them. Yea, * *though an Angel from Heaven*, ſhould come and *preach againſt the ſame*, let me not believe him. † *Let God be true*, tho' they be held *Lyars*. And let theſe Monitors be ever firmly thought to ſpeak right, tho' the moſt admired Perſons gainſay it, and both act and ſpeak wrong. * *Gal.* 1. 8. † *Rom.* 3. 4.

Make me know, O God, that thy plain Word, and the known and received Dictates of Natural Honeſty and Conſcience, are always true and faithful; but that every Man, even the beſt of Men, are liable to fail. Let me ever bear in Mind, that good Men may alter and loſe their Goodneſs, but that evil and unrighteous Things do not alter, nor can ever loſe their Unrighteouſneſs. So that whenſoever a good Man falls, to do a manifeſtly evil and unrigtheous Thing, his doing it, can only make us think the worſe of his

his Perſon, but is not in any wiſe to make us think better of the unrighteous Action.

Teach me, O Lord, that it is thy Law, and not their Example, which is to be my Rule: That I am thy Servant, not theirs; and am to hearken unto thee, not unto them; and ‖ *to call no man Maſter upon Earth*, in Oppoſition to Thee my Great Maſter, who art in Heaven. O therefore, let thy Truths, O my God, and not other Mens Practice, be my Guide; and let thy Approbation and Acceptance, not their Applauſe, be my Recompence, thro' the Merits of our bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

‖ *Mat.* 23. 9, 10.

3. *A Prayer for Faith.*

O Almighty and moſt Merciful Father, who both ſeeſt, and ſendeſt all theſe Sufferings, which are come upon us from the Adverſaries of thy Truth; give me Grace to live by Faith in Thee, and not by Fear of them; and in all my Actions under the ſame, to order my ſelf, as one who regardeth what thou promiſeſt, and not what they threaten.

Tho' I converſe in the midſt of them, and they are full of Rage, yet keep me ever mindful, O Lord, that their Malice cannot hurt me, more than Satan's Inſtruments could touch *Job*, * *till thou giveſt them leave.* Whatſoever they deviſe againſt me, it will come to nothing, till thy Time, and † *my Hour is come.* So that however they threaten, I know I am ſecure, till thou calleſt me out to Suffering. And ſince I ſhall ſuffer nothing from them, but at thy Time, and under thy Direction; in the midſt of all this Fear and Danger, I reſt my Soul, O my God! upon thy Care, and cheerfully reſign my ſelf to thy Protection and good Pleaſure.

* *Job* 1. 10, 11, 12. † *Joh.* 7. 10.

And if it ſeem good to thee to ſend ſome Sufferings, thou, O merciful Father, wilt graciouſly ſuit my Trials to mine Infirmities. Thou wilt order me no more, than by thy Grace ‡ *I ſhall be able to bear*; and ‖ *the remainder of wrath wilt thou reſtrain.* If thou tryeſt me, it will ⸸ *be only for a Seaſon.* Thy Grace will take off their Violence, before it has driven me beyond mine Innocence; * *nor wilt thou ſuffer the rod of the Wicked to reſt upon the back of the Righteous*, till they are wearied out thereby, *to put forth their Hand unto Iniquity.*

‡ 1 *Cor.* 10. 13. ‖ *Pſal.* 76. 10. ⸸ 1 *Pet.* 1. 6. * *Pſal.* 125. 3.

And when thou haſt brought me into my Troubles, make me believe aſſuredly, O my God! that thou wilt not leave me there. Tho' I am in no wiſe ſufficient for them of my ſelf, † *thy Grace ſhall be ſufficient for me*; for *thy ſtrength is made perfect in our weakneſs.* Still as I need thee, O Father, thou wilt be with me: Thou wilt ſtrengthen me by thy Succours, when my Burdens grow too heavy for me: Thou who ſendeſt me *Tribulations*, wilt ſend me *Comfort* in them; and ‡ *make my Conſolations abound by Chriſt, as my Sufferings abound for him.* And make all the Sorrows which I endure, to work for thy greater Glory, and my greater Good, in thy due Time.

† 2 *Cor.* 12. 9. ‡ 2 *Cor.* 1. 4.

And O! that in the mean while, I may look ſtedfaſtly from the Croſs to the Crown, and be firm in the Belief and Expectation, that they who patiently ‖ *ſuffer for Chriſt*, ſhall be ſure to *reign with him.* ⸸ *Set the Joy before me, that* for its ſake, I may willingly *endure the Croſs, and deſpiſe the Shame*; and hold my Eyes faſt on ∴ *the exceeding weight of Glory*, which ſhall recompence our preſent Ignominy; and on the Things Eternal, where-with thou wilt repair our Loſs of *Temporal*, for our Lord Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. *Amen.*

‖ 2 *Tim.* 2. 11, 12. ⸸ *Heb.* 12. 2. ∴ 2 *Cor.* 4. 17, 18.

4. *A Prayer for Truſt in God.*

O Almighty and moſt Merciful Father, whilſt I walk here in the midſt of Fear and Danger, I humbly and chearfully truſt my ſelf to thy Care. I place my Safety in an humble Confidence in thee; and come

meet theſe Difficulties, and prepare to bear them, not in any vain Preſumption of my own Strength, which, alas! at beſt is but Weakneſs; no, nor of any Earthly Supports, but only in the Name and Power of the Lord my God.

Lord! I truſt to Thee, who art able to ſave me, and haſt promiſed to help me. I truſt to Thee, who loveſt to be truſted, and haſt always been true to me, and * *never faileſt thoſe that truſt in thee.* I look for all my Succours and Deliverances from thy Grace; and am not † *haſty* to fix Times to thy Providence, or to ſet Bounds to my own Patience; but am contented, yea, thankful, to receive them in thine own Way, and at thine own Time, even at *thy* ‡ *ſet-time* of ſending them. O help me therefore, O my God! for thy Faithfulneſs, and thy Mercies ſake, and let me not be diſappointed of my Hope, for our Bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. *Amen.*

* *Pſal.* 9. 10.
† *Iſ.* 28. 16.
‡ *Pſ.* 102. 13.

5. *Againſt truſting more in other Things than in God, and fixing too much on Earthly Dependances.*

GRant, O Gracious Lord! that under all our Trials and Troubles, we may be duly ſenſible of the Vanity and Inconſtancy of all Earthly Supports. O! that we may never ‖ *depart from thee*, to truſt in them. Nor give over our patient looking up to Thee, and thy wiſe Providence, whoſe Ways and Methods are far above out of our reach, to preſume on our own vain Fancies and bold Surmiſes, and ‡ *lean to our own Underſtandings.* Lord, give us not up to * *feed on Wind*, which ſerves not to preſerve us, but only to puff us up. Nor to turn aſide from regarding thy ſure Promiſes, to ſupport our ſelves, and delude one another with Lies and vain Confidences; and to warm our ſelves at imaginary † *Fires*, and *walk in the Light of thoſe Sparks*, which are not of thine, but only of our own kindling.

‖ *Jer.* 17. 5.
‡ *Prov.* 3. 5.
* *Hoſ.* 12. 1.
† *Iſ.* 50. 11.

Let us not reſt our Hearts, O God! and place our Confidence, in any *Arm* ‡ *of Fleſh*; for there is no Truſt in them. For ‖ *ſurely Men are vanity*; yea, *to be laid in the ballance*, with Thee, *they are altogether lighter than vanity.* We cannot † *know all* that is in *their Hearts*; and they daily and ſuddenly change their Minds and Purpoſes; or their Power fails, and they cannot bring their Devices to paſs. For where they are the moſt fixt on Things, and ſeem beſt prepared for them, 'tis * *not their Device*, O Lord, but *thy Purpoſe, which ſhall ſtand*, and in a Moment thou breakeſt all their Meaſures. And in a little Time, † *they turn to their Duſt, and in that very Day all their Thoughts periſh.* They are no Staff of Support, O God, but ‡ *a Staff of Reed* to lean upon, and will *break*, and *run into our Hands and pierce them*, when we lay our weight upon them.

‡ *Jer.* 17. 5.
‖ *Pſ.* 62. 9.
† *Jer.* 17. 9.
* *Prov.* 19. 21.
† *Pſ.* 146. 4.
‡ *Ezek.* 29. 6. *Iſ.* 36. 6.

Teach us then, O Father, in looking upon them, not to look off from Thee; and to conſider them, even the beſt of them, only as means of thy Care and good Providence, which can preſerve and deliver us without them by a thouſand other Ways, tho' there is not any of them that can profit us, without Thee. And make us all to look upon Thee, as the Lord from whom cometh our Help, and in whoſe ſole Grace and Mercy we repoſe our intire and chiefeſt Truſt, thro' our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

6. *Prayers for Patience.*

1. *In eaſy and unwearied Endurance.*

O Almighty and moſt Gracious God! who ſuiteſt thy Gifts to our Neceſſities, in theſe Suffering Times, give me a Suffering Spirit, and enable me to ‖ *bear Hardſhip as a good Soldier of Jeſus Chriſt.* Endue me with ſuch Patience under the ſame, as no heavineſs or length of thy Trials ſhall overcome. Let me not be driven, by any cruel and unjuſt

‖ 2 *Tim.* 2. 3.

Uſage

Uſage for thy ſake, to accuſe thy Providence, or to revile my Perſecutors: Let me not ſhew Uneaſineſs under my Sufferings, but willingly and contentedly bear them; yea, rejoice in the ſame, and thankfully praiſe thee, **that thou counteſt me worthy to Suffer for thy Name.* Keep me from growing weary of bearing thy Croſs, or from fainting under it. Tho' thou tarrieſt, enable me to wait for Thee. O! that I may perſevere in Waiting, and hold on to the End, and never let go my Patience, when my Perſecutors have left me nothing elſe, or caſt away my Confidence in Thee.

* *Acts* 5. 41.

O! that I may inwardly triumph in the Righteouſneſs of my Cauſe, when I am trodden down by the Violence of the Oppreſſors. That I may be comforted to think, that I have ſtill the more of thy Love, as I bear the more of their Malice. O! that I may be † *joyful in Hope*, as well as *patient in Tribulation*; and count it an extraordinary Favour to me, that I have been called out to loſe any thing for Thee, to teſtify my Love unto thy Laws, and to diſpoſe me for thy gracious Acceptance, thro' the Merits and Mediation of my deareſt Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

† *Rom.* 12. 12.

2. *In not envying the Succeſs of the Wicked, in compaſſing Unrighteous Devices.*

O Lord! who for wiſe Ends, art oft-times pleaſed to permit a Righteous Cauſe to be worſted, and the Deviſers of Unrighteouſneſs to prevail againſt it: Suffer us, ‡ *not to fret*, or torment our ſelves, when we ſee ſuch *wicked Men proſperous*, and triumph for bringing their unrighteous Devices to paſs. Let not that tempt us, O God! to ‖ *envy Sinners*, much leſs to think favourably; yea, or even doubtfully, of their wicked Violence. Never give us up to meaſure the Juſtice or Injuſtice of Undertakings by Succeſs; and to miſcal apparently wicked Things, naming *Evil*, *Good*, and Wrong, Right, only becauſe we ſee it proſperous. Let us not fall to take part with the Injury, only becauſe of its ſeeming Proſperity; or to think that God has forſaken what is right, becauſe he permits it to be oppreſſed for a while; or, when we ſee it once down, to deſpair of his ever raiſing it up again.

‡ *Prov.* 24. 19, 20.

‖ *Prov.* 23. 17.

Thy Judgments, O Moſt Mighty Lord! *are unſearchable, and a great deep:* teach us with all Humility to reverence them, not by bold Expoſitions, eſpecially in Favour of apparently unrighteous Things, to abuſe the ſame. They ſurprize us with doing right, when all outward Hopes and Appearances thereof are gone. Help us therefore, when Things are at the worſt, ſtill to have Hope and Faith in Thee to raiſe them up again. They open a Way, and make a Light of Deliverance to break forth at thine own Time. Give us Patience in Expectation till that Time come. The Unrighteous, as *Pharaoh* was, are more in the Way of thy Mercy, when thou keepeſt thy Plagues upon them, to ſoften their Hearts, than when thou takeſt them off. O! let us not envy them for that Eaſe, which hardens Sinners, and is their greateſt Unhappineſs. They are kept up with Succeſſes for full Trial of thy Servants Patience; and, if they will not repent thereof, ‡ *to fill up the Meaſure of their own Wickedneſs.* Let us therefore learn therein, Gracious Lord! to adore thy Forbearance, and to imitate the ſame, not to repine at it: And ‖ to finiſh the Work of our own Patience, that ‖ *Patience may have its perfect Work* in us.

‡ *Matth.* 23. 32. *Gen.* 15. 16.

‖ *Jam.* 1. 4.

And however it paſſes here on Earth, O God! yet we are aſſured that at the Great Day, the Judge of all the World will do exact Juſtice. The Wicked ſhall then be eternally puniſhed, for all their proſperous Wickedneſs. And the Juſt ſhall be everlaſtingly recompenſed, for all the Sufferings which they have endured, and for all the Loſſes which they have ſuſtained, by adhering to the Ways of Righteouſneſs. O therefore, bleſſed Lord! that we may ever deteſt all Wickedneſs, and carefully keep off from it, even

when here we ſee it moſt proſperous. And ſtedfaſtly reverence the Ways of Duty and Righteouſneſs, and ſtick to them, even when we ſee them labouring under the Croſs, and born down with cruel Oppreſſions. O that we may ſee, and believe aſſuredly, that although we do not live to ſee the Proſperity of the Ungodly turned into Puniſhments, and the Sufferings of thy Saints, exchanged for Crowns and Glories, in this World; yet we ſhall certainly ſee the ſame fulfilled in both to the uttermoſt, in another World. Where Lord grant that I may have my Place of Eaſe, whatever Troubles I meet with here, for my dear Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. *Amen.*

7. *For Prayers, and unwearied Devotion under Perſecutions.*

O Holy Father! give me Grace to look up to Thee in all my Diſtreſſes, and to make holy and fervent Prayers, both my moſt bounden Service, and my moſt ſure Support, under all theſe Perſecutions. O! that the growth of my Sufferings may continually heighten and increaſe my Devotions. That I may be * *inſtant in Prayers*, and ‡ *watch thereunto with all Perſeverance.* And the more ſtraitneſs and ſcarcity I find at any time, of publick Opportunities; make me ſo much the more diligent and conſtant, earneſt and affectionate, in my private Devotions.

* *Rom.* 12. 12. ‡ *Eph.* 6. 18.

Let not the Malice of mine Oppreſſors, be able to eſtrange my Soul from Thee, or make me weary of converſing with the Almighty. Let Devotion be the Life and Stay of my Spirit, and let me never forget, that my chief Remedies againſt their Violence, are Prayers and Tears. When they drive me from all Confidence in my ſelf, teach me to run for Sanctuary, and to ſeek Help from Thee. Even from Thee, O my God! who with a Father's Pity and Tenderneſs, beholdeſt what we ſuffer for thy ſake, and wilt ſupport us under the ſame; who ſeeſt our Wrongs, and wilt do us Right in thy due Time; and ‖ *who bottleſt up all our Tears*, and wilt remember them with ſurpaſſing and eternal Mercies, in the Day of Recompences, for our dear Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. *Amen.*

‖ *Pſ.* 56. 8.

8. *A Prayer for diligent Attendance on Publick Aſſemblies.*

AND, O Gracious Lord! in theſe Trials give me Grace diligently to attend upon the publick Miniſtrations, and to make one in offering up thy pure Worſhip, in the Communion and Aſſemblies of the Saints.

Make me fully ſenſible, that when they moſt violently oppreſs us, we have moſt need to fly to Thee with joint Accord, to help and defend us. And that when they ſeek moſt to extirpate thy pure Worſhip, it lies upon us to meet together, to pay the ſame, and bear it up. O! that their Cruelty againſt it, may enkindle in us a Godly Zeal for it. That we may ⁘ *hold on our Profeſſion without wavering*, and reſolutely ſtick to thine *Holy Aſſemblies*, without which we cannot pretend to ſtand up for thy Cauſe.

⁘ *Heb.* 10. 23. 25.

And O! that no Difficulties, or Hazardouſneſs of theſe Aſſemblies, may make us indifferent about thy Service; and that none among us may lay hold thereof as an Excuſe for Irreligion, or prophane Negligence. Make us all ſee, that we can have no Excuſe in rejecting Prayers and publick Miniſtrations, more than in rejecting other Duties, only becauſe they are Perſecuted, and have the Croſs upon them. Yea, Lord, let nothing ſeem ſo terrible to me, as being debarred the Opportunities of waiting upon Thee. Nor any Loſs ſeem ſo hard to be endured, as loſing this way of Acceſs to God, and the Devotion of my Spirit.

Whilſt I am ſerving Thee, make me confident, O my God! that Thou wilt protect me. My Safety, at all times, lies in the Care and Guardianſhip of thy good Providence. And I can never have more Reaſon to expect that care-

careful Providence, than when I am taken up in thy immediate Service. But if Suffering ſhall happen to meet me there, let me comfort my ſelf to think, that it finds me at a good Work, and cannot come to me when I am better employ'd. And whatever I loſe in this Caſe, make me ſenſible, O Lord, that it is not loſt, but moſt wiſely and well laid out; and that I cannot part with my worldly Subſtance for a better Cauſe, or to my greater Advantage. O! that I may ‖ *rejoice in* ſuch *ſpoiling of my Goods*, as what is a ‡ *laying up Treaſures for my ſelf in Heaven*. And be glad to have my poor periſhing Subſtance thus lent to Thee, to be repaid with an Eternal Inheritance in thy Kingdom, through the Merits of my Bleſſed Saviour and Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

‖ *Heb.* 10. 34.
‡ *Mat.* 6. 20.

9. *Prayers for Godly Prudence and Caution, in Days of Peril and Perſecution.*

1. *For Prudence.*

BUt though I am ready to come and ſuffer for Thee, when Thou calleſt me to it; let me not run upon it, O gracious God! before thy Call. Suffer me not to expoſe myſelf to their Violence needleſly: Nor to bring it upon my own Head, for things that are no part of thy Service. Nay, nor even for doing good Things unſeaſonably; or with ſuch unneceſſary Provocations, or improvident Carriage and indiſcreet Circumſtances, as are fit to fetch down Troubles, when I might have been ſafe in doing the ſame, with due Foreſight and godly Caution.

O! that Converſing, as I do, in the midſt of Dangers, I may learn to * *beware of Men*. That knowing † *the days are evil*, and that Trouble is haſting on apace of itſelf, I may not throw away my Quiet before I need, but *redeem the time*. Grant me the Skill and Care, O merciful Lord! to be provident in all things, and ‖ *walk circumſpectly*. To ‡ *walk in wiſdom towards thoſe that are without*, that they may find nothing for which to lay hold of me, but my Love and Zeal to Thee, and a wiſe and faithful diſcharge of my Duty; which, tho' they perſecute, Thou, O my God! wilt graciouſly accept, for my dear Lord Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. *Amen.*

* *Mat.* 10. 16.
† *Eph.* 5. 16.
‖ *Eph.* 5. 15.
‡ *Col.* 4 5.

2. *For Integrity therewith.*

BUt, together with ‖ *the wiſdom of the ſerpent*, give me Grace, O Holy Father! in all my Trials, to ſhew forth *the innocency and ſincerity of the Dove*. Let all my Wiſdom and Warineſs be ſhewn in doing of my Duty, but never in letting it fall. And in doing it faithfully, without maim or diſobedient Reſerves; diligently, without remiſneſs; and reſolutely and undauntedly, when Thou calleſt me forth to ſhew Boldneſs. Let it never carry me, to ſecure myſelf, by neglecting Thee, or thy Service; or by acting againſt the Rules of Truth and Righteouſneſs, or againſt the Honour and Intereſt of thy Cauſe. Under all my Sufferings, O Lord, help me conſtantly and ſtrictly to attend to the Ways of Religion, that I may ſuffer with Innocence; and not to the worldly Ways of Parties, which abound too much with Wickedneſs. And let me never forget, that there is as much need of a good and righteous Carriage, under Sufferings for Chriſt, as of a good and righteous Cauſe, for the ſame.

‖ *Mat.* 10. 18.

But in ſerving Thee faithfully, O gracious God! let me not ſhew Raſhneſs, nor give the Enemies of thy Truth advantage againſt me, by any culpableneſs or unadviſedneſs of my own Carriage. Whatever I ſuffer, let it not be as the fruit and chaſtiſement of my own Folly and Precipitancy. But grant, that in that day, I may have the comfort and ſupport to think, that 'tis all come upon me, for my Duty towards Thee, and for an acceptable and

nd well guided Zeal for thy Glory, which, however it is ſpitefully treated y them at preſent, will be graciouſly received, and remembred by Thee at aſt for mine unſpeakable and eternal Comfort, through the Merits of my nly Saviour, Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

10. *A Prayer for Patience and Charity towards our Perſecutors.*

O Bleſſed Lord, whilſt we are ſuffering at their hands for thy Cauſe, fill us with Patience, and Charity towards our Perſecutors. Keep us lways mindful, that there is as much need of a meek and forgiving Carriage, as of a Righteous Cauſe, in thoſe that ſuffer for Thee. And that Thou endeſt Perſecutions for a Trial of our Patience and Charity towards our Oppreſſors, as well as for a trial of our Conſtancy to thy Truth and Righteouſneſs.

Let us not fail, O God, of a gracious Acceptance with Thee, by our Impatience and Wrathfulneſs againſt them. Yea, and let not the way of Truth nd Righteouſneſs miſcarry in our hands, through the ſcandal of our angry aſſions. Let us not prejudice any againſt the goodneſs of our Cauſe, by he bitterneſs and implacableneſs of our Spirits; nor tempt good Minds to e haſty in concluding that we want Truth, becauſe they ſee we cannot be aſy in ſuffering for it, and want Charity.

In all our Trials, O bleſſed Jeſus, let us ſtedfaſtly conſider, how meekly nd charitably Thou didſt endure thine: And learn of Thee ‖ *to ſuffer without threatning*, and not only to bear our Enemies, but ‡ *to love them.* To eat back their Violence by unwearied Patience; and to overcome their Inlinations of heaping Injuries on our Heads, by our daily heaping Forgiveeſs and Kindneſſes on theirs. And, inſtead of being angry at thoſe by whom ve ſuffer, let it pleaſe us, O God, that we are counted worthy to ſuffer for hy Name, and enable us to rejoice at our Loſſes in this World, in hopes of he bleſſed Recompence thereof in thy heavenly Kingdom, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

‖ 1 *Pet.* 2. 23.
‡ *Mat.* 5. 44.

Particular Prayers for Patience towards them.

1. HOwever cruel or unjuſt their Uſage be, give us Grace, O Almighty Father, to bear it patiently. Let us not ſeem fretful and uneaſy t our worldly Loſſes, as if we paid Thee this Service with Ill-will, and ere more affected with thoſe Things which they have taken from us, than ith the bleſſed Hopes of a better and a more enduring Subſtance. Let us uffer meekly, without Wrath; and quietly without Noiſe: And neither diturb our own Spirits, by Diſcontent and Impatience; nor our Perſecutors, y bitter Reproaches and Accuſations; nor our Neighbours, by wearifome Complaints.

In the midſt of all their Troubles, give us inward Compoſedneſs; and * *Patience to poſſeſs our Souls*, and have reſt in ourſelves. And keep our Hearts at reſt, O God, on thy Promiſes, by † *looking to the* ſure and *bleſſed Hope* that is ſet before us: not on the uncertainty of any worldly Supports, r proſpects of this Life, which, like the Reeds of *Egypt*, are liable to break hen we lean upon them, and to run into our hands.

* *Luk.* 21. 19.
† *Tit.* 2. 13.

And let this patient endurance of all their unreaſonable and unjuſt Vioence ‖ *have its perfect Work* in us. Let us not be wearied out of it, or give ay at laſt to angry Reſentments; but ſhew forth this calmneſs and ſweetneſs of Spirit, to the end. O let not our Patience be broke by their Injuries, ut hold out, till at laſt it has broke them, and made them relent and grow eary of inflicting the ſame; and till Thou ſhalt have graciouſly turn'd our roubles from them, into everlaſting Reſt and Peace with Thee, through eſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

‖ *Jam.* 1. 4.

2. AND whilſt Thou art pleaſed to try us with theſe Sufferings, O bleſſed Lord, grant that we may never take a Priviledge for Lawleſs Wrath, on pretence of being angry for thy Cauſe. O keep us ſenſible under their ſharpeſt Provocations, that * *the wrath of Man* is much apter to tranſgreſs the Rules of Piety and *Righteouſneſs*, than to maintain them. Make us mindful that it belongs to Thee to puniſh Wrongs done to thy Holy Religion; that Thou art moſt intereſted in the ſame, and moſt concerned to chaſtiſe the Enemies thereof, and wilt do it in thy due time. And that when ungodly Men perſecute the ways of Holineſs, our part is conſtantly to profeſs and practice them, to plead when we are called, and patiently to ſuffer for the ſame; but Thine, to puniſh for them.

* *Jam.* 1. 20.

And, Lord, let us not be more haſty for Wrath and Vengeance, than Thou art in thine own Cauſe. Let not us loſe Patience towards them, whilſt Thou beareſt with them; but ſtudy and pray for their Converſion, and willingly and joyfully help on the ſame, that they may be ſaved at laſt, through the Merits and Mediation of thy dear Son, our only Saviour, Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

Particular Prayers for Charity towards Perſecutors.

1. HElp us, O Father of Mercies, not only to bear our Perſecutors patiently, but to treat them charitably. Enable us to love our Enemies, whilſt we ſuffer by them; to forgive their Wrongs, whilſt we ſmart under them; and not to aggravate their evil Uſage, but, as Thou * didſt, O bleſſed Jeſu, whilſt Thou boreſt the extremity of their Malice upon the Croſs, rather ſtudy how we may any ways leſſen or excuſe the ſame. O that we may approve ourſelves thy true Followers, by ‡ *ſuffering without Threatning*; by || *praying for them whilſt they are perſecuting us*; by *returning bleſſing for their curſing*, kindneſs for their cruelties, and † *by overcoming their evil with good.*

* *Luk.* 23. 34.

‡ 1 *Pet.* 2. 23.

|| *Matt.* 5. 44.

† *Rom.* 12. 21.

But let none of us pleaſe ourſelves, O God, with thoughts or hopes of Vengeance; nor * *rejoice at their fall, leſt it diſpleaſe thee, and thou turn away thy wrath from their heads*, and direct it upon *our own*. Let us || *not render evil for evil, or railing for railing* to any Man, nor meet their Malice with bitter Paſſions and angry Returns. Keep us ever fully ſenſible, O Lord, that under the greateſt cruelty of their Uſage, to ſhew Patience and Charity is our buſineſs; but that the taking Vengeance muſt be left to thy Juſtice. And enable us mildly to commit our Cauſe to Thee, and deſire that Thou would'ſt end our Sorrows, not by their Deſtruction, but Converſion, through our only Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

* *Prov.* 24. 17, 18.

|| 1 *Pet.* 3. 9.

2. LOrd, let not us fall to hate them, becauſe they cruelly deſpite us; nor to take up with any falſe Accuſations againſt them; or, when they ſtand truly chargeable with any ſmaller Matters, to ſtrain upon them ſo far, till we have raiſed them into great and ſhameful Offences, by our own evil Surmiſes. Let not us * *vaunt our ſelves*, becauſe they unreaſonably depreſs us; nor *behave ourſelves* in any kind *unſeemly* towards them, tho' they ſhould caſt off all regard of humanity and decency towards us. Nor ever ſo far forget Thee, as to *rejoice in any Iniquity*, when it is like to prejudice their Cauſe, or to ſerve ours. But to *rejoice* always in the Proſperity of thy *Truth*, and in ſeeing great Temptations turned aſide, and general Falls prevented, and in having good and right things take place.

* 1 *Cor.* 13. 4, 5, 6.

|| 1 *Cor.* 13. 8, 4. 7.

If they || *provoke* us, O God, enable us to ſhew *Patience*. If they perſiſt therein, help us to *ſuffer long*. Let us bear all Things without Wrath, and *endure all Things* without wearineſs, and not forget to be *kind* towards them; to *believe all Things* favourably, and to ſpeak all Things charitably, whilſt they are doing all Things contrary towards us. And to look upon all theſe,

as

as parts of that *Charity, without which all our Sufferings for Thee are nothing worth.*

O let * *the heavenly Wiſdom*, which keeps us *pure* from their Errors and Corruptions, keep us alſo *peaceable*, without burſting into Noiſe and Quarrels; and *gentle*, without yielding to Anger and bitter Words: and *placable* and *eaſy* in admitting Excuſes, without any ſhew of Rigour in exacting Reaſons, or of being ſtudious of Revenge. Let it keep us *full of Mercy and good Fruits*, without any miſchievous Returns, or any proneneſs to *Cruelty* and *Inhumanity*, when 'tis in our way to ſhew the ſame. And *without Partiality and Hypocriſy*, as Perſons uniform in all Acts of Vertue and Juſtice, when they ſerve others, as well as when they ſerve us; and who are careful not to put on any Vertue for a Pretence, nor to decry Things as Evil in others, whilſt we can allow of the ſame in our ſelves. Teach us, O gracious Lord, that it is only by theſe bleſſed Fruits, that our belief and eſpouſal of a right Cauſe, muſt approve itſelf to be *the Wiſdom that cometh from above*, and which, as it proceeds from Thee, muſt gain us all acceptance with Thee, thro' the Merits of our dear Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

* *Jam.* 3. 17.

3. *A Prayer againſt evil Surmiſes, and for Candor in Cenſueing thoſe who either Perſecute us, or fall from the way of Righteouſneſs.*

O Gracious God, in Cenſuring the Perſons or Actions of all thoſe, who either perſecute us, or in theſe days of Trial are fall'n from Thee, let Equity and Candor direct and govern all our Thoughts and Speeches, and let not Ill-will biaſs us. O that we may never charge them with imaginary Guilts, through our own evil Surmiſes; nor haſtily make ſure of any things againſt them, whilſt they are really uncertain; nor make the worſt of doubtful Things, which Good-will may eaſily think better of. Yea, where their Falls are plain and manifeſt, grant us Grace, O Lord, to behold them, as Thou didſt the wickedneſs of thy Perſecutors, with the bowels and compaſſion of a Friend, and not with the malicious inſults and triumphs of an Enemy. And to judge of them, with a ſenſe of humane Infirmities, conſidering, that we alſo are liable to be tempted ourſelves, and to fall by Temptations, and therefore ought to * *meet out the ſame meaſure* to them, in judging of their Actions, which we deſire that others would *meet out to us again*, when they come to cenſure ours. Yea, O Holy Father, cauſe us always to have before our Eyes thy Clemency, as well as our own Neceſſity; and keep us ready to afford thoſe Allowances and Abatements in their Caſe, which we all need and deſire at thine hands, and through thy Mercy hope to find from Thee, in our own.

* *Mat.* 7. 1, 2.

Let us not be rigorouſly hard upon them for common Offences, which are ordinarily incident to frail and ſinful Natures. Nor for ſuch Falls in great Trials, as may move pity upon the account of human Weakneſs, as well as deſerve Blame for their own Ungodlineſs. Let us not ſhew Severity in accuſing them violently, and condemning them without any mixture of Mercy, for having been over-born by Fear, or for having complied too far for ſuſtenance or Safety; for having err'd under ſome great Aſtoniſhment, and where they had little time for Deliberation, and little help for Counſel and Advice; or for falling any other ways, in very difficult and perplexed Circumſtances.

Suffer us not to favour any Wickedneſs in them, O Righteous God, and much leſs to juſtifie it. But when we are about to tax and condemn the Crimes, to the end we may ſhew a juſt Zeal for Thee and for thy Righteouſneſs: Let us remember withal, to conſider the greatneſs and difficulties of their Trials; and thereupon to pity their frailty, and to imitate thy Mercy, which Thou art graciouſly pleaſed to ſhew, both to them, upon their Falls, and like-

likewiſe to us upon any Falls of ours whereby we daily ſtand in need thereof, for our moſt dear Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. *Amen.*

11. *A Prayer for Grace to turn the ſame, from carrying on Impatience and Anger againſt others, to carry on Amendmeut of our ſelves.*

LOrd, under all theſe Sorrows and ſharp Sufferings, teach us to look for the Cauſe thereof within our ſelves. Our own Sins, O Righteous Father, are moſt juſtly, tho' ſeverely, puniſhed in them; and our Earthly Affections and Dependances need to be purged off by them. And therefore, inſtead of envying and accuſing others, and taxing the Injuſtice of our Perſecutors, make us look up with Reverence to thy Juſtice, and lay to Heart our many private and publick Miſcarriages, and learn thereby to condemn and amend the Errors of our own Ways.

Grant, O God, that the Experience of our own Fears and Failures under our Trials, may keep us humble and jealous over our ſelves, and charitable towards the Falls of others. And let our daily Proofs of thy ſeaſonable Succours and Preſervations, teach us to have firm Faith in thee, and to rely intirely on thy Care and gracious Promiſes. Let the Difficulties which we feel in ſuſtaining Loſſes for thy ſake, ſhew us the Worldlineſs of our Deſires. Let the Inclinations which we find at any time, to eaſe or ſecure our ſelves by Sin, or to allow in our ſelves what we condemn in others, convince us of the Deceitfulneſs of our own Hearts, and of the Hypocriſy of our Pretences. Shew us all the Roots of Bitterneſs, which are ready to diſcover themſelves when we are tried; and when we ſee them, give us Grace to caſt them out, and to purge our Hearts of the ſame.

Thus, O Holy Father, if we cannot amend our Confuſions, make them, we humbly intreat Thee, thoroughly to amend us. And teach us by the needful and profitable Diſcipline thereof, both to walk more perfectly in thy Fear, and to bear them with Patience, remembring that therein we are reaping the juſt Fruits of our own Ways; and to ſhew Charity towards our Perſecutors, as conſidering how we have done amiſs our ſelves, and how by ſuch Mercy and Forgiveneſs towards others, we are all to expect Mercy and Forgiveneſs of our own Offences at thine Hands, through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

12. *A Prayer for Charity to the Perſecuted.*

O Righteous Lord! who trieſt thy People with heavy Sufferings for thy Truth and Righteouſneſs ſake; give me the Heart conſtantly to own thy Ways, and thoſe who ſuffer for them. O that whenſoever I ſee * *a Member of thine ſuffering*, as a good Fellow-Member, I may *ſuffer with it.* That I may be among thoſe, † *who grieve for the Afflictions of Joſeph*, and come in to bear a Share of their Adverſity, who are enduring Afflictions for Thee; and ‡ *remember thoſe who are in bonds, as bound with them.*

Let ‖ *not me be aſhamed of the Teſtimony of the Lord, nor* of any of thoſe who are his *Priſoners.* But rejoice to make my ſelf a Companion of ſuch, as are bearing Tribulation for his Truths, and be glad when I can miniſter unto their Neceſſities, and relieve the ſame. When I ſee them ⸸ *Sick, and in Priſon*, give me the Heart *to viſit them*, or *Strangers*, and forced to leave their own Homes for thy Cauſe, *to take them in*; or in want of *Food* and *Raiment*, to ſupply them therewith. Give me Grace to do ſomething like to them, as I would do to Thee, O bleſſed Jeſu, wert Thou here before me, and in their Condition.

And O that I may look upon ſuch Services, as the moſt bleſſed Opportunities of ſhewing my Love unto thy ſelf, remembring that *thou wilt ſay* unto

* 1 *Cor.* 12. 26.

† *Am.* 6. 6.

‡ *Heb.* 12. 3.

‖ 2 *Tim.* 1. 8.

⸸ *Mat.* 25. 42, 43, 45.

to us one Day, * *in as much as ye did it unto the leaſt of theſe, ye did it unto me.* Yea, that I may reckon my ſelf therein, to be ſhewing Kindneſs, not ſo much to them, as to my own Soul. Knowing, that thus to communicate, and have Fellowſhip with them in their Sufferings, is the way to communicate and have Fellowſhip with them in their Bleſſedneſs; and that † *he who receiveth a Prophet, or a righteous Man, in the Name of a Prophet, or of a righteous Man, ſhall have a Prophet's or a righteous Man's Reward*; wherewith Thou, O Father, wilt crown both the Sufferers and their Partakers in the end, thro' the Merits of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

* *Mat.* 25. 40.

† *Mat.* 10. 41.

13. *A Prayer for Deliverance from Perſecutions, after one is wearied therewith.*

O Merciful God, who haſt viſited my Backſlidings, and tried my Faith, and fixt Adherence to thy Ways with ſharp Perſecutions, look now with Pity on my Sorrows and Infirmities, and if it ſeem fit for thy Glory, and for my Good, ſend me the ſweet and ſpeedy Comforts of Reſt and Peace.

Conſider my Weakneſs, O God, for I am ‡ *brought very low.* Conſider that it is thine own Cauſe, and that I am perſecuted for thy ſake. Conſider thoſe ‖ *that wait on thee, and let not them be aſhamed*, or diſheartned *for my Cauſe.* Conſider mine Enemies, and let not them ſtill more and more * *exalt themſelves.* And † *remember, that they daily reproach thy Ways*, and as oft as Thou giveſt them Succeſs againſt us, they triumph in it as thy favouring and owning of their Ungodly Violence, and aſperſe Thee with their Wickedneſs.

‡ *Pſ.* 142. 6.

‖ *Pſ.* 69. 6.

* *Pſ.* 140. 8.

† *Pſ.* 74. 18, 22.

‡ *Ariſe* then, O Almighty God! *and plead thine own Cauſe.* Ariſe, and fight the oppreſſed, and make the proud, and the Men that rage in Ways of Ungodlineſs and Violence, ‖ *to know themſelves.* Return not upon them, what they have done to us, O Lord, but * *fill their Faces with Shame, that they may ſeek thy Name*; and give us Eaſe from their Violence, and Grace to turn it to thy Praiſe, and to the Performance of all holy and thankful Obedience, thro' our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

‡ *Pſ.* 74. 22.

‖ *Pſ.* 9. 20.

* *Pſ.* 83. 16.

14. *Interceſſions, or Prayers for others in Times of Perſecutions.*

1. *A Prayer for Perſecutors, who at any time, or any where, are oppreſſing Truth or Righteouſneſs.*

O Moſt Gracious Father, ſhew Mercy, we humbly intreat Thee, towards our Perſecutors, tho' they neither ſhew Mercy nor Juſtice towards us. Cure the Deluſion of ſeduced, and ſeducing Spirits. Let them not be led away with Errors any longer, nor intoxicated with the Love thereof. Let them not continue to reſiſt thy Truth, much leſs proceed to blaſpheme and reproach it; and leaſt of all, to ſet themſelves to fight againſt it by an Arm of Fleſh, and cruelly to perſecute and extirpate the Profeſſors thereof.

Pity thoſe who are ignorant, and ſet ſtrait thoſe who are perverſe among them. Remove thoſe Prejudices which blind their Eyes, and ſweeten and mollify their Spirits, that they may no longer be driven aſide by Malice and bitter Paſſions, and diſpoſe them by Humility and Meekneſs, and a ſincere Love of Truth and Righteouſneſs, to a joyful Reception and Acknowledgment thereof, that inſtead of perſecuting, they may fall reſolutely to profeſs them, and, if need be, to ſuffer for the ſame.

But if any ſtill harden themſelves in their Error and Violence, and think that by *deſtroying thy Servants*, ‖ *they pleaſe thee, and do God Service*; yet deal not thou with them, O God, as they deal with us, but ſave their Lives, tho' they ſeek to take away ours. Tho' we ſuffer, yea, or die by their Hands,

‖ *Jo.* 16. 2.

Hands, let them not die in their Errors and wicked Violence; but curb them, good Lord, in their Carreer, and ſtop it in thy due time.

And if it may ſeem good to Thee, work this bleſſed Change in them, by mild and gentle Methods: But if nothing elſe will touch their Hearts with Remorſe, afflict their Bodies, O Merciful Father, and let * *the Rod give understanding*, and teach them Repentance. Yea, let all thy Croſſes come upon them, rather than the Curſe of a ſeared Conſcience.

* *Prov.* 29. 15.

And when there is nothing left but ſmiting, to reduce them, Lord give not off ſmiting them, till they are brought to ſee the Wickedneſs of perſecuting the Ways of Truth and Righteouſneſs, and to make the beſt Amends they can, by ſtanding up zealouſly for the ſame. Say not unto them as Thou † didſt to the *Revolting Jews*, who ſtill grow worſe and worſe under their Corrections, *Why ſhould you be ſtricken any more?* Nor deliver them up to the wretched Eaſe of incorrigible Sinners, who are therefore at Eaſe becauſe their State is hopeleſs, and whoſe Eaſe and Reſpite is only that of condemn'd Priſoners, who are ſealed up for ſudden and inevitable Vengeance. But by whatever Means Thou ſhalt ſee fit to work the ſame, let their Repentance prevent thine eternal Vengeance, thro' the Merits of our deareſt Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

† *Iſai.* 1. 5.

2. *Prayers for the Perſecuted, who happen in any place to be ſuffering for the Cauſe of Truth or Righteouſneſs.*

1. O Almighty and moſt Merciful Father, extend thy Help and Pity in theſe trying Times, to all the Neceſſities and Backſlidings of thy Servants. Have Mercy upon all, who either by their own worldly Fears, and covetous Deſires, or by the Art and Cunning of Seducers, have been made to fall from Thee, and raiſe them up again. Neither ſuffer them to reſt ſecure, nor to grow deſperate in their Wickedneſs, but fill their Hearts with ſuch Awakenings, as may put them in the Way of true Repentance.

And when any of them grow doubtful of what they have done, Lord, carry on their Doubts to a full Conviction. And when once they are convinced of their Errors, give them no Reſt till they have amended them. Let their ‡ *Prayers and Alms aſcend up before thee*, and bring down Grace ſtill more and more to ſee their Fall, and to fit and fortify their Spirits to recover from it. Enable them to overcome all Fears of Shame and worldly Loſs; to place their trueſt, and their only Honour in Repentance; and their higheſt Intereſt and Safety, in rectifying and repairing what they have done amiſs; and to ſtudy, above all Things, how, deſpiſing worldly Conſiderations, they may recover thy Peace, and ſave their precious and immortal Souls.

‡ *Act.* 10. 31.

Shew Mercy alſo, O Gracious God, on all thoſe who are ſhaken in Mind by theſe Storms, and begin to ſtagger in the Faith, and fix and ſettle them therein. And on all thoſe, who by thy Grace have reſolutely withſtood the ſame, and daily perfect and confirm them. O Lord, daily make them more numerous, and let their Sufferings, like that of thy faithful Servants and Confeſſors of old, be a fruitful Seed of a truly Righteous and Holy Church. Lengthen out their Patience, whilſt thou prolongeſt their Sufferings, and ſtrengthen their Faith, that they may ſtedfaſtly perſevere therein. Let thy Providence ſupply thoſe Wants, which any of them are reduced unto for a good Conſcience. Give them Comfort under their Sufferings, and, in thy due Time, an happy Riddance thereof, and endleſs and unſpeakable Joys at laſt in exchange for them.

The more their Enemies ſeek to root them out by unrighteous Perſecution, O that they may anſwerably ſtrengthen themſelves the more in fervent and godly Devotion. Make them to have a ſtrict and conſcionable Eye

all thy Laws, that whilſt in theſe perſecuted Points, they ſuffer as Saints, ney miſs not at laſt of their Reward, by taking Liberty in any other things live as Sinners. O that they may ſtudy in all things to pleaſe Thee in eir Lives, that ſo they may be accepted in their Sufferings, for our Lord eſus Chriſt's ſake. *Amen.*

AND tho' here, O Righteous Father, for thine Holineſs, and for thy Truth's ſake, they are vile in the Eyes of Men, let them be preci- us in thine Eyes, and do Thou own them from Heaven. Plead Thou the auſe of thy Servants againſt thoſe that oppreſs them. Let their Perſecu- rs ſee, that there is no fighting againſt Thee. Make them find, that Truth ſtronger than they, and will at laſt prevail over them. And that Perſe- tions, which they uſe for rooting out the ſincere Profeſſors thereof, are ver-ruled by thine Almighty Power and Wiſdom, to propagate and multi- y them.

And when all others are ready to forſake us in our Afflictions, do Thou, God, ſtick by us. Do Thou ſtick by us in our Extremities, and deliver s. * *Let not the miſchievous Imaginations of the Wicked always proſper, leſt* * Pſ. 140. 8. *ey be too proud.* † *Let not the Rod of the Wicked reſt upon the Lot of the* † Pſ. 125. 3. *ighteous, leſt they put forth their Hand unto Iniquiiy.* Shorten the Days of eſe Sorrows, and make haſte to help and deliver us. And work that De- iverance, if it pleaſe Thee, by the Conviction, rather than by the Deſtru- tion of our Enemies, for our Bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. *Amen.*

. *Prayers for a Kingdom, when in any Time or Place it happens to labour under Perſecutions, for any part of God's Truth, or Way of Righteouſneſs: Or, when it is torn to pieces by inteſtine Diviſions about the ſame.*

O Almighty and moſt Merciful God, have Mercy upon this moſt wretched and ſinful Land, and exalt the greatneſs of thy Mercy, y curing the height of our Miſery. And in the firſt place, purge our ins, O Lord, which are the chief Cauſe of all our Sorrows, and which are he heavieſt Plague that we lie under, tho' alas! we are leaſt ſenſible thereof. O! give us not up to a reprobate Mind, and a ſeared Conſcience. Let thy Correction open all our Eyes, to ſee and abhor all that Iniquity and Ungod- ineſs, which calls aloud to Thee for Vengeance. O that we may ſee what t is to be falſe and faithleſs to God and Man, to forſake Thee in our Di- treſs, and ſeek to unrighteous Ways for Refuge. That we may lay to Heart all that Hypocriſy and Prophaneneſs, all that ſhedding of innocent Blood, all that Violence, whereof our Hands are full, and the Spoils and Oppreſſions, and other Wickedneſſes, which have reign'd amongſt us.

And by theſe Fore-taſtes of Sorrows, which we have already felt in the Courſe of theſe Iniquities, grant, O Lord, that we may be ſtruck with Ter- ror of thoſe inſupportable Plagues and After-reckonings, which are yet to come, if we continue in the ſame. And that we may learn thereby to ſin no more, but apply ourſelves faithfully to ſeek and ſerve Thee, that we may be fit for thine eternal Mercy, thro' Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

2. AND when thou haſt cleared us of the Guilt, then deliver us, O Gra- cious Lord, from the Curſe of our Tranſgreſſions. Let not Power be employed to ſuppreſs thy Truths, or a righteous Cauſe, but to ſupport them. Let not Violence be able to force the Seat of Juſtice, nor to hinder or pervert the due and free Courſe thereof. Bleſs the Labours of all thoſe, who ſeek to have Truth and Equity take place, and to plant and ſettle Peace

on Righteouſneſs. And ſet thy Face againſt them, whoſe Hearts and Hands are ſet on Ways of unjuſt Violence, and publick Diſturbance. Turn their Hearts, O God, to be in Love with Peace and Juſtice: Or if ſtill they will be obſtinate againſt the ſame, weaken their Hands, that they may not be able to hinder us of the ſpeedy and happy Influence and ſettled Enjoyment thereof.

Bind up our Breaches, O Father, and make all our unnatural Broils and Bloodſhed ceaſe. We are a People ſhaken to pieces, do Thou ſettle us. We are all in Confuſion, do Thou bring us into Order. We are broken by our Sins, O do Thou repair and heal us, by reſtoring us to Ways of Righteouſneſs. Our Guilt and Miſery have made us heartleſs, and void of Courage; O let Innocence, and the Light of thy Countenance, raiſe our Spirits. We lie comfortleſs in our Iniquities, O let thy Spirit reform us, and then ſpeak Comfort to us. Heal all the Sores of our Souls, and then lighten our Earthly Burdens. Keep Life in this exhauſted Kingdom (*a*), which is ready to faint, and daily encreaſe it in the ſame, and ſettle us once more in Juſtice and Holineſs, Peace and Safety, for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. *Amen.*

(*a*) *Or,* in theſe exhauſted Kingdoms, *when theſe Prayers need at any time to be put up for more Kingdoms than one.*

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4. *Prayers for the Church, when in any Time or Place, it is called to ſuffer Perſecution for Truth or Righteouſneſs.*

1. *A general Prayer for Things needful to the ſame in ſuch Times of Perſecution.*

* *Acts* 20. 23.

O Almighty Lord, who * *haſt purchaſed to thy ſelf a Church with thine own Blood,* look in Mercy upon the ſame, however diſtreſſed thro' all the World; eſpecially upon that part thereof which languiſheth in this Land, and ſuffer not the Adverſary to lay it waſte, or utterly to deface it, after Thou haſt paid ſo dear for it.

Let not either Superſtition, or immoral Wickedneſs, corrupt and prophane thy Worſhip; nor let Schiſm any longer tear thy Body to pieces. Let not vile Men go on, to make Religion a Cover and Pretence for acting againſt moral Honeſty and Juſtice, leſt the Hypocriſy of ſome beget Atheiſm in others, and leſt thereby looſe Men be tempted to think, and take Occaſion to ſay, That there is nothing under any Profeſſions of Religion, but ſerving worldly Ends, becauſe they can ſee nothing elſe under theirs.

O! that Truth and Righteouſneſs may be ſet up in thy Church, and that Love and Unity may be ſet up in our Hearts. That we may once more hear the Voice of Joy and Peace, and receive Beauty for Aſhes.

Pity a Church, O Bleſſed Lord! which has long maintained Truth of Doctrine, and Purity of Worſhip in the Nation; and which has openly profeſſed, and bore out the Doctrine of patient Suffering for Righteouſneſs, and not reſorting to any evil Means for Relief, in the Eyes of Men. Pity thoſe who ſuffer, and are in danger to be deſtroyed for their ſtedfaſt adhering to theſe thy Ways, when others generally fall off from them, and ſet themſelves violently to perſecute the ſame. And hear their Cries, who mourn in *Sion*, and are afflicted for the Diſhonour that is brought upon thy Name, and for all the Violences which are done to an holy Religion.

Preſerve them, Holy Father, by thy Power, and give them not up to the Will of their Oppreſſors. But ſtir up thy Strength, and come and help us. Give us Conſtancy againſt the Errors of our Perſecutors; and in thy good Time give us Reſt from their Violence, for our Bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. *Amen.*

The

The Collect for the Fifth *Sunday* after *Trinity.*

GRant, *O Lord, we beſeech Thee, that the Courſe of this World may be ſo peaceably ordered by thy Governance, that thy Church may joyfully ſerve Thee in all Godly Quietneſs, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* Amen.

Prayers for particular Graces or Bleſſings, when at any time, or any where it is violently broken, or preſſed by Perſecutions, to forſake the Way of God's Truth or Righteouſneſs.

1. *Prayers for its Purity and Integrity.*

O Father of Mercies, who ſeeſt all the Backſlidings and Calamities of thy poor Church amongſt us, pity its Miſery, and poſſeſs it with ſuch Spirit, as is fit to enliven and actuate thy Body.

O! keep it in thy Truth, and ſave it from Hereſy, and falſe Doctrines, either about Faith, or Practice. Give it not up to teach Errors for Advantage, or to juſtify unlawful Ways for worldly Ends, and Securities. Nor ſuffer it to ſuit its Doctrines to ſecular Turns, or to change Religious Principles, as it ſhall be driven thereto by Worldly Neceſſities.

Fix it in Ways of Holineſs, O Lord, that all its Mininiſtrations may be ſuch, as become Saints. Suffer it not to mix Sin in thy Service, or to teach it to thy People; to pollute holy *Offices*, with any Ungodly or Unrighteous Petitions; and proſtitute and prophane thy Worſhip, by falling therein to offer any abominable Things: O! let not its Miniſtrations become the Miniſtrations of Unrighteouſneſs, but be Holy and without Blemiſh, as befits thine Houſe, and becomes thy Spouſe.

Whilſt Thou art pleaſed to try it with Tribulations, Lord, let them only purge it, but not lay it waſte. And revive a ſuffering Spirit among us, (a) *when* it labours under a ſuffering State. Make it willing then, and ready to quit all Intereſts of this World, and live upon the Hopes of a better. Enable it contentedly, yea, joyfully, to take up thy Croſs and to bear it after Thee. O! that at ſuch Times it may always be more afraid of ſinning than of ſuffering. O! that it may never fall to make the way of Gain, to paſs for the way of Godlineſs; or to preach up what is unrighteous, becauſe it is become ſerviceable and ſafe. Nor ever ſeek to Error and Wickedneſs for Refuge, inſtead of ſeeking to God, and truſting in him, and in his holy Ways for the ſame.

O Father! in thy Mercy guard it againſt all Error and Ungodlineſs, reſcue it from all Schiſms and Diviſions, and free it, in thy due time, of its Diſtreſs and Perſecutions, for our Lord Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. *Amen.*

O Almighty Lord! direct and rule the Hearts of thy People by the Power of thy Grace, that they may no longer run furiouſly upon unrighteous Expedients, nor by their Violence drive their Teachers into the Practice and Juſtification thereof. O! that they may ſeek to hear true, and not pleaſing Things; and not only hear, but love to be faithfully dealt with. And give them not up, O Father! to perſecute the Preachers of Righteouſneſs, who are ready to warn them of the Error and Danger of their Ways; to deſpite them, and treat them as their worſt Enemies, only for telling them thy ſaving Truths.

Lord! let not the Love of Error, and Hatred of thoſe Truths which are according to Godlineſs and Honeſty, always reign in them. Let them not

(a) *Or, inſtead of* when, *ſay,* now, *if the Church prayed for, is actually ſuffering.*

perſiſt therein without Remorſe. Or, when they are ſmitten with Relentings, let them not lie ſealed up in their Iniquity, as the fallen Angels do, by deſpair of Mercy, and ſeat themſelves among thoſe Sinners, who, when once they have done Ill, think they cannot be ſafe but by doing worſe.

Eſpecially, O God, deliver them not over to a *Reprobate Senſe*, nor ſhut them up under a *Spiritual Blindneſs*. But open their Eyes to ſee from whence they are fallen, and to ſeek after thoſe Things which are neceſſary to their everlaſting Peace, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

2. *Prayers for cure of Schiſms, and for Graces in divided Times.*

1. DEliver this Church, O Almighty Lord, from Schiſms, which have torn it to pieces. And grant that all thoſe Members, who are broken off, may return to offer up their Religious Services, in due Dependance upon their own Orthodox and Lawful Paſtors: and to make Conſcience of keeping Union, and of continuing Subject and Obedient unto thoſe who are Rightfully ſet over them in the Government of thy Church.

Let them not think it enough, O God, to have Holy Prayers: But teach them, moreover, to put up theſe Prayers in ſuch Aſſemblies, as keep Obedient and united to thoſe Spiritual Fathers, whom Thou haſt called to be the Rightful Governors of the Body. And make them know, that when, as good Chriſtians, they are careful to join in none but Holy Services; they muſt take care alſo, as good Church-Members, to preſent thoſe Services to thine Hands, in the Unity and Communion of thy Church; there to be accepted with Thee, through his Merits and Mediation, who is the * *Head and Saviour of the Body*, even thy moſt Bleſſed Son, and our only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

† *Eph.* 5. 23.

2. BEnd the Hearts of all amongſt us, O bleſſed Lord, to have Peace amongſt themſelves: Teach them Humility and Submiſſion to thoſe whom Thou haſt put in Authority over them. Let Love and Lowlineſs increaſe, and all ſelf-denying and amicable Tempers. And remove far from us Covetous and Aſpiring Thoughts, and Pride, and Self-pleaſing, and all Wrath and bitter Paſſions.

Reconcile all jarring Spirits; and cauſe all Diſcord and Diviſion to ceaſe. And diſpoſe us all, O Jeſu, thou Prince of Peace, to ſee thoſe Truths which make for Peace, and tend to cloſe our Breaches, and willingly ſubmit to them. Let us not give way ſo far to Anger and bitter Paſſions, till none but violent Things will pleaſe us, and till we grow fond and greedy of any Error that will make the Breach wider, but zealous againſt ſuch Truths as might ſerve again to unite and bring us together. O keep us ſtrictly careful, both of Peace and Truth. And as we humbly pray, that we may never give up thy ſaving Truths for Peace, ſo do we likewiſe, that we may never divide from each other, and be averſe to Peace, when Thy Holy Truths ſtand in no need thereof.

And whilſt we labour under our unhappy Breaches, let us not be wanting in any mutual Offices of Humanity, good Neighbourhood, or common Juſtice towards each other: Let us not fancy, that their being of different Opinions, or of different Churches from us, muſt put a ſtop to the Juſt Acts and Offices of Gratitude, and to the remembrance of former Kindneſs; or that they muſt give us a diſcharge from any mutual Obligations of nature, Kindred, or of civil Relations.

Eſpecially, O merciful God, keep us ſtom placing all Religion in the Notes of a Party. Let us not ſo over-rate the real, or fanſied, Virtues of our ſeveral Diviſions, as to take up therewith; and become ourſelves as culpable, for the Breach and allowed Neglect of ſome Duties, as we charge on

Brethren to be, for the Breach of others. But whilſt on all ſides we are zealous in purſuing thoſe Points wherein we differ; let us be zealous for others too, and not overlook, or lay aſide, the care of good Life, and of that common Religion, wherein we all agree, and which at laſt muſt deliver us all from thy Wrath, and prepare us for thine everlaſting Mercies, thro' our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

3. *Prayers for the Biſhops and Clergy under Perſecutions.*

O Almighty Lord, under all theſe Perſecutions which are ſent to prove and purge us, have an eſpecial Care of the Biſhops and Paſtors of thy Church, who are ſet to take of thy People, and to defend thy Cauſe, and fill their Hearts with the power of thy Spirit, and with all thoſe Gifts and Graces which are needful to maintain their own Standing, or prevent the Falls of others.

Make them clear Examples, O God, of Holy Living, and of truly Chriſtian and Righteous Suffering to thy Flock; ſetting before their Eyes the lively Draughts, and conſtant Practice of Faith and Patience, Meekneſs and Charity, and of a Heart mortified to this World, and full of the Thoughts and Hopes of a better.

Give them Grace, O Lord, to watch over thy People with willing Minds, and with unwearied Diligence. O that they may Rule them prudently and ſkilfully, as wiſe Guides: And feed them faithfully, as good Shepherds. O that they may wholly apply themſelves to Preach thy Word, and to adminiſter thy pure Worſhip and Sacrament, to comfort the Afflicted, to ſtrengthen the Feebleminded, to confirm thoſe that Stand, and to raiſe up thoſe that are fall'n, to quicken the Indifference and Lukewarmneſs of ſome, and to curb and bridle the inordinate Heat and undue Paſſions and Violence of others.

And let them not think of quitting the Truſt and Charge of miniſtring to Souls, * *when the Wolf approacheth*, or leave off caring for thy Flock, to take care of themſelves: But keep them ever mindful, O Holy Jeſu, that Thou art † *the true Shepherd who gaveſt thy Life for the Sheep*; and that, as thy true Followers, and faithful Miniſters, they muſt be diligent at ſuch Times, in miniſtring to their Wants, and attend upon the ſame at all hazards. Let them ſhew then, that they || *love Thee*, by *feeding thy Sheep*. Enable them to ſhew ‡ *perfect Love*, which *caſteth out Fear*. And give them Grace, ‡ *to ſpeak thy Word*, and to do thy Work *with Boldneſs* and *Uprightneſs*; neither fearing the Faces of their Perſecutors, nor tolerating, and much leſs feeding the Diſeaſes, or Vices of their Flocks; but remembring always, that in thy Church they preſide and miniſter for Thee; and as they who are to give an Account for Souls.

* *Joh.* 10. 12.
† v. 11.
|| *John* 21. 15, 16, 17.
‡ 1 *Jo.* 4. 18.
‡ *Acts* 4. 29.

Poſſeſs their Hearts, O God, with ſuch vigilant Care and Love for Souls, and Holy Zeal, and Godly Courage and Prudence, as is requiſite for Men in their High Truſts and Stations, and under the preſent Wants and Difficulties of thy Church: And be with them in all they do, and in all they ſuffer for thy Cauſe, for our Lord Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. *Amen.*

COmfort up their Spirits alſo, O Lord, with the viſible Effects, and good Fruits of their Labours and Sufferings among thy People: But whatever Succeſs they meet withal, let them not deſiſt from thy Service, or fall to do thy Work negligently; but when there is the leaſt appearance of their working good upon others, let it however ſatisfie and ſupport them, that they have thereby ſhown their Fidelity and Love to Thee, and have delivered their own Souls.

And

And keep them from all vain Janglings, O thou Bleſſed Spirit of Love and Peace, and from falling into deſires of Vainglory, or Emulation among themſelves. Let them not defile their own Spirits, or diſparage thy Cauſe, by turning aſide to vent humane Paſſions, or to ſeek or ſerve any worldly Ends. But in all their Labours and Sufferings for thy Church, help them to approve themſelves pure and ſincere, as Men whoſe great Care and chief Buſineſs is to ſerve Thee, and to watch for the good of Souls.

And whilſt they are watching for thy People, Lord, let thy good Providence watch over them. When thy Service, and the needs of Souls do moſt endanger and expoſe them, let them be ſafe in thy keeping. Put by the Malice and Machinations of their Enemies, and give them Patience and unwearied Perſeverance under all their Difficulties and Diſtreſſes: Support and Comfort them under the ſame at preſent, and turn them all in the End to the furtherance of thy Truth, and to the encreaſe of their own everlaſting Peace and Happineſs, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

4. *A Prayer for both Clergy and People.*

O Lord, whilſt Thou art trying us with Loſſes and worldly Sorrows, make us eaſie under the ſame, and careful to bear them with Patience and raiſed Affections. But let us not betake ourſelves to Pride and Self-pleaſing, and to feed thoſe corrupt Paſſions, which our Afflictions ſhould purge out, nor ever fall to ſeek or think of great Things here for ourſelves.

O that our Tribulations may teach us to be humble, and to mortifie our own Paſſions. O that our worldly Sorrows may cure and turn us from being any longer fond of this World, and from feeding ourſelves with any vain and enſnaring Hopes or Deſires thereof. And that whilſt we are daily croſſed in our fleſhly Deſires, we may ceaſe to be any longer bent upon our own Wills, and may in all Things reſign ourſelves up to thine.

Let not our Perſecutions, O Gracious God, be loſt upon us, nor let us be unprofitable Scholars in the School of Affliction: Let it not be juſtly chargeable on us, that Tribulations could not mend us, nor *the fiery Trial* refine our Spirits, and purge away our Droſs. But bring us by our Sufferings, to know our ſelves, and to ſet light by all earthly Things, and to take up with Thee for our Portion, and with the ſure and bleſſed Hopes of thine Everlaſting Mercies, thro' the Merits and Mediation of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

5. *A Prayer for the Church's Defence, and Deliverance from Perſecutions.*

UNder all its Wants and Backſlidings, Sorrows and Diſtreſſes, look Thou upon thy Church, O Lord, and ſupport and deliver it. Many are they who combine againſt it, and great is their Power, and vigilant and earneſt is their Care and Endeavour, to ſuppreſs and deſtroy it. And againſt all their Aſſaults, it has no other Defence, but thy Grace and good Providence.

Do not Thou forſake it then, O God, for it flies to Thee, and reſts on Thee alone for Succour. Maintain it, for it is thine own Cauſe. And if it be caſt down, thine Enemies and theirs will triumph. Take the Matter therefore into thine Hand, for no other is ſufficient for it, and Thou art moſt concerned therein. Bring it ſafe thro' this *Fiery Trial*, and let it not be conſumed thereby, but, as * Gold is, only purged and purified of its Droſs. Give it a Cure, O Lord, of all its Errors and Impurities, and Quietneſs in the End from Perſecutions, and Grace not to grow careleſs, or be corrupted by Days of Eaſe; but to improve the ſame, in doing Thee Honour and Service with more Freedom, and fewer Interruptions, thro' Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

* 1 *Pet.* 1. 7.

15. *A Thankſgiving for any comfortable Ceſſation, or for Reſt and Eaſe from Perſecution.*

BLeſſed be thy Great and Glorious Name, O Father of Mercies and God of all Comforts! for the Comfort of theſe Days of Eaſe, from our former Tribulations. Thou haſt in great Pity conſidered our Frailty and Weakneſs, and hath * *not ſuffered the Rod of the Perſecutors to lie* too heavy, or reſt too long upon our Backs. Thou haſt not been deaf to our Deſires when we called upon Thee, nor ſuffered our Hopes in thy gracious Promiſes to fail. *Thou haſt fulfilled thy Word unto thy Servants*, who ſerved and ſuffered for Thee in Confidence thereof; and haſt *made the Wicked to ceaſe from troubling us*, and exchanged the *Fiery Trial* of their Ungodly Violence, for the ſweet and refreſhing Comforts of this Reſt and Peace. * *Pſ.* 125. 3.

O Lord, let us never forget this great Mercy, nor abuſe it. Let us not grow careleſs or corrupt by the Bleſſings of Peace, or run into Earthly Affections and Dependencies; and contract ſuch Droſs, as may need a ſecond Time to be brought thro' the Furnace. But keep us ſober, and purged and purified in our Hearts and Minds; and maintain in us ſuch a Godly Zeal, and watchful Diligence under the ſame, as will make uſe of the bleſſed Opportunities of Peace, for going on with more Conſtancy, and with leſs Hinderance and Diſturbance in thy Service.

And make us learn, O Gracious God! by our paſt Suffering, and Experience of thy Goodneſs, to keep improved in Faith and Patience. Having found Thee ſo faithful in our Neceſſity, give us Grace to rely upon Thee. Let us † *not caſt away our Confidence*, nor ‖ *grow weary in well-doing; knowing that in due time we ſhall reap, if we faint not.* O! that the ſweet Remembrance of thy Mercies may ever fill our Hearts with Love, and our Tongues with Praiſe. O! that it may make us careful in Well-doing, and confident of thy Faithfulneſs and Care over us, whilſt we commit our Souls into thy keeping, in holding to thy ways, thro' our bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.* † *Heb.* 10. 38. ‖ *Gal.* 6. 9.

A N

AN OFFICE FOR Prisoners for Righteousness.

SCRIPTURES.

Psal. 7. } { Matth. 10. } { Acts 16. *from* ver. 18.
Acts 5. *from* ver. 18. } { Psal. 10. } { 1 Pet. 4. *from* ver. 12.

1. YE *shall be betrayed, both by Parents and Brethren, and Kinsfolk and Friends; and some of you shall they cause to be put to Death.*

And they shall lay Hands on you, and deliver you up into Prisons, and ye shall be brought before Kings and Rulers for my Names sake.

And it shall turn to you for a Testimony.

But there shall not an Hair of your Head perish.

In your Patience possess ye your Souls.

And meditate not before, what ye shall answer. But settle in your Hearts, that I will give you a Mouth and Wisdom, which all your Adversaries shall not be able to gainsay or resist, Luke 21. 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19.

Precious in the sight of the Lord, is the death of his Saints, Ps. 116. 15.

What mean ye to weep, and to break mine Heart? For I am ready, not to be bound only, but to die at Jerusalem, *for the Name of the Lord Jesus,* Acts 21. 13.

He that loveth his Life shall lose it; and he that hateth his Life in this World, shall keep it unto Life Eternal, Joh. 12. 25.

2. *The Lord heareth the Poor, and despiseth not his Prisoners,* Psal. 69. 33.

Deliver me from my Persecutors, for they are stronger than I. Bring my Soul out of Prison, that I may praise thy Name, Psal. 142. 6, 7.

Deliver me, O Lord, from the Evil Man, preserve me from the Men of Violence.

Keep me, O Lord, from the Hands of the Wicked, who have purposed to overthrow my goings.

For the proud have hid a Snare for me, and Cords; they have spread a Net by the way-side, they have set Gins for me.

They have sharpned their Tongues like a Serpent, Adders Poison is under their Lips, Psal. 140. 1, 3, 4, 5.

In the Work of the Gospel, I suffer Trouble as an Evil-doer, even unto Bonds, but the Word of God is not bound, 2 Tim. 2. 9.

For many of the Brethren in the Lord, waxing confident by my Bonds, are much more bold to speak the Word without Fear, Phil. 1. 14.

3. R

3. *Remember my Bonds*, Col. 4. 18.
Remember thoſe that are in Bonds, as bound with them, Heb. 13. 3.
Ye had Compaſſion on me in my Bonds, and took joyfully the ſpoiling of your ods, whilſt ye became Companions of thoſe, that were made a gazing-ſtock Reproaches and Afflictions, Heb. 10. 33, 34.
I would have retained Oneſimus *with me, that in thy ſtead he might have iniſtred to me in the Bonds of the Goſpel*, Philem. 13.
Be not thou aſhamed of the Teſtimony of our Lord, nor of me his Priſoner; t be thou partaker of the Afflictions of the Goſpel, according to the Power God, 2 Tim. 1. 8.
Both in my Bonds, and in the Confirmation and Defence of the Goſpel, ye e all Partakers of my Grace, Phil. 1. 7.
I was in Priſon and ye came unto me. In as much as ye have done it to one the leaſt of theſe my Brethren, ye have done it unto me, Mat. 25. 36, 40.

An Hymn of Thankſgiving, for Deliverance upon a Trial, or out of Priſon.

F it had not been the Lord, who was on my ſide, when Men roſe up a-gainſt me.
Then they had ſwallowed me up quick, when their Wrath was kindled a-nſt me.
Then the proud Waters had gone over my Soul, Pſal. 124. 2, 3, 5.
The Sorrows of Death compaſſed me, and the Floods of Ungodly Men made afraid, Pſal. 18. 4.
They compaſſed me about like Bees, they thruſt ſore at me, that I might ll; but the Lord helped me, Pſal. 118. 12, 13.
And I had the Sentence of Death in my ſelf, that I ſhould not truſt in my f, but in God which raiſeth the Dead, 2 Cor. 1. 9.
But bleſſed be the Lord, who hath not given me over as a Prey unto their eth.
My Soul is eſcaped, as a Bird out of the Snare of the Fowler; the Snare is oken, and I have eſcaped, Pſal. 124. 6, 7.
He ſent down his Hand from above, and delivered me out of the great aters, from the Hands of ſtrange Children.
Whoſe Mouth ſpeaketh Vanity, and their Right Hand is a Right Hand of lſhood, Pſal. 144. 7, 8.
He delivered me from my ſtrong Enemy, and from them which hated me, they were too ſtrong for me.
He brought me forth alſo into a large place; he delivered me, becauſe he lighted in me, Pſal. 18. 17, 19.
The Lord is my Strength, and my Song, and is become my Salvation.
The Lord is on my ſide; I will not fear what Man can do unto me.
I ſhall not die, but live, and declare the Works of the Lord, Pſal. 118. 6, , 17.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt.
As it was in the Beginning, is now, and ever ſhall be, World without end. *Amen.*

This Doxology may likewiſe be uſed at the end of the ſeveral preceeding llections of Scriptures, in this Office for Priſoners for Righteouſneſs, *as alſo the end of the ſeveral Collections of Scripture in the former* Office for thoſe, ho ſuffer for Righteouſneſs; *when theſe Collections are read, not only for ſtruction, but Devotionally, as* Hymns to God.

PRAYERS.

I. *A General Prayer for all Priſoners.*

O Almighty and Everlaſting God, Thou ſeeſt the Streights and Sorrows which I endure in this place, and how unable I am to help my ſelf, or to bring about my own Deliverance. But the leſs Hope and Support I have in my ſelf, the more I look up unto Thee, and place my Truſt in thy Mercy. And when my own Care can avail the leaſt, let thine, O thou bleſſed Helper of the Helpleſs, appear the moſt for me.

Give me a Body, O my God, fit to bear the Inconveniences of this cloſe Place, and Grace to be content therewith: Whilſt I lie up here, let me not want neceſſary Proviſions, nor repine at the meanneſs thereof. Suit the Lowneſs of my Deſires, to the Hardſhip of my Circumſtances, and let the greatneſs of my Study and Care be to (*do Juſtice* (*a*), and ſhew Temperance and Self-denials) not to pleaſe my ſelf, or to gratify my own Carnal Eaſe and Appetites.

Whilſt I am here kept apart from my former Acquaintance, Grant, O Lord, that I may carefully retire into myſelf, and *call mine own Ways to Remembrance.* And, O that I may amend whatſoever is amiſs there, and ſet all ſo ſtrait with Thee, that I may delight to look into my own Heart, and *to ſearch out my own Spirit.* Lord! now Thou haſt left me nothing elſe to do, make me apply my ſelf wholly to * *the one Thing neceſſary.* To grow in Holy Reverence, and Devotion of Spirit, in the Study of dealing juſtly and fairly, with all who are any way concerned with me; in Humility and mortified Affections, in Patience and Contentedneſs. O plant and fill my Soul with all Heavenly Virtues, and make bright all the cloudy and dark parts thereof, with the Rays of thy divine Image. And then, O my God, I ſhall ſee ſomething of Thee, as oft as I look into myſelf, and learn to be pleaſed with my own Company, tho' others are kept from me.

* *Luke* 10. 24.

And in whatſoever want I am of other Comforts, grant, O Father of Mercies, that both here, and ever hereafter, I may have the Comfort of thy Preſence. When all elſe are taken from me, do not Thou forſake me. Tho' I dwell in a diſconſolate Room, let thy Spirit dwell with me. Let thy Law at all times direct me, and let the Senſe of thy Love comfort me. And after thou haſt graciouſly improved this melancholly Reſtraint, to wean me from vain and carnal Delight, and to ſet my Soul free in thy good Time; O my Refuge and Strength! deliver me out of this Priſon, and ſet my Body too at Liberty, for my dear Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. *Amen.*

The *Priſoner for Righteouſneſs* may uſe the preceeding Prayers, for *Integrity*, for *Conſtancy in perſecuted Duties*, for *Faith*, for *Truſt in God*, for *Patience*, for *Charity towards Perſecutors*, *&c.* in the foregoing Office for *Sufferers for Righteouſneſs*, as he ſees Cauſe.

And for more particular Circumſtances and Needs, of ſuch as are Priſoners for the ſame, they may expreſs the Devotion of their Spirit in theſe Prayers following.

(*a*) *Indemnify and Content my Creditors*, when for Debt.

II. Particular Prayers.

I. *A Prayer for the Priſoner for any part of Truth or Righteouſneſs, to uſe in his Family.*

O Father of Mercies, who takeſt the Poor and Helpleſs under thine own more immediate and eſpecial Care, when Thou takeſt thoſe from them whoſe

hose Part it is, under Thee, to take Care of them; shew the Riches of thy race and Loving-kindness; I humbly intreat Thee, to my [*Dear Wife and Children* (a),] guide them always by thy Holy Spirit, and watch over them with an indulgent Providence; (keep them obedient to Counsel, and continue them under the Blessing of *her* Care.) Preserve them from Want, and protect them from Danger, and make them a mutual Comfort, and Support to each other. And in the midst of all my Troubles, continue (both her and) them a constant Comfort and Refreshment to me thy poor unworthy servant.

And let me not, O gracious God, make them unhappy. Or, if we suffer in common, for standing off from prevailing Violence, and because we will not concur, or stake in with the wicked Actings of an unrighteous Generation, let none of us repine at such Sufferings, but look upon them as Afflictions, that are willing to be embraced; yea, rather triumphantly to be rejoiced in. I humbly desire, O Father, that we may all trust Thee with our selves, and chearfully rest upon thy Faithfulness, to make up to us any Loss, which shall befal us on such Accounts. Thy good Providence is a great and blessed Portion in such Cases, as, praised be thy Name, thy Saints have found in all Times, by joyful Experience. And to that good Providence, O my God, do I trust. It shall always be my Hope and Confidence; and O! that as it is the truest Blessing, so it may ever be the happy Portion, both of me and mine, thro' Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

(a) *When the Prisoner has not these Relations, he may say,* To my Father's House, *and omit the Words contained within the Marks* [ ], *and make other Alterations, as this Case shall require.*

II. Prayers for the Prisoner for Truth or Righteousness, to use for himself.

A Prayer for Deliverance from Enemies and Prosecutors, when at any time, or any where, he is put in Prison, for any Parts of Truth, or Righteousness.

O Merciful God, who art the Helper of the Helpless, and a Refuge for the Oppressed in the Day of their Troubles; be thou my Fortress and help against my Persecutors.

They are mine Enemies, O Lord, for thy sake; and therefore set themselves thus violently against me, because they cannot drive me to leave Thee. And I have no visible Way left to appease their Hatred, because I dare not forsake a just Cause, or go along with them in speaking and acting against that which is right. And * *these mine Enemies are many*, and mighty; and they persecute me violently, and *have laid a Trap for my Soul*, and † *there is none to help me.*

* *Psal.* 25. 19.
† *Psal.* 22. 11.

But tho' I can neither appease their Hatred, nor withstand it; yet Thou, O Lord, canst alter it at thy Pleasure; or, if they persist therein, Thou canst disappoint them. And to Thee do I flee, and look for Succour. Help me therefore, O my God, for in Thee do I trust. Help Thou me, for I have none else to help me, for *deceitful are the Promises*, and ‡ *vain is the Help of Men.* || *Make haste to help me, for Trouble is hard at hand.* Turn the Hearts of mine Enemies, for seeking my Life; or, if they will persevere therein, bring to nought their Evil Purposes. Forgive them, Gracious Father, and bring not them into such a Pit as they have digged for me. But preserve me from falling into it, and from being lost in the Depth thereof, for my dearest Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ's sake. *Amen.*

‡ *Ps.* 108. 12.
|| *Psal.* 22. 11, 19.

2. *A Prayer for Deliverance from frail and faithless Friends, when they are brought in at such Times, to accuse him for the same.*

YEA, O Gracious Father, not only the Envy and Malice of mine Enemies, but the Weakness of my own familiar Friends, is made use of to destroy me. And a violent Temptation is laid before them, to compass their own Safety, by joining to compass my Fall.

But the Hearts of all Men, O Almighty Lord, are in thine Hand. Thou canst at thy Pleasure fortify the fearful, and fix the wavering and unresolved Spirit; and give Fidelity, Honour, and Conscience, such Power with them, as shall prevail over their corrupt Fears, and worldly Interests. Thou canst as easily strengthen the Weakness of my Friends, and keep them from Breach of Confidence, from all faithless, or strained and false Accusations; as Thou canst turn, or defeat the Malice of my Foes. And to Thee, O Merciful Father, do I trust, that neither my Foes shall have their Wills, in working of my Ruin; nor the Weakness of my Friends shall carry them against their Wills, to do the same.

And O! as Thou art my Confidence, so let me be thy Care. Keep me safe here under thy Custody, and receive me at last to thine Everlasting Mercy, for thy blessed Son, and my only Saviour Jesus Christ's sake. *Amen.*

3. *A Prayer for Graces at such Times, under his Sufferings and Persecutions for any Ways of Truth and Righteousness.*

IN the mean time, O Righteous Lord! whatsoever Thou hast appointed for me in this Trial, I am content to bear it. And give me Strength and Ability to bear it; yea, tho' it proceed to Blood. I resign my self up to thy good Pleasure therein. I humbly and meekly submit to it, as it is thy doing, and as it is infinitely my Deserving, and own thy Judgment upon me for my Sins †, to be most Just and Righteous therein. But then, Holy Father, I most earnestly intreat Thee, that I may have all my Punishment in this World, but Rest with Thee in thy Heavenly Kingdom.

† *Especially, &c.* here name Particulars.

Yea, as my Trial is a Suffering for thy Righteousness, I thankfully receive it at thine Hand. But then, O my God, whilst I am tried for Thee, do Thou shew forth thy Power, and the abundance of thy Grace in me. Grant me a Serene Patience, calmly to bear my Sufferings, and contentedly and quietly to wait the End thereof. Give me Courage and constant Presence of Mind, to behave myself undauntedly; and Prudence, to act and answer in all things wisely and becomingly. Give me Faith in thy Power and Promises, to hold on without Fainting, in sure expectation of thy Succours; and to endure all without weariness, in confidence of thy joyful and eternal Recompences. Fill me with an inflexible Integrity and Constancy in my Duty, that I may not waver therein at any time, much less fall from it, or from any Precepts thereof, to rid myself out of my own great Troubles, or to bring any desired Events to pass. Yea, fill me with such Constancy in thy ways, as will * not *suffer me*, how long soever *the Rod of the Unrighteous rests upon me, to put forth my hand unto Iniquity.* And give me Charity after thine own Example, O blessed Jesu, freely to forgive my malicious Enemies, or frail and faithless Friends, and heartily to pray for them, tho' they continue to persecute me. Whilst Thou keepest on my Trials, deny me not these Graces, O merciful Lord, nor any others, which Thou seest needful for me, that I may acquit myself well and acceptably under the same, for our Lord Jesus Christ's sake. *Amen.*

* *Ps.* 125. 3.

4. *A Prayer for a Mind raiſed above Earthly Things.*

O Father of Mercies, raiſe my Mind by theſe Afflictions, above the Love of all Earthly Things; Yea, even of thoſe Things which I have laviſhly ſpent moſt Time upon, and have been the moſt inordinately fond of. I ſee now, and make me daily to ſee it more and more, how vain and unprofitable they are when the Evil-day comes. And O! that I may learn thereby, and learn it perfectly, to fix mine Eyes and Heart on Thee, who haſt deſerved more of me infinitely than I can expreſs to Thee; and who canſt always help and comfort me; and wilt never leave me, eſpecially not then, when I am driven to Thee for Succour, and find the greateſt need to have Thee ſtand by me.

Make my Duty, good Lord, to become my Delight; and Heavenly Things my Treaſure: For they are Comforts in Diſtreſs; ſtable Comforts that will accompany us to the Block, or the Grave, and beyond them; and will not fail to make us infinitely and for ever happy in thy Preſence. Which grant, O Heavenly Father, to me a wretched Sinner, for the ſake of my deareſt Saviour and Redeemer, Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

5. *A Prayer for Peace with God, and a quiet Conſcience.*

ABove all, O bleſſed Lord, let me have the Comforts of thy Holy Spirit, and a clear and quiet Conſcience, to ſupport me under all theſe hard Trials. Shew me all my Sins, and give me Grace intirely to repent of them, and to be perfectly ſet againſt the ſame. But aſſure me, at the ſame time, of thy Mercies towards all true penitent Sinners; and make me ſee, O gracious Father, that for Chriſt's ſake, Thou art not only willing, but deſirous and joyful to receive them, yea, to * *run out and meet them*, as the *tender Father* did the *returning Prodigal.* * Luke 15. 20.

And as for my Sins, O God, tho' with the Prodigal I have gone far, and have loſt myſelf in evil Ways; yet, by thy Grace, I am come alſo with him heartily to return from mine Offences. I am weary of my Sins, and am earneſtly deſirous to forſake them. Tho' I have been lamentably careleſs in Times paſt, yet now my ſincere Deſire, and full Purpoſe is, to ſhew a godly Care, and diligent Endeavour againſt the ſame, for the time to come. And I humbly depend upon thy Grace, and truſt to thy precious Promiſes thereof, to perfect and give ſtrength to my ſincere Endeavours.

Look upon me, therefore, O Father, and give me the Comfort to look upon myſelf as one who, tho' he has been an offending, is now become a returning Son. Let not my Sins riſe up againſt me, after once I have truly repented of them. Let them not be able to provoke thy Wrath, or to trouble my Conſcience: But make me know, that however offenſive I was in the ways of my Wickedneſs, thro' the Blood of thy Son, I am acceptable to Thee in the ways of my Repentance. And that my Sins, however provoking, whilſt I lay in them, give Thee no more provocation, after once I return from them. Yea, tho' great and ſtrong in themſelves, yet, that after true Repentance, they are not too great for my Saviour's Merits, or for thy Mercies; not too grievous for thy Goodneſs to forgive, or too ſtrong for thy Grace to cure.

I am ready, O my God, to return to thy Laws, not only in doing what they call for, but, if thy Will be ſo, in ſuffering for the ſame. Yea, if Thou calleſt me to it, I deſire not to leave the way of Righteouſneſs for any Hazards, but to ſuffer for it, even unto Blood. And tho' I know, O Righteous Lord, that it is not enough to die a Martyr for one Precept, if I allow myſelf at the ſame time to live a known Tranſgreſſor of others. Yet give me

the

the Comfort to look on Martyrdom as a ſort of Baptiſm, as Thou, bleſſed Jeſu, waſt pleaſed to ſtile it *, when Thou ſpakeſt of thine own; and, like it, to purge and waſh away our Sins, if at the ſame time, when we are ſuffering for one Duty, we are inwardly reſolved and prepared in Heart to obſerve all.

* *Luke* 12. 50. *Mat.* 20. 22.

Lord, in the midſt of my worldly Troubles let me have Peace with Thee, and with mine own Conſcience. And whilſt thy Comforts do refreſh my Soul, by thy Grace ſtrengthening me, I ſhall better bear any other Miſery which Thou ſhalt give my Enemies leave to inflict upon my Body, and perſevere faithfully to ſerve, and patiently to ſuffer for Thee, till Thou ſhalt graciouſly take me out of their Hands, to thine Everlaſting Reſt and Mercy, for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. *Amen.*

6. *A Prayer for Graces needful for him at the Trial, when he is to be judged for his Stedfaſtneſs to God's Truth or Righteouſneſs.*

O Bleſſed Lord, if by thy wiſe Ordering, whereto I meekly ſubmit, I ſhall be carried from the Place of Cuſtody to the Place of Trial, or of further Examination; do thou vouchſafe to go along with me. When I am queſtioned, teach me what I ſhall ſay, that I may anſwer ſo honeſtly, as not to offend or diſhonour Thee; and ſo prudently, as not to prejudice my ſelf, nor bring Trouble on any other Righteous Perſons, for their bearing a good Affection to Righteous Things. Give me preſence of Mind, and clearneſs of Spirit, in appearing before all Tribunals; and Wiſdom and Readineſs in anſwering all Queſtions. Let my Carriage be without Fear, or Confuſion, or any evil or inſincere Arts, in all Things acceptable unto Thee, and becoming my Perſon and Condition.

Suffer me not to be made a Sacrifice, by the Fears or Forgetfulneſs, the Miſrepreſentations, or falſe Accuſations of Witneſſes; nor by the Fetches and falſe Colours of Council; nor by the Partiality or miſguided Zeal of Judges and Juries. Or, if Thou haſt otherwiſe determined, and I muſt fall, enable me, good Lord, to bear thy Will. And tho' my Blood, which is ſhed in this Cauſe, be vile in the ſight of Men, let it be acceptable and of a ſweet ſmell in thy ſight, for my bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. *Amen.*

7. *Prayers after Sentence of Condemnation is paſt upon him, for his Stedfaſtneſs to the ſame.*

EJACULATIONS.

THE Cup *which my Father hath given me, ſhall I not drink it?* John 18. 11.

Not my Will, O my God, but thine be done, Luke 22. 42.

Lord, I thank thee, for counting me worthy to receive this Sentence for the ſake of thy Righteouſneſs.

Lord, lay not this Sin to their Charge, Act. 7. 60.

Forgive them, for they know not what they do, Luke 23. 34.

A ſhort Prayer upon his receiving the Sentence.

LOrd! I meekly ſubmit to this heavy Sentence; yea, I thank Thee for it, and Glory in this Shame, ſince it comes upon me for my Love unto thy Ways.

And I humbly pray Thee, rather to look upon their Ignorance, for their Excuſe, than upon their Blood-guiltineſs, for their Puniſhment.

underſtood the Ways of thy Righteouſneſs, they would not ſhed my Blood for keeping ſtedfaſt to the ſame. But now * *they think*, alas! *to ſerve* and pleaſe Thee, by *ſlaying me.* † *Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do.* And bring them timely to ſee their Errors, and thoroughly to repent thereof. That they, who now in their miſguided Zeal for Thee are my Enemies, may yet, however, at length, be loving and happy Sharers of thine everlaſting Mercies, thro' the Merits of our dear Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

* *Joh.* 16. 2. † *Luk.* 23. 34.

A longer Prayer afterwards.

O Righteous Lord! ſince Thou art pleaſed to call me, to give Teſtimony to thy Righteouſneſs with my Blood, I am content to do it. Yea, I thank Thee, O Father, that Thou haſt counted me worthy to lay down my Life for thy ſake: But as Thou trieſt me to the utmoſt, ſo ſtrengthen me to the utmoſt, I moſt humbly beſeech Thee, that in this higheſt and laſt Service, I may ſhew ſtedfaſt Faith in Thee, and Charity towards my Perſecutors, and meet my Death with that Conſtancy and devout Chearfulneſs, which befits one who is paſſing thro' the *Red Sea*, to the heavenly *Canaan*, and laying down his Life for thy Cauſe.

Tho' I ſtand Condemned, and vilified among Men, for this Adherence to thy Ways; yet I humbly hope, that Thou, O my God, wilt acquit, and lovingly accept me. And if I have thy Approbation, my Heart ſhall rejoice therein, and account it enough for me, whatever the World thinks of me. Shew them their Error, and our Uprightneſs, O Lord, in ſtanding firm to theſe Points, for which we ſuffer. But if we cannot ſatisfy them, that the Way for which they perſecute our Souls is Innocent and Holy; let it, however, ſatisfy us, that ſo it is, and that ſo it will be found and declared by Thee, before all thine elect Angels, when Thou ſhalt appear in thy dreadful Majeſty, to paſs Sentence, both upon our Way and theirs.

And to the Clearing of that Day, and the Trial of thy Righteous Tribunal, do we humbly commit our Cauſe and Sufferings. Where our Hope is, that Thou, Bleſſed Jeſu, wilt graciouſly own and receive both, tho' they diſdainfully reject them. And that Thou, Righteous Father, for Jeſus ſake, wilt both pardon the real Guilt of our other Sins, and openly clear us of the fanſied Guilt of theſe Ways, wherewith our Perſecutors do falſly aſperſe thy Truths, and reproach us. Which grant, O merciful Lord, that we may all comfortably expect in our Lives, and comfortably find at our Deaths, for thy dear Son, and our only Saviour, Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. *Amen.*

After this, he may at any time uſe ſuch of the Prayers as he likes beſt, in the preceding *Office for Sufferers for Righteouſneſs*, to exerciſe and ſtrengthen his *Faith*, his *Patience*, his *Charity*, or other Graces, proper for his Circumſtances; or to aſſiſt him in making *Interceſſions for others.*

8. *A Prayer for Dying without Fear.*

O Almighty, and moſt merciful Father, perfect thy Strength in my Weakneſs, and ſupport thy frail, and moſt unworthy Servant, in this laſt and greateſt Service, which I have now to pay Thee, of laying down my Life, and leaving all that is dear unto me in this World, for thy Cauſe.

O! let not me diſhonour the Cauſe and Truths, for which I ſuffer, by ſhewing any miſ-becoming Fears, or Unwillingneſs to ſuffer. 'Tis not my diſtruſt of the Righteouſneſs of this Cauſe, O my God, but the Conſcience of my other Sins, and of the common Errors of my Life, from the Rule of thy Holy Commandments, which makes me at all afraid to appear

at

at thy Righteous Bar. But cleanſe Thou me from all my Sins, by the Blood of my deareſt Lord; and then I may meet Death with an humble Confidence, and triumph over it.

I know, O bleſſed Lord, that when Sin and Guilt, which are the Sting of Death, are taken out, there is ſtill an Averſion in Nature, which is common to us all, againſt this Change, and which found place in our Bleſ-
*Mat. 26. 39. ſed * Lord himſelf. But let the Influences of thy Grace, tho' not wholly purge off this Averſeneſs, yet ſubdue and over-rule it in my Spirit. Poſſeſs my Mind more with the Righteouſneſs of the Cauſe for which I die, and with the Bleſſedneſs of coming to live with Thee for ever after I am dead, than with the Pains of Death it ſelf. And whatever Terror it would otherwiſe ſtrike into me, let it arm my Spirit, and ſweeten all, to think that I die for Thee, and that I die to be received into thine Eternal Mercy.

Lord, perfect and accept my Repentance, and pardon all my Sins, and give me Patience, and Preſence of Mind to the laſt. Let me die like a Chriſtian, with Faith and Charity, willingly giving up my Life for a Teſtimony to thy Ways, and pouring out my Soul in Devotion towards Thee, and in Prayers for my Perſecutors; till from my Body, it ſhall paſs into the Arms of thy Mercy, and there be comfortably received by Thee, through the Merits and Mediation of my only Saviour and Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

9. *Short Prayers for the Condemned Priſoner for Righteouſneſs, in his laſt Extremities, or at other Times, as he ſees Cauſe.*

1. O Merciful Father! I throw my ſelf upon thy Mercy, and moſt undeſerved Favour, as a poor wretched Sinner. I infinitely need it, and moſt earneſtly deſire it. And I humbly hope for the ſame, to pardon all the Sins and Follies of my Life, and to accept this Offering of my Death, thro' the Abundance of thy Grace, and thro' the ſole Merits and Mediation of my bleſſed Lord and only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

2. LOrd! now the World is caſting of me off, I ſeek to Thee to take me in. Do not Thou reject me, when they do; for I am thy Servant. Receive me, for I am coming to Thee. Receive me, for Thou calleſt me. Receive me lovingly, O my dear God, for I dearly love Thee, and am forſaking all to enjoy Thee. I have nothing dearer to me in this World, than my Life, and that I am now making Thee an humble Preſent of, and parting with it for thy Cauſe.

And in this Oblation of my ſelf, be Thou pleaſed, O Bleſſed Jeſu, firſt to waſh me with thy Blood, and to dreſs me with the Graces of thy Spirit, that I may be an holy and acceptable Offering. And then do Thou vouchſafe, O Holy Father! graciouſly to accept the ſame, for thy deareſt Son, and my deareſt Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. *Amen.*

3. O Jeſu, forgive me all my Sins, and forgive all my Perſecutors, and grant them timely and true Repentance. Now I am ſuffering for thy Cauſe, let me be ſure of thy Support and Aſſiſtance. Now I am [brought to die (*a*)] for the Ways of thy Righteouſneſs, let them have Honour and Service by my Death. Make it to work Godly Zeal and Stedfaſtneſs in thy Followers, and Relenting and Remorſe in their Perſecutors, and to carry me to thoſe moſt joyful and happy Manſions, which Thou haſt prepared for all thoſe, who faithfully ſerve and ſuffer for Thee, in thy Father's Kingdom. *Amen.*

(*a*) *Or*, about to die, *when it only draws very near, but he is not yet brought to it.*

A Thanksgiving for Deliverance, when he is brought upon his Trial for the Cause of Righteousness, or for his being set at Liberty.

BLessed be thy Name, O Almighty Father, who hast delivered me out of the Hands of those who sought my Life, and * *hast set my Feet in a large Room.* Thou hast † *delivered the poor from him that was too strong for him.* Thou hast delivered him, who served Thee, and counted not his own Life so dear to him, as the shewing his Love and Fidelity unto thy Laws. Thou hast ‡ *delivered him,* because he loved thy Name, and *put his whole Trust in Thee.*

* Psal. 31. 8.
† Psal. 35. 10.
‡ Psal. 37. 40.

O Lord! I will be glad, and rejoice in thy Salvation. I will ever praise thy Love and Goodness, which is abundant in Kindness and Succours, towards those who fear Thee, and are ready to expose their own Persons in thy Cause. I will ever magnify thy Faithfulness, which hath not suffered thy Care of me to slacken, nor thy sure Word and Promises to fail: And I will ever reverently and thankfully adore thy Wisdom, and Power, and Justice, which turn the Counsels of the Wicked into Foolishness, and take the crafty in their own Snares; which crown thy Servants Heads with Joy and Glory, but cover their Enemies with Grief and Shame; which shew plainly, unto all who are willing to see the same, that it is extream Folly to fight against Thee, and that they are in the sure Way of Safety and Happiness, who take Thee their Strength, and place their chiefest Security and Advantage in thy good Providence and gracious Promises, and in keeping stedfast to thy Ways.

And ‖ *let all those that love Thee,* O Lord, *rejoice and be glad in Thee:* make them triumph in thy Righteousness, and trust themselves to thy Care. But put thine Enemies, and mine, in Fear, that they may sin no more. And bring them to repent of their persecuting Thee and thy Servants, that they may not be brought to suffer for the same in the Day of Vengeance. And keep me ever mindful, O blessed Father! of this most merciful Deliverance, that I may spend all the Days of that Life, which Thou hast now renewed to me, in thy Service; and learn thereby evermore to trust Thee, yea, tho' the Pit be ready to shut her Mouth upon me; and to place my chiefest Comfort and Safety, in keeping stedfast to thy Laws, which will be sure either to make my Sufferings end here in present Deliverance, or to recompence them hereafter with unspeakable and everlasting Joys, thro' the Merits and Mediation of my only Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

‖ Psal. 70. 4.

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A

COMPANION

FOR THE

PENITENT,

And for Perſons

Troubled in Mind.

Conſiſting of

An Office for the Penitent, to carry on their Reconciliation with God.

And a Trial or Judgment of the Soul, for diſcovering the ſafety of their Spiritual Eſtate.

And an Office for Perſons troubled in Mind, to ſettle them in Peace and Comfort.

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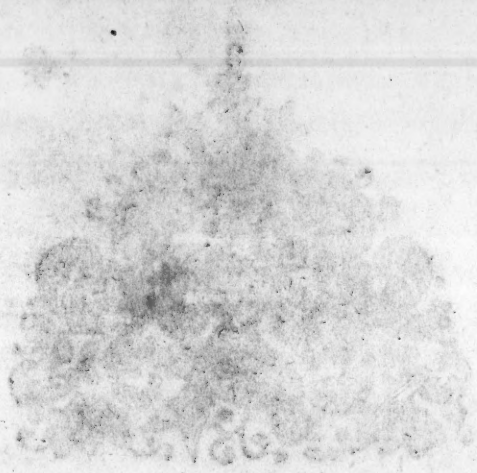

To the Inhabitants and Parishioners of the Town and Parish of *Coles-hill*, in *Warwickshire*.

My beloved Friends and Brethren,

THOUGH by God's Providence, which most wisely orders all Things, I now live at a great distance from you; yet I still retain a Pastoral Affection for you, and ordinarily remember you in my Prayers, and have an Heart that is truly desirous to serve you in the great Work of your Souls, and is glad when any Pains of mine can prove serviceable to you herein.

I remember the Labours which I have spent among you, with a very sincere and good Will, tho' alas! with much weakness, in my great Lord and Master's Service; and I hope also, that you will not forget them. And if the tract of Time, many Things which I have taught you have slipt out of your Memories, (as I cannot expect but they have); yet much of that which I prepared and preached to do you good, I printed, whilst I was among you, for the Benefit of others, and the Books are in many of your hands, and may be more, wherewith you may refresh your Memories when you please.

In those Labours of my Ministry, which I took among you for a course of several Years, I thank God I endeavoured to lay before you his whole Counsel, according to the best of my Skill. And suited my Discourses to the Needs of the Place, and to Times and Seasons, to possess you with such Thoughts and Temppers as I judged needful to support your Spirits, and to direct your Practice under them. And I was not silent, but warned you, yea, sometimes till I even wearied some of you with Warnings, against your Spiritual Dangers, when I thought any great Danger to your Souls drew near. For you yourselves know, Brethren, that I have not kept back the Truths of God from you, nor suppressed them at the Times when you had most need to be put in mind thereof, tho' I found some were like to be displeased therewith, and as St. Paul says *, to count me their Enemy for telling them these Truths.

* Gal. 4. 16.

Now there must be a strict Account given one day, both how I have discharged my part in that Station, and how you have discharged yours. And my Heart's desire, and earnest Prayer for you all is, that you may both bear in Mind all the faithful Warnings and Instructions which, according to the Light of my Understanding, I was continually pressing upon you, and left with you; and may likewise willingly and carefully follow them. That so when both you and I are brought before our ever Blessed and Great Master (as most certainly we shall be) we may both rejoice together; I, for having been your affectionate and faithful Monitor; and you, for having afforded a willing, a heedful, and an obedient Ear.

And now, since I am out of the way of serving you otherwise, I have sent a Companion among you, to minister to your most Serious and Holy Thoughts, and to direct and go before you, both in your Prayers and in your Practice. And I desire, that by your frequent and considerate use thereof, you would

turn

turn the Hymns and Prayers contained therein, to become the familiar and genuine Senſe and Language of your Hearts. Learn habitually to breathe theſe Thoughts, and daily to live by them. And by this means you may both perfect the Work of your Repentance, and preſerve the Peace of your Conſciences, which are the greateſt and moſt concerning Things you have to mind, and the chief Things which I earneſtly pray you that you would, and hope that you will mind, all the days of your Lives. And this I ſhall look on, as the beſt, and the moſt obliging Return that you make to me for this Labour of Love; *which I deſire you to receive, not only as a Token of my Reſpect and Kindneſs to you, but alſo as a proper means, which, by God's Bleſſing, may do you good, if you pleaſe.*

I humbly commend it to the Acceptance and Bleſſing of the Almighty, without which it will be of no force, either among you, or among any others. And I heartily commend you all to the Protection of his good Providence, and eſpecially to the guidance of his Grace, that he would deliver you from all dangerous Errors and Wickedneſs, and both make you perfect in the doing of his Will, and give you Comfort in the ſame.

I remain,

(My beloved Friends and Brethren)

Your truly Affectionate Friend, and Faithful Monitor, in the Work and Service of the Lord Jeſus.

From my Houſe in London, January 23. 1693.

John Kettlewell

THE INTRODUCTION.

DIRECTIONS and Helps for Repentance, can never come out of Season: For Repentance is * *the one thing neceſſary*, and the chief Buſineſs of all Men in this World, and will be ſo whilſt they live in it. The beſt do daily need it, to make up their daily Failures, their Defects and Forgetfulneſs. And e bad have no time to delay it for one Moment, having deferred a great l too long already, to ſhake off their ſinful Habits, and to ſet themſelves th all their Might to pleaſe God, and to ſecure their everlaſting Peace.

* *Luke* 10. 42.

Eſpecially this time of *Lent*, is a Seaſon wherein great Numbers profeſs make this their Buſineſs: For from the early Uſage and Practice of the urch, this has ſtill been made a ſolemn Time for Sinners to call their Sins remembrance, and to ſeek God's Mercy and Forgiveneſs of the ſame, by rneſt Prayers, and amendment of Life, and by afflicting of themſelves, and inging forth Fruits worthy of Repentance.

And to help them in ſo neceſſary and beneficial a Work, I have compoſed d publiſhed the following Offices, hoping that they may prove accepta- e to my Heavenly Maſter, and ſerviceable to direct and compleat the Re- ntance, and to ſettle the Comfort and Peace of ſome of his beloved Ser- nts, into whoſe Hands his Providence ſhall bring them.

In the *Office for the Penitent* I have endeavoured to mark out diſtinctly, e ſeveral Steps and full compaſs of a Sinner's Reſtauration, or Reconcilia- n with God. Wherein I have all along interwoven Inſtructions with their evotions, and ſet their Work before them, that they may ſee what they ve to amend, and what they are to do to work out their Pardon, as well how they are to petition for it.

I have ſought to make the Soul acquainted with its Diſeaſe, without which would neither know what it has for God to forgive, or for his Grace and own Care to remedy. And I have been very particular in ſome Forms of onfeſſion, to affect it with a more diſtinct and effectual ſenſe of the ſeveral laladies which it lies ſick of, and which, as it muſt beg Mercy for, ſo in e courſe of its daily Care, it muſt both diligently and deſignedly ſet itſelf, God's help, to cure.

Where Sin is the Diſeaſe, the great Goſpel way of Cure is true Repen- nce. And this I endeavour to ſet out, in all the neceſſary Parts, and great d worthy Fruits thereof. I lead the Penitent to expreſs the ſame in ſuch cts, as through the Merits of Chriſt, are the trueſt atonement for Sins, d have the moſt expreſs Promiſes of Mercy and Forgiveneſs made to them. nd then I inſtruct him to comfort up himſelf, with an humble Claim and pplication of thoſe Expreſſions of the Divine Mercy and Condeſcention, hich are given to us for our Confidence and Conſolation in performance of oſe Acts. And if he takes care to ſay all that I have here put into his outh, with Sincerity, and is really affected as theſe Forms expreſs, he is a ue Penitent, and may be a comfortable one; he has thereby ſecured his ever- ſting Peace, and may quiet and revive his Spirit with the joyful ſenſe thereof.

In the *Trial* or *Judgment of the Soul*, for discovering the safety of their Spiritual Estate, I have given them as clear, and full, and withal, as brief a view as I can, of the final Account which will be exacted of them. I have gone through the several Heads of Trial and Examination, and raised such Questions upon them, as I take to be most pertinent and decisive of their future Condition, and fittest to settle their present Peace, and then give them the Benefit thereof, by setting their Answers and God's Promises together and applying all to themselves. My Desire is, so far as my Skill would reach, to omit no Question which is necessary to their Safety: And my Care has been, as I am able, so to word all, as that they may serve to clear their Doubts and Uncertainties, upon the several Parts of their Account, but beget none in them.

And this Part will be of chief Account and Use to both the other Offices. For it is the truest Trial of Penitents, and the truest Direction for them in carrying on and compleating their Repentance. And it is the surest Ground of Peace of Conscience. For, containing the full Draught of settling our Peace with God, it must give the best Light and Direction for Peace in ourselves, which lies in seeing that God is at peace with us.

Tho' the business of these Papers is not to prove and argue, but briefly to direct, yet to the several Heads, which I have made the *Articles of the Penitent's Trial*, I have prefixed *Texts of Scripture*, to shew that God has made them the *Terms of his Mercy*. But 'tis not unlikely, that some who will not be perswaded to be so good as they should, will think that I am strict about this Account than I need. And if they do, I cannot help it, but they must. My Part is to deal faithfully, both by my blessed Lord, and by them; to represent Things to them, as He has left them, and as in the End they will find them. So that if my Discourse has more Strictness than they could wish to hear from it, it is because I look not how to suit their carnal Wishes, but how to serve their everlasting Happiness. And because I would rather have them offended with me for telling them unpleasing Truths, whilst they may serve themselves by them; than flatter them with pleasing Errors, till it be too late for them to rectifie the same, and prevent their own everlasting Ruine and Destruction thereby.

In the *Office for Persons troubled in Mind*, I am careful to have them sensible of that Holy Obedience which is needful to keep them safe; as well as to free them from those unnecessary Mistrusts and Fears which render them uneasie. I seek to give them a just sense of the Things which trouble them, and to keep them from overvaluing them. And to make them acquainted with the true allowances of Favour, which God is ready to make to their Infirmities, and with the several Grounds which they have to hope and look for them; and lead them on in their Devotions, both humbly to plead with God, and to comfort up their own Hearts with the same.

To the *Offices* I have prefixed *Collections of pertinent and proper Scriptures*. And these will serve the devout Minds to express their Devotion in, or to support their Spirits withal; yea, and to guide and direct their Practice too. For they mark out their Duty upon the several Points which they refer to, and teach them, not only how they may address to God, but how they ought to imploy themselves, and what the Work and Business is, which God's Favour and their own eternal Welfare, or which his Peace and their own require at their Hands.

AN OFFICE FOR THE PENITENT.

SCRIPTURES.

Pſal. 32. Pſal. 38. } { Ezek. 18. Pſal. 51. } { Luke 15.

1. For Godly Sorrow for Sins.

TO *him will I look, that is poor, and of a contrite Spirit, and trembleth at my Word,* Iſai. 66. 2.

The Sacrifices of God, are a broken Spirit: a broken and a contrite Heart, O God, thou wilt not deſpiſe, Pſal. 51. 17.

Turn ye, therefore, *to me, with all your Heart, and with faſting, and with weeping, and with mourning.*

And rent your Hearts, and not your Garments, and turn unto the Lord ur God, Joel 2. 12, 13.

Remember your ways, and all your doings, wherein ye have been defiled, d ye ſhall loath your ſelves in your own ſight, for all your Evils that ye have mmitted, Ezek. 20. 43.

Lord! mine Iniquities are gone over mine Head, as an heavy Burthen, ey are too heavy for me.

I am ready to halt, and my Sorrow is continually before me.

I will declare mine Iniquity; I will be ſorry for my Sin, Pſal. 38. 4, 17, 18.

2. For Penitential Confeſſion of the ſame.

F our Heart condemn us, God is greater than our Heart, and knoweth all things, 1 Joh. 3. 20.

Our Iniquities are all before him, yea, our ſecret Sins are ſet in the Light his Countenance, Pſal. 90. 8.

And therefore, *He that covereth his Sins ſhall not proſper; but whoſo confeſſeth and forſaketh them, ſhall have Mercy,* Prov. 28. 13.

If we confeſs our Sins, he is faithful and juſt to forgive us our Sins, and cleanſe us from all Unrighteouſneſs, 1 Joh. 1. 19.

I will ariſe, therefore, *and go to my Father, and will ſay unto him, Faher, I have ſinned againſt Heaven, and before Thee, and am no more worthy be called thy Son,* Luke 15. 18, 19.

Behold! I was ſhapen in Iniquity, and in Sin did my Mother conceive me, ſal. 51. 5.

And ſince I was born, *I have gone aſtray like a loſt Sheep,* Pſal. 119. 176.

Mine Iniquities are increaſed over my Head, and my Treſpaſſes are grown nto the Heavens, Ez[illegible] 9. 6.

But, Lord, *I acknowledge my Sins unto thee, and mine Iniquities have I ot hid,* Pſal. 32. 5.

I acknowledge my Transgressions, and my Sins are ever before me.

Against thee have I sinned, and done these Evils in thy sight; that thou mightest be justified when thou speakest, and clear when thou judgest, Ps. 51. 3, 4.

God be merciful to me, a Sinner, Luke 18. 3.

To me, the chief among Sinners, 1 Tim. 1. 15.

To me, that have been at Agreement with Hell, and made a Covenant with Death, Isai. 28. 15.

And whose Destruction is of my self, Hos. 13. 9.

3. For Resolution of Amendment.

I.

IF *I regard Iniquity in my Heart, the Lord will not hear me*, Psal. 66. 18.

Go therefore, and sin no more, Joh. 8. 11.

Sin no more, lest a worse thing come unto thee, Joh. 5. 14.

And *Remember from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the first works, or else I will come unto thee quickly*, Rev. 2. 5.

Repent, and turn your selves from all your Transgressions, so Iniquity shall not be your Ruin.

Cast away from you all your Transgressions, whereby ye have transgressed, and make you a new Heart, and a new Spirit; for why will ye die, O House of Israel? Ezek. 18. 30, 31.

Wash you, make you clean, put away the Evil of your Doings from before mine Eyes, cease to do Evil, learn to do Well, seek Judgment, relieve the Oppressed, judge the Fatherless, and plead for the Widow.

Come now, and let us reason together, saith the Lord; though your Sins be as Scarlet, they shall be as white as Snow; though they be red like Crimson, they shall be as Wool, Isai. 1. 15, 16, 17, 18.

II.

CReate *in me a new Heart, O God, and renew a right Spirit within me*, Psal. 51. 10.

I thought on my Ways, and turned my Feet unto thy Testimonies.

I made haste, and delayed not to keep thy Commandments, Psal. 119. 59, 60.

Lord, *Incline not my Heart to any evil thing*, Psal. 141. 4.

Turn away mine Eyes, from beholding Vanity, Psal. 119. 37.

I have made a Covenant with mine Eyes, Job 31. 1.

Set a Watch before my Mouth, and keep the Door of my Lips, Psal. 141. 3.

Remove my Foot from Evil, Prov. 4. 27.

Hedge up my Way with Thorns, and make a Wall, that I may not find my former Paths to Evil, Hos. 2. 6.

Keep back thy Servant from presumptuous Sins, let them not have Dominion over me: then shall I be upright, and innocent from the great Transgression.

Let the Words of my Mouth, and the Meditation of my Heart, be acceptable in thy sight, O Lord, my Strength, and my Redeemer, Psal. 19. 13, 14.

4. For Fruits worthy of Repentance.

BRing *forth Fruits meet for Repentance*, Mat. 3. 8.

This self-same thing, that ye sorrowed after a godly sort: Behold what Carefulness it wrought in you; yea, what clearing of your selves; yea, what Indignation; yea, what Fear; yea, what vehement Desire; yea, what Zeal; yea, what Revenge, or Punishing of your selves, 2 Cor. 7. 11.

If the Wicked restore the Pledge, give again that he hath robbed, and walk in the Statutes of Life, without committing Iniquity, none of his Sins shall be mentioned to him, he shall surely live, he shall not die, Ezek. 33. 15, 16.

Lev. 6. 2, 3, 4, 5.

If thou bring thy Gift to the Altar, and there remembreſt that thy Brother
ath ought againſt thee.
Leave there thy Gift before the Altar, and go thy way, firſt be reconciled to
hy Brother, and then come and offer thy Gift, Mat. 5. 23, 24.
Forgive, and you ſhall be forgiven, Luke 6. 37.
If ye forgive Men their Treſpaſſes, your Heavenly Father will alſo forgive you.
But if ye forgive not Men their Treſpaſſes, neither will your Father forgive
our Treſpaſſes, Mat. 6. 14, 15.
Break off thy Sins by Righteouſneſs, and thine Iniquities by ſhewing Mercy
o the Poor, Dan. 4. 27.
Thine Alms are come up, for a Memorial before God, Acts 10. 4.
They lay up in ſtore for us a good Foundation againſt the time to come,
hat we may lay hold on eternal Life, 1 Tim. 6. 18, 19.
Bleſſed are the Merciful, for they ſhall obtain Mercy, Mat. 5. 7.
He ſhall have Judgment without Mercy, who hath ſhewed no Mercy; but
Mercy rejoiceth againſt Judgment, James 2. 13.

5. For Pardon of Sins, and Grounds for the Hopes thereof.

Nter not into Judgment with thy Servant, for in thy ſight ſhall no Man
living be juſtified, Pſal. 143. 2.
If thou, Lord, ſhouldeſt mark Iniquities; O Lord, who ſhall ſtand?
But there is Forgiveneſs with thee, that thou mayeſt be feared,
With the Lord is Mercy, and plenteous Redemption, Pſal. 130. 3, 4, 7.
He knoweth our Frame, he remembreth that we are but Duſt, and pitieth
oſe that fear him, as a Father pitieth his own Children, Pſal. 103. 13, 14.
Likewiſe, *the Blood of Jeſus Chriſt his Son, cleanſeth us from all Sins*,
John 1. 7.
The Chaſtiſement of our Peace was upon him, and through his Stripes we
e healed, Iſai. 5. 3, 5.
And *if any Man ſin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jeſus Chriſt*
Righteous, and he is the Propitiation for our Sins, 1 John 2. 1, 2.
For him hath God exalted, to give Repentance, and Forgiveneſs of Sins,
ts 5. 31.
And that Repentance, and Remiſſion of Sins, ſhould be preached in his
me among all Nations, beginning at Jeruſalem, Luke 24. 47.
This is a faithful Saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Chriſt Jeſus
me into the World to ſave Sinners, 1 Tim. 1. 15.
He came not to call the Righteous, but Sinners to Repentance, Mat. 9. 13.
And *there is Joy in Heaven over one Sinner that repenteth, more than over*
ety and nine juſt Perſons, which need no Repentance, Luke 15. 7.
Create in me a clean Heart, therefore, *O God, and renew a right Spirit*
thin me.
And hide thy Face from my Sins, and blot out all mine Iniquities, Pſ. 51. 9, 10.

6. For Comfort in the ſame.

Urge me with Hyſſop, and I ſhall be clean; waſh me, and I ſhall be whiter
than Snow.
Make me to hear of Joy and Gladneſs, that the Bones which thou haſt bro-
may rejoice.
Reſtore unto me the Joy of thy Salvation, and uphold me with thy free
rit.
Then will I teach Tranſgreſſors thy Ways, and Sinners ſhall be converted
o thee, Pſal. 51. 7, 8, 12, 13.
Bleſſed are they that mourn, for they ſhall be comforted, Mat. 5, 4.

He

He will speak Peace to his People, and to his Saints, but let them not turn again to Folly, Psal. 85. 8.

I said I will confess my Transgressions to the Lord, and thou forgavest the Iniquity of my Sin.

Psal. 102. 17, 18. *For this shall every one that is godly, pray unto thee in a time when thou mayest be found*, Psal. 32. 5, 6.

Depart from me all ye Workers of Iniquity, for the Lord hath heard the Voice of my Weeping.

The Lord hath heard my Supplications, the Lord will receive my Prayer, Psal. 6. 8, 9.

PRAYERS.

I. Prayers upon the several Parts of Repentance, in particular and distinct Forms.

1. *A Confession of Sins.*

I.

O Almighty and most Gracious Lord, look in Mercy upon me the meanest of thy Servants, who am less than the least of all thy Mercies, and have deserved the heaviest of thy Judgments, and am not worthy to lift up mine Eyes to the place where thine Honour dwelleth.

I am a Sinner, O Lord, yea, a Sinner altogether, [*and one of the chief among Sinners.*] I was born in Sin, and ever since have lead a Life suitable to that Beginning. For, to the Shame of my Face, and to the Praise of thy Long-suffering, O Almighty God, I do here, with a truly humble and contrite Heart, confess to Thee, That I have shamefully neglected and let alone those good Things which I ought to have done, and have done those evil Things, which I ought to have forborn. Of both these I am heinously guilty, both in Thought, Word and Deed. And have wickedly incurred the same, against the innumerable Endearments of thy Mercies, and Terrors of thy Judgments; against all the good Motions of thy Grace, and against the many seasonable Admonitions which I have had from Spiritual Advisers, and against the Voice and Struglings of my own Conscience. I have done these Things, O Lord, and have continued to do them, repeating the same many times, yea, alas! too many of them in ordinary Course; yea, and that after my own manifold and solemn Promises and Engagements that I would offend therein no more.

Lord, be merciful to me a miserable Sinner.

II.

AND in all these Transgressions, O Righteous Father! I have acted as a most impudent Sinner, flying in the Face of an infinite Majesty; and passing all these heinous Affronts, where I owe the utmost Love and Reverence. And, as a most presumptuously venturous and daring Sinner, provoking that Power, which can torment, and utterly destroy me at its Pleasure.

Lord, be merciful unto me, a bold and presumptuous Sinner.

III.

I Have therein dealt most disingenuously and ungratefully, O Merciful Lord! rising up against Thee, the Author of all my Blessings; and flying in the Face of that Mercy, which fosters and sustains me, even whilst

m thus basely affronting and despising it, and which is heaping new Obligations upon me every Moment. Under all these grievous Offences, I have irst begged thy Patience, and then fallen to abuse it. I have first prayed to e spared, and then turned basely to provoke Thee after Thou hast spared ie, and have abused all thy Mercies, to an Opportunity of committing ore Offences, and of returning Hatred, where I have received the greatest nd most endearing Love.

Lord, be merciful unto me, a base and ungrateful Sinner.

IV.

YEA, O Holy Father! I have therein dealt fasly and deceitfully with Thee, promising Obedience, whilst I am in need of thy Mercies, but ractising none after once I have received them. In the midst of all my Prences to Honour and Honesty, and Regard to my Word amongst Men: I ave been wretchedly careless, of dealing Honourably or Justly with thy ivine Majesty, and of keeping my Word with Thee, tho' Thou art alays faithful, and canst not fail in the least Tittle of thy Word with me.

Lord, be merciful to me, a false and faithless Sinner.

V.

AND in all this, O my dear God! I have done most foolishly, all this while madly hindering and resisting my own Everlasting Mercies, ace, and Safety. And instead thereof making a Covenant with Hell, and uring and hasting on mine own Eternal Misery, and heaping up Sorrows, hich never can be born, and which admit of no Remedy.

Lord, be merciful unto me, a blind and desperately foolish Sinner.

VI.

O that in my self, O Most Righteous Lord! I am nothing but Sin and Misery. My past Life can shew nothing, for which thou shouldest act me. Nor can I reasonably expect, that Thou shouldest give heed to my ord, or trust me when I promise to do better, having so frequently and mefully broke my Word with Thee already.

But, O Almighty and Most Gracious Father! Thou hast Mercy enough pardon all my Wickedness, and Grace enough to establish all my Promi, and to keep me true to them; and to Thee alone do I fly for both. I not justify, nor excuse my Wickedness, but utterly condemn it, and conmn my self for the same. 'Tis Forgiveness, O Father! that I seek, and merely from thine abundant Mercies, and for my dear Saviour's infinite erits, that I hope for it. O Thou who forgivest Sinners, forgive me a eat Sinner. [*The greatest of Sinners.*] O! Thou Great Physician of uls, who curest Sinners, cure me, who seek to Thee alone for Remedy anst all my Sins. Rescue me from the Power and Bondage of my own rupt Lusts, by the greater Power of thy Grace; and deliver me, Good rd, from doing Ill, and from all tormenting Fears of suffering thine Eter Wrath and Vengeance for the same, thro' the Merits and Mediation of ne only Son, and mine only Saviour and Redeemer, Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

Other Forms of Confession, are added afterwards; whereof the Penitent may serve himself; and wherewith he may suit his Spirit, as he sees Cause.

2. *A Profession of Godly Sorrow for Sins, and of Resolutions of new Obedience.*

I.

* *Ezekiel 20. 43.* † *Psal. 51. 3.* I *Call* * *my ways to remembrance, O Lord, wherein I have defiled my self,* and remember them with a troubled Heart. † *My evil doings are daily before mine eyes,* and have made me vile and loathsome in my own sight, as || *Psal. 38. 4.* they have done in thine. They are a burthen upon my Spirit, a || *sore burden, and too heavy for me to bear.*

But now, O my God, with a penitent Heart I turn from them, and resolve by thy Grace to cast away all my Transgressions, which are most highly displeasing, both to Thee and to my self. From this Day forward I am fully purposed *to forsake them.* O then, ‡ *let them not be my ruine.* ‡ *Ezek. 18. 13.*

God be merciful to me a returning Sinner.

II.

AND from them, O Holy Father, which are the Shame and Sorrow of my Life, I turn to Thee, who art the Glory and Comfort, and shalt ever be the Guide and Governour thereof. I turn to Thee with a * *broken and contrite heart*; O receive and comfort it, and *despise it not.* I return to Thee with my whole Heart, and make no Reserves, nor will retain any allowance of any of my former Sins, no not of those which seemed most delightful or serviceable unto me, and are hardest to part with.

* *Psal. 51. 17.*

† *Rev. 2. 5.* || *Psalm 119. 60.* I † *remember,* O Lord, *from whence I am fallen,* and resolve, by thy help, *to do my first Vows. I will* ‡ *make haste to do them,* and *not delay to keep thy Commandments.* I beg no greater Mercy than to be found stedfast in thy Ways, nor shall account any thing to be so great Favours to me, as those which serve to keep me in the same. I will most heartily thank Thee, O Thou faithful Guide and Keeper of returning Souls, if Thou wilt be pleased to || *hedge up my way with Thorns,* or with any worldly Difficulties, that may keep me from *finding my way to my former Vanities.* For 'tis the unfeigned desire of my Heart, and shall be the great endeavour of my Life, above all Things to keep true to Thee; and my chiefest Prayer to Thee is, to keep me from falling any more from the way of thy Fear, or from forfeiting thy Mercy.

* *Hos. 2. 6.*

God be merciful to me a returning Sinner.

III.

AND having now by thy Grace, these holy Thoughts and Purposes in my Heart, I earnestly beg of Thee, O blessed Author and finisher of all Grace, that I may never lose them. I give my Heart to Thee, and humbly pray, that it may be always in thy hands, since it is so unconstant in what is Good, and prone to turn aside to what is Evil, when it is in mine own keeping. O Father, keep it stedfast and unalterable in thy Ways. * *Let it not be inclined to any evil thing,* nor lean towards any of my former Vanities. † *Keep mine Eyes from beholding wickedness*; and mine Ears from listning thereto. Let not || *my Lips utter any thing that is ill,* nor my *feet* ‡ *move a step in any of the Paths of Death.* But hold my whole Spirit, Soul, and Body, in ways of thy Fear; and continue me under the comfortable hopes of thy Favour, through Jesus Christ my blessed Lord and only Saviour. *Amen.*

* *Psalm 41. 4.* † *Psalm 119. 37.* || *Psalm 141. 3.* ‡ *Prov. 4. 27.*

A Profeſſion of the Fruits of Repentance, and the Conditions of Forgiveneſs.

I.

I Have ſinned grievouſly, O Lord, but I am angry at myſelf for my Sins, and deſire to prevent thy Juſtice, and to take Revenge upon my own Head for my Tranſgreſſions. And however diſpoſed and eaſie I was, to be drawn aſide before; yet now Thou haſt filled my Heart with ſuch **a godly Sorrow* and Compunction for my Sins, as begets in me a *Vehement Deſire*, and *Godly Care*, to ſin no more. * 2 Cor. 7. 11.

By the help of thy Grace, O merciful God, I am ready now † *to walk in thoſe Statutes* which I have formerly tranſgreſſed; and *to give again* whatſoever I have at any time unjuſtly taken away; and to make full amends to the uttermoſt of my Power, for all the Wrong and Damage which I have ever done to any ‖. And where, either by my Example, or by my Counſel and Perſwaſion, or by my Importunities, I have tempted others, and drawn them into Sin, it ſhall be the Study and Care of my Life, to make them ſenſible of the heinouſneſs and extream Danger thereof, as, thro' the Bleſſing of thy Grace I am, to recover them out of the ſame ‡.

God be merciful to me a returning Sinner.

† *Ezek.* 33. 15.

‖ Particularly, *&c. here name particulars.*

‡ *Here name particulars.* Particularly, *&c.*

II.

I Am contented, O Holy Father, to ſubmit myſelf to thoſe who have juſt cauſe to be offended with me, and to uſe all fair ways of reconciling myſelf to them, before I hope for Reconciliation and Peace with Thee. * I freely forgive all thoſe that have treſpaſſed againſt me, and with good Will offer them my Pardon, as I moſt heartily deſire Thine †. And my hearty Deſire and Purpoſe is, to ſtudy doing Good to my Brethren in their Needs, that I may not be held unworthy to receive it from Thee in mine own; and to ſhew Mercy to others, that I may not be aſhamed to aſk it for myſelf; and that the rigorouſneſs and unrelenting hardneſs of my own Dealings towards them, may not deprive me of the favourable Indulgence, and Mercifulneſs of thy Dealings towards me.

* Particularly, *&c.*

† Particularly, *&c.*

God be merciful to me, and forgive me, a merciful and forgiving Sinner.

III.

I Have no Hope in myſelf, O gracious Lord, but only in thy Mercy. Nor any expectation of the ſame, thro' my Deſervings, but meerly thro' thy Bleſſed Son's Infinite Merits. Nor reſt my Soul upon any * *other Name given among Men*, whereby thy Juſtice may be ſatisfied, and my Sins expiated, but on his alone.

* *Acts* 4. 12.

God be merciful to me a great, but an humble and believing Sinner.

IV.

I Am heartily ſorry for all the Sins which I can call to mind, and do yet know myſelf to have been guilty of, and am fully purpoſed by thy Grace, as far as I can, to amend them. And I am truly deſirous to diſcover all the reſt, which are yet hid from me, that I may be as particularly ſorry for the ſame, and amend them too. And I humbly and earneſtly pray Thee, O Father of Mercies, that for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, Thou would'ſt be pleaſed to accept this my Repentance. Receive it, O Lord, according to the Riches of thy Mercies, and ſupply whatſoever is wanting therein by the Power of thy Grace: And place me among the Number of thoſe who are truly con-

trite for all their evil Ways, and whose Repentance has prepared them for the free and full remission of all their Offences, through the Merits and Mediation of Jesus Christ our Lord. *Amen.*

4. *A Prayer for Pardon of Sins.*

O Holy and most merciful Father, spare me, thy poor sinful, but repenting Creature. Spare me, good Lord, spare me, and let me not perish in my Sins, now I am heartily troubled and sorry for them, but, thro' thine infinite Mercies, find pardon of the same.

‡ 1 Tim. 1. 15. † Mat. 9. 13.

I am a sinful Person, O Lord: But Thou, blessed Jesus, art * the *Saviour of Sinners.* And thy coming into the World was † *to call Sinners to Repentance.* Lord, I come and repent at thy Call; cast not me and my Repentance away from thy Presence.

I have gone astray, and am very defective in my return home, thro' the frailty of my Flesh. But Thou, gracious Lord, considerest our Frailties. Thou || *knowest our frame, and considerest whereof we are made.* O be not ‡ *extream to mark mine Offences*, nor to exact Rigours in my Repentance of the same; but for Christ's sake make me all needful and favourable Allowances.

|| Psal. 103. 13. ‡ Psal. 130. 3.

Now I have found the way to thy Fear, let me find the Comforts of thy Mercy. I have a truly * *contrite Heart, O Lord despise it not.* My Spirit † *is broken, and trembleth at thy Word; O Lord revive it.* It is || *heavy laden and wearied* with my Sins; O, my God, give it ease from the same. ‡ *Pity me*, O Father, *as a Father pitieth his own Children.* Receive me as the offended Father * did the *returning Prodigal.* Tho' I † *was lost*, yet now, by the Blessing of thy Grace, *I am found* again. O welcome thy || *lost Sheep* when it returns home; and let ‡ *there be joy in Heaven on the Repentance of* me *a lost Sinner.*

* Psalm 51. 17. † Is. 66. 2. &c. 57. 15. || Matth. 11. 28. ‡ Psalm 103. 14. * Luke 15. † ver. 32. || v. 4, 5, 6. ‡ v. 7, 10.

† 1 John 1. 17.

**O let the Blood of Jesus cleanse me from all my Sins.* Let his Intercession for me in thy Presence make my Peace, and appease thy Wrath. Shut not thine Ears against the Voice of his Blood, nor be deaf to his Mediation, but hear him, my Advocate for my Pardon. And let me find the Forgiveness of all my Sins, that thy troubled and trembling Servant may have Peace, and that Thou may'st be sought unto, and feared and served by Sinners, who will return unto Thee in hopes of thy Grace and pardoning Mercy, thro' Jesus Christ our Lord and only Saviour. *Amen.*

Two Collects in the Office of Commination.

I.

O *Lord, we beseech Thee, mercifully hear our Prayers, and spare all those who confess their Sins unto Thee, that they whose Consciences by Sin are accused, by thy merciful Pardon may be absolved, thro' Christ our Lord.* Amen.

II.

O *Most mighty God and merciful Father, who hast Compassion upon all Men and hatest nothing that thou hast made, who wouldest not the Death of a Sinner, but that he should rather turn from his Sin and be saved; mercifully forgive me my Trespasses; receive and comfort me, who am grieved and wearied with the burthen of my Sins. Thy property is always to have Mercy; to Thee only it appertaineth to forgive Sins. Spare me therefore, good Lord, spare me whom Thou hast redeemed; enter not into Judgment with thy Servant who am vile Earth, and a miserable Sinner; but so turn thine Anger from me who meekly acknowledge my Vileness, and truly repent me of my Faults, and make haste to help me in this World, that I may ever live with Thee in the World to come, thro' Jesus Christ my Lord.* Amen.

5.

5. *A Prayer for Peace of Mind, and Comfort upon the ſame.*

Et me have thy Peace, O gracious Father, and comfort my trembling and broken Heart with the Hopes thereof. Cauſe me * *to hear the voice of Joy and Gladneſs*, and revive me with the aſſurance of thy Love. O that may be able, from mine own experience, to ſpeak great Things of thy readineſs to receive and comfort returning Sinners; and thereby draw back others to thy Service, who are ſtill running aſtray from the ſame. O that by ſeeing thy Goodneſs upon me, † *every one that is godly may ſeek to Thee* in their Diſtreſs, and find Mercy, as I have done.

* *Pſalm* 51. 8.

† *Pſalm* 32. 6.

But, Lord, having found thy Mercy to poor Sinners, let me not abuſe it, or preſume upon it. Let me not take heart to repeat my Sins, becauſe Thou art ready and glad to grant Forgiveneſs. When Thon haſt ſpoke comfortably to me, make me careful * *to ſin no more leſt a worſe thing come upon me*; but to keep on in all holy and thankful Obedience unto Thee, and never † *more to return to folly*. Let the ſence of thy Mercies, O my God, ſerve no other uſe in me, but to encourage my Repentance, and to ſupport me in thy fear, till I come, at length, to enjoy thy eternal Favour, through Jeſus Chriſt, my Lord. *Amen.*

* *John* 5. 14.

† *Pſalm* 85. 8.

For Peace of Mind, *and* favourable Allowances, *and* hopes of Mercy, *the Penitent may have more particular Proviſions, if he is deſirous thereof, in the* Office for one troubled in Mind.

2. Prayers for Confeſſion of Sin, and Repentance of the ſame, in one continued Form.

1. *A Form and Confeſſion of Sins, and of Repentance for the ſame.*

I.

O Almighty and moſt Righteous Lord, I do here with grief of Heart, and with Shame and deep Humility, confeſs unto thy dreadful Majeſty, that my Sins are exceeding many and great, and have been frequently repeated.

I have oft-times tranſgreſſed out of Ignorance: O that I could not ſay, careleſs Ignorance, under Opportunities of Knowledge; yea, or affected Ignorance, eſpouſed for earthly Ends, againſt Light and clear Evidence, which was enough to ſhame and ſilence me, tho' not to gain and convince me. But have tranſgreſſed oftner out of Negligence, worldly Fear, or Deſire; yea, alas! too oft out of preſumptuous Wilfulneſs, condemning the Evil, whilſt I was doing it, and offending wittingly, and with Checks and Convictions to the contrary *. And theſe Sins I have been drawn to, againſt all the endearments of thy Mercies, and all the Alarms and louder Warnings of thy Puniſhments; againſt all the Rebukes and Strivings of thy Grace, and of my own Conſcience, and of other faithful and ſeaſonable Admoniſhers. And againſt all mine own Purpoſes and Engagements deliberately made, and ſolemnly profeſs'd, and frequently repeated, that I would offend therein no more. *Lord be merciful to me a great and wretched Sinner.*

* Eſpecially, *&c. here mention Particulars.*

II.

BUt Thou, O bleſſed Jeſus, by making thy ſelf a Sin-Offering for us, art come to take away the Sins of all, who truly repent thereof. And, O merciful Lord, tho' my Sins are many and grievous, yet I do not deſire to overlook them, but would gladly ſee and diſcover them all, that I may penitently

tently bewail and forſake them. And O that no corrupt Paſſions, nor Love of Worldly or Carnal Intereſts, may ever biaſs me, or blind my Eyes from ſeeing of the ſame, whilſt there is Space left me to repent of them. And as for thoſe Sins, which I do know my ſelf to be guilty of, I do not cover but with Shame confeſs them. I do not juſtify nor excuſe, but condemn my ſelf for the ſame.

I ſtand thereby guilty, O Lord, of higheſt Diſobedience, againſt the ſtricteſt Obligations; of wretched Diſingenuity and Unthankfulneſs, against the moſt endearing Mercies; and of moſt ſtupid Folly, againſt my own cleareſt, higheſt, and moſt laſting Intereſts, throwing away thy Favour and future Joys, for empty Shows and Shadows, and a bleſſed Eternity for Moments of Vanity.

I reflect on all this, O Merciful God, with Bitterneſs, and with a Spirit wearied with mine own Ways. I ſee and lament my own Folly, and abhor mine own Vileneſs on account thereof. I wiſh with all my Soul, that thoſe Sins had never been done, and would take any Way to undo them, and moſt earneſtly deſire, and fully purpoſe by thy Grace, that I may do ſo no more.

God be merciful to me a Self-condemning and Repenting Sinner.

III.

LOrd, I am burden'd and heavy laden with my Sins, O! do Thou, who
*Mat. 11. 28. * calleſt out *to the heavy laden*, to ſeek Refreſhment at thine Hands, give me Eaſe. I confeſs them, and deſire above all things elſe, that I may
†*Prov. 28. 13.* utterly *forſake them:* Let me, according to thy Promiſe †, *find Mercy*. From mine Heart I forgive all Perſons who have offended me, even my bittereſt Enemies, and moſt earneſtly intreat Thee, that Thou wouldeſt forgive them: O! do Thou, who
‡ *Mat. 6. 14, 15.* ‡ offereſt *Forgiveneſs*, to thoſe who are ready to grant it, for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, forgive me. I repent unfeignedly of all my Sins, and am ready to make all juſt Amends, at leaſt, as far as I am able, to any whom I have ever injured, whether they be of low or of high Degree, or even the higheſt of all. O God of all Grace, perfect my Repentance, and accept it, and blot out all my Miſdeeds, as thou
‖ *Act. 3. 19.* ‖ engageſt to do unto all thoſe, who ſincerely repent of the ſame.

‡ *Acts 4. 12.* I know, O Bleſſed Jeſus! that ‡ *there is no Name but thine, whereby I can obtain Pardon.* And I truſt only to the fulneſs of thy Merits, and to the faithfulneſs of thy Gracious Promiſes, and to the abundance of my Heavenly Father's Mercy and Loving-kindneſs, to me a great and miſerable, but an humble, contrite, penitent Sinner. Forgive them all, O Bleſſed Father, remembring not my Deſervings, but the pitiableneſs of my Weakneſs, and thy dear Son's infinite Merits, and thine own boundleſs Mercies and moſt precious Promiſes. Let me here have thy Peace, and be admitted hereafter to ſtand for ever in thy Preſence, for our Lord Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. *Amen.*

2. *A ſhorter Form of Confeſſion, and Repentance of the ſame.*

O Almighty and Everliving God! I thy ſinful wretched Creature, do here with Shame and Grief of Heart, bewail and confeſs my manifold Sins, which either this Day, or at any Times heretofore, I have been guilty of againſt thy Divine Majeſty, either in Thought, Word or Deed, by omitting what I ought to have done, or by committing what I ought not to have done; againſt Thee, my Neighbour, or my Self. Sinning in all theſe Kinds; againſt thy Mercies, and thy Judgments; thy Spirit, and thy awakening Providences; againſt my own Vows and Reſolutions, yea, and oft Times againſt the Checks and Calls of my own Conſcience; oft Times

without any Pretence to palliate them to my ſelf, and always without any to excuſe and juſtify me at thy Righteous Bar. And by theſe Ways, O Great and Dreadful God, am I, who at beſt am Nothing, become far worſe than Nothing, an Object of thy moſt deſerved Wrath and eternal Damnation.

But Thou, O Merciful Father! haſt ſent thine own only Son into the World, * *to ſeek and ſave that which was loſt*, and when once he returns back, Thou art ready, not only to *receive the Prodigal Son*, but to † *run out and meet him*, and *rejoice over him.*

* *Luke* 19. 10.
† *Luke* 15. 20, *&c.*

Lord! I repent of all my Sins from my very Heart, and am aſhamed of my ſelf, and grieved that ever I committed them. I earneſtly deſire to do better for the Time to come, and firmly purpoſe, by thy Help, to labour in the ſame. And I moſt humbly and heartily implore thy Grace, to keep me always in this Mind, and never to ſuffer me wilfully to relapſe into the Ways of Wickedneſs again. I am heartily offended with my ſelf, be Thou no longer offended with me. Cleanſe away the Guilt of all my Sins, O Gracious God, by thy dear Son's moſt precious Blood, and ſlay the Power and Dominion of them by his Spirit, that ‡ *being made whole, I may ſin no more*, nor *return, after I am waſhed*, as ‖ *the Dog to his Vomit, or the Sow to her wallowing in the Mire.* Grant this, O Merciful Father, for thy dear Son, and my only Saviour, Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. *Amen.*

‡ *John* 5. 14.
‖ 2 *Pet.* 2. 22.

3. *A particular Enumeration of Sins, in a large Form of Confeſſion and Repentance of the ſame.*

I.

O Lord! Moſt Holy and Terrible, who art moſt pure in all thy Ways, and a conſuming Fire to all unrelenting Sinners, my manifold and great tranſgreſſions, make me both aſhamed, and afraid to appear before ſo holy and juſt a Majeſty.

Lord! how unlike am I to that Image of thine, wherein at firſt Thou madeſt Man, and how far have all the Powers of my Soul fallen from what they ſhould be? My Mind is overſpread with Blindneſs and Ignorance, Folly and falſe Reaſonings, and ſpends it ſelf upon Vanity and unprofitable Thoughts. It is loath to fix upon good Things, and very apt to forget them, and to looſe that Tenderneſs and quick Senſe of Duty, which ſhould make thy Laws to reign in me. My Heart is ſo averſe to what is good, and ſo obſtinate and refractory, that it is hardly brought to reſolve upon thoſe Ways, which my Conſcience tells me are my Duty: and ſo wavering and inconſtant withal, that when it doth reſolve well, it doth not ſtick to it with any Certainty. My Affections are forward, and violent in Purſuit of Earthly Things; but very ſlow to be engaged in thy Service, and when once engaged therein, ſoon weary of the ſame.

Lord, be merciful to me, a miſerably corrupt and depraved Creature.

II.

AND, beſides this proneneſs of my Nature, O Righteous God! to what is bad; to make me ſtill more lowly in my own ſight, I have little ſtrength of holy Inclination, or obedient Diſpoſitions, which ſhould reſtrain me from following, and giving way to the ſame.

O! how little is there in my Heart, of that holy Fear, which ſhould withhold me from giving Thee any Offence; of that Love, which ſhould make me imitate thy glorious Excellencies; of that Thankfulneſs, which ſhould make me return anſwerably for all thy Mercies; or of that Joy in thee, which ſhould turn Religion into a Delight, and make me take all Opportunities of converſing in that Place whilſt I live, where I deſire to be when I come to die.

I am

I am not duly provident to prevent Temptations; nay, alas! I am too oft delighted in them, and pleaſed to dwell with them, and love the near Approaches of Sin, and to be put into Opportunities, yea, and ſometimes almoſt the Neceſſity of Evil Doing. And when at any time Thou haſt thought fit to caſt me upon Trials, I have not been ſufficiently watchful, active and unwearied in withſtanding them. I am eaſier, O moſt Righteous Lord! in hearkening to my own wicked Luſts, than to the good Motions of thy Holy Spirit, and to the Dictates of a pious Conſcience; and hereby have omitted many Duties, and have been led into many ſinful Thoughts, and evil or indecent Speeches, and unrighteous Actions, which now I do with Grief lament, and am utterly aſhamed of.

Lord, be merciful to me, a frail, naked, and ſinful Creature.

III.

HOW ſeldom have I been, O Holy Father! in devout Reflections? How irreverent, inſincere, and lifeleſs in my Prayers? How careleſs in obſerving thy manifold and great Mercies? How hard ſometimes to be reconciled to thy Will, and to own the Wiſdom and Goodneſs of thy Orderings? How faint and languid, in believing, and relying on thy Promiſes, when I have ſtood moſt in need thereof, and Danger has threatned any Duties? How fearful to expoſe my ſelf, in owning of thy injured Name or Cauſe, and in ſhewing a Concern and Zeal for thy Service? Nay, how faithleſs to my own Vows, when I have promiſed to make up Defects, and to ſhew greater Care and Watchfulneſs, in amending theſe, or any other Offences.

Lord, be merciful unto me, an unbelieving, indevout and ungodly Creature.

IV.

AND, beſides all theſe Offences againſt Thee, my God, how many ways have I treſpaſſed againſt my Brethren alſo?

In Bargaining, and Acts of Juſtice, how apt am I to lean to my own Profit, and to preſs upon my Neighbour's?

In Opportunities of Charity and good Offices, how is my Affection in doing Good ſtreightned, by too quick an Eye to mine own Eaſe and Intereſt?

In Converſation, how prone am I to take Opportunities of inſtilling my own Praiſe, and of detracting from the Praiſe of others?

How liable is my Heart to give way to Diſcontents; to harbour uncharitable Surmiſes, yea, ſometimes of thoſe who are the proper Objects of Charity, and ſtand in need of my Relief or Aſſiſtance? To grow impatient and angry, upon any Provocation, and in ſuch Anger, to utter ſome indecent, bitter, or reproachful Words, eſpecially to my Inferiors, and to retain ſuch Reſentment of their Offences, as renders me either prone to return ill Offices, or, at leaſt, backward to ſhew Kindneſs to them, on any fit Occaſion, afterwards.

I am ſtill offending, O Almighty Lord, either by uncharitable Provocations, or ſinful Compliances, or by Negligence and Remiſneſs in governing my ſelf, or my Dependants; or by Irreverence and Undutifulneſs to my Superiors, or by Want of Affection, Fidelity, or due Regard to my Relations; or by proud Thoughts, or vain-glorious Speeches, or harſh Cenſures, or by Luſt, Anger, Envy, Peeviſhneſs, ſinful Fear, miſtruſtful Care, covetous Deſire, or ſome other inordinate or unlawful Paſſions; or by being guilty of ſome Thoughts, Words, or Actions, which are contrary to thy Law, and to that excellent Pattern of all Virtue, which my deareſt Lord has left me to walk by.

Lord, be merciful to me an unrighteous, ſelfiſh, proud, and impatient Creature.

The

V.

THeſe, O Moſt Great and Juſt God! and many others, which I am not able to recount, are mine Offences. Which I have committed, ſeveral of them ordinarily, others frequently, and all of them, even thoſe which moſt ſeldom, yet, alas! too often, either by the Frailty and Violence of my Paſſions, or by my Ignorance, Negligence or Wilfulneſs; againſt all the Endearments of thy Mercies, and the Terror of thy Judgments, and all the Warnings of thy Providence, and the Suggeſtions of thy Spirit, and the Bonds of my own moſt ſolemn Vows and Promiſes; and againſt all other Methods of thy preventing, aſſiſting, and recovering Grace, which ſhould have kept me from them. All theſe my Tranſgreſſions teſtify againſt me, and my own Conſcience accuſeth me, and Thou, Holy Lord! art an upright Judge, who wilt do Juſtice, and not juſtify a Sinner in any Wickedneſs; and whither then ſhall my guilty and fearful Soul fly?

But thine own dearly beloved Son, O Gracious God, hath paid his Life a Ranſom for my Sins, and thro' the Merits of his Blood, Thou art moſt ready to embrace a returning Penitent, and to make thy Mercy glory over Judgment. O Lord, I repent of all theſe my Sins, from my very Heart, and freely forgive all who have treſpaſſed againſt me, as I now deſire that Thou wouldeſt freely forgive me. O ſuffer me not to be ſwallowed up, either in Death or Deſpair; but in the Multitude of thy Mercies do away all mine Offences, and give me Comfort and Peace of Conſcience, that being cleanſed from all my Sins, I may ſerve Thee with a quiet Mind.

Conſider my Weakneſs, O Father of Mercies, and how frail my Nature is. And that, frail and ſinful as I am, I am ſtill the Work of thine own Hands, and am called upon by thy Name. And how I am heartily aſhamed, and ſorry for what I have done, and for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, the Son of thy Love, do earneſtly implore thy Pardon. And how the Saviour of the World died to ſave Sinners, and how Thou art my Father, and I thy Son, in Chriſt Jeſus. Accept me, therefore, good Lord, in thy Beloved: Forgive me freely all that is paſt, and keep up in me, by thy Spirit, ſuch Vigour of holy Reſolution, and ſuch Watchfulneſs and Circumſpection for the Time to come, that I may never return to them again.

I know, O Gracious Father, the Falſeneſs of my own Heart, and the Inſtability of my Spirit. But it is not in my ſelf, but in Thee, that I truſt. My Faith is in thine Almighty Aid, which Thou haſt bountifully promiſed, and which thy Son has dearly purchaſed for us with his moſt precious Blood. Let that always be my Guard, and then my Sins ſhall no more prevail over me, but I ſhall finiſh my Days in thy Righteouſneſs, and reſt at laſt in thine everlaſting Peace, thro' Jeſus Chriſt my only Saviour and Redeemer. *Amen.*

4. *Another particular Enumeration of Sins, and Repentance of the ſame, in a ſhort Form.*

I.

O Almighty Lord, I thy poor Creature, who am a vile and miſerable Sinner, do here in great Humility lament before Thee, and am moſt heartily aſhamed and troubled, for my having lived ſo long in the World, thro' thy Mercy I have done, and yet having done ſo little Good in it, and being ſtill ſo unfit to leave it, and ſo little qualified for a better.

I am grieved, O Bleſſed God, for having lived ſo long a Stranger to Thee, and for my loving and obeying Thee no better, and having no greater Zeal for Thee, ſince by thy Grace, I have been brought to know and fear Thee. For all my Neglects of thy Service, and for my Inſincerity and Unaffectedneſs in performing it. For all the Lightneſs, and evil Wandrings of my Thoughts in my Prayers, and my great and daily Unthankfulneſs for thy great and innumerable Mercies, for my Solicitude about Worldly Things, and my Diſtruſt of thy Paternal Care and ſure Promiſes. For

For all my Negligence, yea, and Averſeneſs in ſtudying and learning thy Holy Will, and all my Remiſneſs and Forgetfulneſs in doing it, and for all the Defects and Difficulties which I have ever found in ſuffering and ſubmitting to the ſame.

For all my corrupt Averſeneſs [and ſhameful Refuſal] to take up thy Croſs, and preferring Worldly Eaſe and Intereſt before a good Conſcience, and for having choſen at any time, rather to part with the Way of thy Truth and Righteouſneſs, than to follow Thee, O Holy Jeſu! in patient and faithful Suffering for the ſame.

For all my Prophanations of thy Sacred Name, by irreverent Uſe thereof, (* eſpecially by careleſs and common Swearing; but moſt of all by the horrible Wickedneſs, of falſe or faithleſs Oaths.)

**This to be uſed or omitted, as the Penitent's need requires.*

For all which, and all other my Offences of this kind, which either I can remember, or have forgotten, Lord be merciful to me, a contrite Sinner.

II.

I Am troubled, O Lord, for all the Diſcontentedneſs, which I have ever ſhewn with my own Condition, and for all the Envy and Evil Eye which I have caſt upon the happier Lot of other Men. For all the Pride of my Heart, and all the ſinful Lightneſs of my Spirit, and for all my immoderate Love of this World. For all my unclean Thoughts, and unchaſte Carriage, and for all the Unthankfulneſs, or Uncharitableneſs, or Intemperance, which I have ever ſhewn in my Uſe of outward Enjoyments.

For all which, and all my other like Offences, which either I can remember, or have forgotten, Lord be merciful to me a contrite Sinner.

III.

I Am heartily ſorry, O Holy Father! for all my deceitful and inſincere Expreſſions, and feigned or faithleſs Promiſes; for my having at any time divulged Secrets which I ought to have concealed; or diſſembled Things which I ought openly to have profeſſed; for all my unjuſt and hard Cenſures, and for all my detracting Speeches againſt any of my Brethren.

For all the Advantage which I have ever taken of the Ignorance, and for all the Sport and Paſtime which I have ever made with the Folly and Weakneſs of my Neighbours. For all my covetous Deſires, and all my wrongful Gripings, or hard Dealings towards any, whom I have at any Time been concerned withal. For all the Over-reaching which I may have been guilty of, [in Gaming, or other ways,] and for all the Exceſſes and Offences of my Recreations.

I lament, O Lord, for all the Countenance which I have given to others Mens Sins, or Compliance with them, or Neglect to reprove the ſame, when I had an obliging Call ſo to do. For all the Provocation which I have ever given others; and for all the ſinful Paſſion which I have ever ſhewn, and opprobrious Speeches which I have ever uſed, and Ill-will which I have ever retained towards them, when at any time they have provoked me. For all the ungrounded Jealouſies, and evil and uncandid Surmiſes, and for all the Back-bitings and Evil-ſpeakings, which I ſtand guilty of towards any. For all my Deafneſs to the Cries, or Narrowneſs of Heart in relieving the Wants of the Poor and Needy.

For all which, and all my other Offences of the like ſort, which either I can remember, or have forgotten, Lord be merciful to me a contrite Sinner.

IV.

I Humble my ſelf before Thee, O Almighty God, for all my Irreverence, Diſloyalty, or Breach of Faith and due Obedience, whereby I have offended againſt thoſe, who have had the Right to reign over me. For have

offered a deaf or diſobedient Ear to my Ghoſtly Rulers; for all my
utifulneſs to my Parents, or unkindneſs to my Wife, [*or Huſband,*] or
iſneſs in governing my Dependants, and training up all that ſerve, or are
way ſubject to me, to fear and ſerve Thee. For all the evil Thoughts
my Heart, and ſinful Words of my Mouth, and unrighteous Actions of
Life, wherein I have grievouſly offended Thee, either this Day, or at
other times.

or all theſe, and all other Sins, O Almighty and moſt Righteous Lord,
ich either mine own Heart, or Thou, who knoweſt better than my Heart,
t me to be guilty of, I am ſorry at my very Soul, and here humbly con-
them before Thee, with Shame and a broken Spirit, and with ſtedfaſt Re-
tion, by thy Grace, to watch and ſtrive againſt them for the time to come.
ere I have wickedly broken thy Statutes, my ſtudy ſhall be religiouſly to
them. And where I have done Wrong to any Perſon, I am ready and
ling, according to the utmoſt of my Power, to repair the ſame.

Lord I repent, encreaſe my Repentance. And, for Jeſus Chriſt's Sake,
don me a poor repenting Sinner. O let his Blood waſh me from all my
, and let his Peace rid me of all my Fears, and let his Spirit preſerve me
all Relapſes. O that having utterly abandoned all my former evil
ys, I may ever henceforward be fixt in thy Fear, and be duly diſpoſed
thine eternal Mercy and Favour, through the Merits of my only Saviour
Redeemer, Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

rt Prayers and Ejaculations for the Penitent, to uſe at any time as he ſees cauſe.

EJACULATIONS.

Am a ſinful Man, O Lord! Luke 5. 8.

And mine Iniquities are gone over my Head, as an heavy burden, they are heavy for me. Pſal. 38. 4.

Lord! careſt thou not that I periſh? Mark 4. 38.

Jeſus Maſter, have Mercy upon me. Luke 17. 13.

Thou that cameſt into the World to ſave Sinners. 1 Tim. 1. 15.

Be merciful to me a Sinner. Luke 18. 13.

Thou that takeſt away the Sins of the World. John 1. 29.

And haſt aboliſhed and overcome Death. 2 Tim. 1. 10. 1 Cor. 15. 54, 57.

And deſtroyed him that had the Power of it. Heb. 2. 14.

Deliver me from the body of Sin and Death. Rom. 7. 24.

SHORT PRAYERS.

I.

Ord! I am not worthy to lift up my polluted Eyes unto Thee. But
whither ſhould a Wretch in Guilt and Miſery look, but unto the Foun-
of Mercy? Whither, but to a God whoſe Mercy is greater than our
ckedneſs? To a God, whoſe Property it is to be kind to his Enemies;
whoſe Patience to bear our Sins, is as great as his Power to puniſh them;
who had much rather be reconciled to us, than take Vengeance on us.
ither, indeed, but to Thee, O God of all Grace and Comfort, who ſhew-
Mercy on the unworthy, and who art moſt graciouſly pleas'd to fit and
lifie them for thy Mercy, that ſo Thou may'ſt bountifully confer it on
m, for our Lord Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. *Amen.*

II.

Ord! under my heavy load of Guilt and Miſery, I addreſs myſelf unto
Thee. But I make no Plea, but for thy Mercy. Nor have any pretence
laim it, O Father of Mercies, but only becauſe I infinitely need it, and

becauſe Thou loveſt to ſhew it, and art more ready to look at our Needs which move thy Pity and Tenderdeſs, than at our Deſerts, which cry aloud to Thee for Wrath and Vengeance upon our Heads. And becauſe, unworthy as I am, yet, through thine inexpreſſible Love and his, I have a moſt merciful Saviour, who has born all the puniſhment of my Sins, to purchaſe Mercy for me a Sinner, and who now powerfully interceeds with Thee for Mercy for me, if, being weary of my Sins, I turn to ſeek and ſerve Thee, through Jeſus Chriſt my Lord. *Amen.*

III.

AND my Soul, O gracious God, is wearied out, and filled with the bitterneſs of mine own Ways. I accuſe myſelf and need no Witneſſes. I condemn myſelf, and need no other Judge to pronounce me Guilty. I puniſh and afflict myſelf for all my Sins, that I may prevent thy Juſtice for the ſame. And by thy Grace I am reſolved to turn from them all, that they may no longer provoke Thee: and, as far as I am able, to repair the Harm which my Brethren have ſuſtained thereby, that they may no longer damnifie, or diſturb them. Father, forgive me, for I am heartily ſorry for all the Evil which I have done. Forgive all my Sins, for I am fully reſolved by thy Grace, to forſake them. Forgive me, O dear God, for I forgive others, yea, I forgive all. Do not go to exact Puniſhment of me for my Sins; but extend thy Mercy and Pardon to my true Repentance, for my deareſt Lord and only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. *Amen.*

IV.

AND having thus utterly renounced my Sins, O Holy Father, I deſire above all Things to partake of thy Righteouſneſs. Having utterly defaced and corrupted myſelf, I would gladly be new made by Thee. Having hitherto miſcarried, whilſt I would be in mine own Hands, I deſire now to be altogether in Thine. I loath myſelf, O my dear God, whilſt I am without Thee: And whatever elſe I loſe, my earneſt Prayer is, that I may recover thy Likeneſs, through Jeſus Chriſt my Lord. *Amen.*

V.

I Know, O gracious Lord, that I cannot receive this, but from Thyſelf. O therefore be Thou the bleſſed Giver, and the Gift. I know alſo, alas! that I am utterly unworthy to have thy divine Image ſtamped upon my Soul. But I extreamly need it, and I extreamly value it; and ſuch Thou art pleaſed to account worthy of it. And I dearly love Thee, O God, or elſe I ſhould not be thus deſirous to be like Thee. And Thou loveſt to communicate thy Goodneſs; and whom ſhouldſt Thou imprint and diſplay it upon, but on thoſe who love Thee, and are earneſtly deſirous of the ſame?

Hear me therefore, O my God, and breathe into my Heart that Spirit which * *renews us after thine own Image, in Righteouſneſs and true Holineſs.* O Thou who ſeekeſt out Sinners to make them Good, do not reject me now when I ſeek Thee out to make me better. I am poor and naked, O fill me with thy Righteouſneſs. My good Thoughts are unconſtant and Changable, O fix them by thy Grace. Set up thy Kingdom, O Jeſu, in my Heart, for to become thy faithful Servant, is more to me than to have the Empire of this World. Keep me ſtedfaſt, O Lord, in ſerving Thee, till Thou takeſt me finally to enjoy Thee, through Jeſus Chriſt my bleſſed Saviour and Redeemer. *Amen.*

* *Eph.* 4: 24.

VI.

LOrd! grant that at all times I may account my Sins, yea, all my Sins to be my Shame; and make thy Laws, yea, all thy Laws, to be my Rule, and thy bleſſed Will to be in every thing my Choice and Satisfaction. And let thy Promiſes be my Hope, thy Providence my Guard, thy Grace my Strength, and thy bleſſed Self my Portion, both now and in the end, through Jeſus Chriſt my Saviour and Redeemer. *Amen.*

THE

THE TRYAL and JUDGMENT OF THE SOUL.

OR,

rtain Queſtions or Articles of Examination, whereby the Penitent himſelf may try and diſcover the ſafety of his own Spiritual State. Or which the Guide of Souls may make uſe of, as he ſees cauſe, in viſiting the Sick, and in giving Abſolution to them.

WHEN the Perſon whoſe Spiritual Eſtate is to be enquir'd into is ſick, ſome Queſtions may be premiſed, *touching his due reception of his Sickneſs.* And theſe the Miniſter (when he is the Examiner) may begin after the *Exhortation to the Sick*, in the *Office of Viſitation.*

Queſtions touching the Sick Perſon's due reception of their Sickneſs.

1. Are you perſwaded, that your preſent Sickneſs * is ſent unto you by mighty God?

2. Do you believe and acknowledge, not only his Juſtice, but alſo his ndneſs therein, as in a Father's Viſitation?

And that all which you now ſuffer, is far leſs than you have deſerved to fer? And that it is all ſent for your Good?

3. Do you therefore ſubmit to it quietly, and without murmuring, beuſe He ſent it?

4. And do you look up to him for Aſſiſtance and Deliverance, and dend upon him to take it off again?

5. And are you willing that He ſhould do this when He pleaſes, and conted to wait his Time for it?

6. And do you freely reſign yourſelf up to his Diſpoſal, either to continue der your Illneſs, or to recover out of the ſame, to live or die as he ſees teſt for you?

7. Do you ſtudy to be as eaſie as you can, to thoſe who attend or miniſter out you; and to receive their well-meant Care and Services, kindly and ankfully?

8. Do you now plainly ſee the Vanity of this World, and of all the Poſſions, Pleaſures, Pomp and Splendor thereof, which ſeemed the moſt mpting and deſirable to you in the time of your Health?

And are you fully ſenſible and convinced now, how little there is in them, d how ſoon you may be, or are like to be taken from them?

9. Do you deſire, therefore, to keep your Heart looſe, and taken off from e ſame? And to fix your Hopes and Deſires upon God and Heavenly hings, which you will always find an Help at hand, and a ſolid Comfort your Need?

10. Will you endeavour by God's Grace, to hold on in this Mind, and ll to ſhew forth the ſame; if, having by God's Bleſſing recovered your rmer Health, you ſhould come to converſe again among theſe worldly Saſfactions, and be enabled to reliſh and enjoy them?

* *Or when other Calamity or Affliction, name it.*

If that is not done already, I must remind you, as your Case requires
should, and as I am directed and ordered to do by the * Church, to set yo
worldly Affairs in order, and to take care of a just Payment of all you ow
and declare what is owing unto you, and to make such clear disposal of
worldly Goods you have to leave, as may both discharge your own Conscien
and prevent Disputes, and preserve Peace among your Friends, who
survive you.

* *In the Rubricks before the Absolution, in the* Office of Visitation of the Sick.

I must also remind you, according to your Ability, to be liberal to the Po
remembring that what is disposed of this way, is laid out upon your own So
and that this giving to them, is laying up Treasures for your self in Heav

And after these, the Guide of Souls (or the Penitent himself, if the S
Man is his own Examiner) may proceed to other Questions for the *Trial*
his Estate, in manner following.

Questions for the Penitent, whereby to try and discover the Safety of the
Spiritual State.

When you are passed from Death unto Judgment, and stand at the g
Day, to be tried before the dreadful Tribunal of Jesus Christ, you will
called to answer to the Searcher of Hearts, and to give an Account of
Points as these.

I.

1. OF your *Faith*, whether you have the Belief or Faith of a Christi
Whosoever believeth on him shall not perish, but have everlasting Li
He that believeth on him is not condemned: but he that believeth no
condemned already, John 3. 15, 18.

The *Articles* or *Points* of this Belief, or Christian Faith, are these:
I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth.
And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, who was conceived by the H
Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, *suffered under* Pontius Pilate, *was Cruci*
Dead and Buried, he descended into Hell; the third Day he rose again f
the Dead, he ascended into Heaven; and sitteth at the right hand of God,
Father Almighty, from thence he shall come to judge the Quick and the D
I believe in the Holy Ghost; the Holy Catholick Church, the Communion
Saints; the Forgiveness of Sins; the Resurrection of the Body, and the Li
Everlasting. Amen.

Questions about the Belief of them.

1. DO you unfeignedly, and from your Heart, believe the Truth of th
Things which are professed in this Creed?

2. Have you any Scruples about any Points thereof, or about any o
great Matters of Religion, wherein you are desirous to have Satisfaction?

3. Do you thank God, from your very Soul, that you were born a
bred up in this Belief, and do you desire to die in it?

4. Has it been your sincere Care and Study, in the Course of your Li
to order your Actions so, and to be so affected with Things, as might sh
you were real in this Belief, and were Ruled and Acted by a firm Persu
sion of the aforesaid Points?

II.

2. OF your *Holy Obedience*, whether you have led the Life, or paid
Duty and new Obedience of a Christian. *If thou wilt enter i*
Life, keep the Commandments, Matth. 19. 17.

To them who by patient continuance in well doing, ſeek for Glory, eternal Life. But to them who obey not the Truth, but obey Unrighteouſneſs, Indignation and Wrath upon every Soul that doth evil, Rom. 2. 7, 8, 9.

A brief Recital of the *Holy Laws* and *Duties* which we are to obey.

1. *Duties toward God.*

THis Holy Obedience you are to pay, in a due and devont Attendance on Prayers, (both Publick and Private) and on Sacraments.

In thankfully owning God's free Bounty, and praiſing his Goodneſs, for ll the good Things which you receive by any ways.

In ſubmitting patiently to his Holy Will under any Afflictions, and not rudging at them.

Nor growing impatient for Eaſe before his Time, becauſe they are of his rdering.

In truſting to him and to his Providence, for ſupplying you in all your Vants.

And for preſerving you from any Dangers, or for delivering you out of them.

And ſo truſting to him for them, as never to make uſe of any Sin for com-aſſing the ſame; nor to betake yourſelf to any Wickedneſs, be it what it will, hen you have a tempting opportunity thereby to ſupply or deliver yourſelf.

In reverencing his Holy Name, not uſing it but with Honour and Re-ect, not as a light by-word.

Nor ever in common Oaths.

And leaſt of all in falſe or faithleſs Oaths.

In reverencing, alſo, his Word and his Worſhip, and any Things or Per-ns devoted to him, or commiſſioned by him.

2. *Duties towards our ſelves.*

YOU are to pay it, moreover, in Humility, or by preſerving a juſt ſence of your own Faults, Defects, and Weakneſſes.

And not priding yourſelf on account of any outward Things.

Nor being puffed up by any undue Conceits of yourſelf, or with Con-mpt of others.

In Chaſtity, both of the Heart, not ſuffering the Fancy to fix upon for-dden Objects; or to pleaſe itſelf in being deſirous of, or in contriving for y unlawful Delights.

And alſo of the Hand, and Tongue, and Ear, and Eye, and of all the tward Actions, which are all to be kept clean of all forbidden and im-re Injoyments.

In Temperance about Meats and Drinks.

In Selfdenial and Mortification to this World, and in a readineſs to part ith any of the Eaſe, the Intereſts, or Conveniencies thereof, rather than ith the Ways of Truth and Righteouſneſs.

3. *Duties towards our Neighbours.*

YOU are to pay it likewiſe, in being juſt in all your Dealings.

In being content with what is your own, and not coveting, or taking ay your Neighbour's Right from him, either by Force or Fraud.

Nor by detaining it when it is unjuſtly taken, or hindring him of the ſame.

And by this Neighbour you are to underſtand every Man, whether untry-man or Foreigner, of high or low Condition.

In being faithful to all your Promiſes.

In being true in all your Speeches, deceiving none with falſe Expreſſions.

And ſlandering none with falſe Aſperſions.

Nor detracting from any Perſon's real Virtues and good Actions.

In

In all the ways of Charity towards others, eſpecially the Neceſſitous, giving Alms as you are able, or other Charitable Aſſiſtance for their Relief.

In Candor, or fair Interpretation of other Mens Words or Actions.

In not delighting unneceſſarily to publiſh other Perſons Faults, by evil-ſpeaking; but ſeeking rather to cover, or excuſe them, as we deſire may be done by our own.

In Meekneſs and Patience under Injuries, not burſting out into Paſſion, and opprobrious Words upon them.

In forgiveneſs of the ſame, and doing Good for Ill.

In living peaceably yourſelf.

And in ſtudying to preſerve Peace among others; not begetting, or cheriſhing any Miſunderſtandings between Neighbours, and endeavouring to remove them when you find them.

In Love, and Reverence, and Duty to your Parents.

And, if need be, in ſuccouring and maintaining them.

In conſtant Loyalty and Obedience to your Rightful Princes, be they good or bad, be they of true or falſe Religions, and be they Protectors of God's true Worſhip, or Perſecutors thereof.

And in not caſting off your Allegiance to them, or levying War againſt them, on any Pretences or Provocations.

In reverend ſubmiſſion and adherence to Rightful and Faithful Biſhops and Paſtors of Chriſt's Church.

In keeping the Bond of Peace, by adhering to their Communion, and flying Schiſm.

And in keeping to them, at the Head of God's neceſſary Truths, and in the Miniſtration of a pure and holy Worſhip, againſt others who fall to miniſter by polluted and corrupt Offices, or ſet up for Heretical Depravers of the Truth.

And in a faithful diſcharge of your Duties in any other Relations, as of Huſband and Wife, Maſter or Servant, or the like, wherein by the Providence of God, you ſtand placed with others, and mutually indebted.

Queſtions concerning our Obedience of theſe Laws.

1. HAS it been the Study and Endeavour of your Life, by God's help, to perform theſe forecited, and ſuch like Duties, though with the Infirmities of a forgetful and frail Nature?

2. Have you bethought your ſelf, according as your Time and Memory will ſerve you, and call'd to mind your manifold Tranſgreſſions and Breaches of any of them?

3. After all the Diſcoveries which you have made thereof, no doubt but many of your Breaches of the ſame, are ſtill ſecret; for * *who can tell how oft he hath offended?* And are you truly ſorry in the General, for all the reſt of thoſe Breaches, which by your Recollection you cannot recover, or call to mind in particular?

* *Pſalm* 19. 12.

4. Where you find, that in any of theſe, or the like Duties, you have hearkned more to wicked and worldly Luſts, than to a good Conſcience, and have yielded to tranſgreſs; are you now aſhamed of of your Self for having done the ſame?

Eſpecially for having done ſo, againſt both the Majeſty and the Mercy of the ever Bleſſed God, that made you; and of an ever Bleſſed Saviour, who redeemed you from everlaſting Death with his own Blood, and has prepared Joys both endleſs and unſpeakable for you in another World; and of the Holy Spirt of God, who is † *grieved therewith*, and whoſe infinite Love has inſtill'd better things into you, would you have hearkened to his good Motions?

† *Eph.* 4. 30.

And againſt the Senſe and Convictions of your own Mind, which know you ought not to have done ſo?

An

And againſt your own many, moſt ſolemn, and repeated Promiſes to the contrary?

5. Are you now offended with your Self, and ſorrowful from the bottom of your Heart, that ever you yielded to commit them? And do you wiſh with all your Soul, that they never had been done?

6. Do you earneſtly deſire, that you may never yield to commit them any more, nor conſent hereafter to repeat the ſame?

7. Are you reſolved by the Grace of God, to endeavour ſo to do for the time to come, [* if it pleaſe him to try you ſtill longer, and to raiſe you up again.]

* *This Clauſe when the Perſon is Sick.*

8. Do you believe thoſe precious Promiſes, which God has made us in his Holy Goſpel, to aſſiſt and help on ſuch obedient Endeavours with his Almighty Spirit and Grace?

And are you fully purpoſed to put forth theſe obedient Endeavours, in hopes thereof?

9. Are you heartily ſorry, that thoſe endeavours have not been more perfect in you hitherto?

And do you truly deſire, that they may ſtill grow more and more?

10. Will you be careful to remember theſe Holy purpoſes, as you ſhall need the ſame (if by God's Bleſſing you ſhall recover from this Sickneſs?)

And will you take it kindly, and be heartily thankful to any who ſhall put you in Mind thereof?

11. Is there any particular Sin amongſt all theſe, which lies heavy above the reſt upon your Conſcience, and for which you yet need, and deſire, more particular Direction, Comfort, and Abſolution?

12. Beſides this Repentance, for all your wilful or allowed Breaches of any of theſe Commandments; are you likewiſe humbled, and heartily troubled, for any Breaches thereof by ſurprize?

Or for any haſty and unconſider'd ſtirrings, and firſt Motions of ſinful Luſts?

Or for raſh Words or Cenſures, or Wandrings in Prayer, and the like.

Though you did not indulge, or antecedently give way to theſe Breaches, yet are you humbled, and heartily troubled for the ſame, after once you obſerve your ſelf to have fallen into them?

Do you earneſtly beg God's pardon thereof?

And are you purpoſed by his Grace, to watch ſtill againſt them the beſt you can, for the time to come?

III.

YOU will be called to give an Account of your *Charity* and *Forgiveneſs of others*. *If you forgive Men their Treſpaſſes, your Heavenly Father will alſo forgive you.*

But if you forgive not Men their Treſpaſſes, neither will your Father forgive you your Treſpaſſes, Matth. 6. 14, 15.

Queſtions about this Forgiveneſs.

DO you from your Heart forgive thoſe who have injur'd or offended you, as you expect Forgiveneſs of your Offences at God's hands?

2. Do you lay aſide all Ill-will, and all Deſires and Purpoſes of Revenge towards them? And are you ready and reſolved, by God's Grace, not to shew the ſame, when it ſhall lie in your way, either to profit or hurt them?

3. Do you heartily pray, that God would forgive them? And would you be glad to ſee them made ſenſible of their Offences, and taking the right way to have God's Pardon of them, rather than to ſee them ſuffering for the ſame?

4. Do you remember any Perſon in particular, to whom you would have much told, or ſignified in your Name?

If

If ſo, do you intend, by God's leave, to have the ſame ſignified to them? Or who ſhall do it? And when?

IV.

4. Of your *Reconciliation to your Brethren*, and *making Reſtitution* after any Wrongs which you have done to them.

If thou bring thy Gift to the Altar, and there remembreſt that thy Brother hath ought againſt thee; Leave there thy Gift before the Altar, and go thy way, firſt be reconciled to thy Brother, and then come and offer thy Gift.

Agree with thine Adverſary quickly, whilſt thou art in the way with him, leſt he deliver thee to the Judge, and the Judge to the Executioner, and thou be caſt into Priſon. Verily thou ſhalt by no means come out thence, till thou haſt paid the utmoſt Farthing. Matt. 5. 23, 24, 25, 26.

If the wicked reſtore the Pledge, and give again what he hath robbed, none of his Sins ſhall be mentioned to him, he ſhall ſurely live and not die. Ezek. 33. 15, 16.

Queſtions about this Reconciliation, and Reſtitution, or making juſt Amends after Injuries.

1. DO you deſire, that all Perſons, whom you have any ways offended, would forgive you?

2. If you know of any who have had juſt Cauſe, either in the way of Converſation, or of Buſineſs, to be offended with you, and take Things ill of you, are you ready, where that is wanting, to appeaſe or remove their uneaſie remembrance of the ſame, by having a ſignification of your Love carried to them, and of your deſire of their Pardon?

3. Do you call to mind any by Name, to whom this ſhould have been done, but hitherto has not been done? or to whom you would have it done? If ſo, who ſhall do it? and when?

4. Do you remember any Reparation, or Reſtitution which you need to make to any Perſons, for any Wrongs which you have ever done to them or theirs, either in their Lives, their Beds, their Goods, or their Good-name; or by tempting them to ſin? and if ſo, Are you prepared (if that has not been done already) to make them all juſt and reaſonable amends?

Or would you have any thing more done, than has been done in any of theſe Caſes, where it may be done with more convenience; and may tend to your further Comfort and Peace?

5. If you have injured any, by tempting and drawing them into Sin, or dangerous Errors, do you truly deſire, if that is ſtill needful to be done, that they may be made ſenſible of their Sins, or Errors, as you are, and ſo put into the way of pardon thereof?

6. Or, if as Brethren in Iniquity, and Companions in Sin, you have hardened one another, by ſitting at it together, do you deſire the ſame for them? and where you have not done it before, will you endeavour to make them ſenſible thereof, and ſeek their Recovery the beſt you can?

7. Would you have any thing ſent to them in your Name, to make them ſenſible thereof? And if ſo, when, and by whom?

8. Are you ready to ſhew Mercy, as you have the extreameſt need to aſk it, that *Mercy may rejoice* in your behalf *againſt Judgment*.

9. And will you * *break off your Sins by Alms-Deeds*, according as God has enabled you, *and your Iniquities by giving to the Poor?*

* *Dan.* 4. 27.

If you have been more wanting in it in time paſt, will you be more careful and liberal therein, for the time to come?

And will you ſtill remember, that you are but *Gods Steward* of all your worldly Eſtate, and muſt give an account what you have done out of it for him, as well as what you have done for yourſelf? And will you prepare to give a good account thereof?

Que

Queſtions upon the whole.

1. DO you believe, that Almighty God is ready graciouſly to pardon all ſuch Believers of the foreſaid Articles of the Chriſtian Faith, as truly repent them, in this manner, of all their Sins, and forgive others, and are ready to ſeek Reconciliation and ſatisfy for all Injuries which they have done, and to ſhew Mercy, and are in Peace and Charity with all their Neighbours?

2. Do you believe, that he is ready to do this only for the ſake of our Bleſſed Saviour and Redeemer *Jeſus Chriſt*, and in Regard to the Merits of his Death, who, by his dying on the Croſs for our Sins, purchaſed all this Mercy for all truly Penitent Believers?

3. Are you truly ſenſible of his exceeding great Love therein, and from the bottom of your Heart, are you thankful to him for the ſame?

After which Queſtions, the Guide of Souls, if he is the Aſker of them, in viſiting the Sick, and diſpenſing Abſolution, [*or the Penitent himſelf, when he is his own Examiner,*] *may go on to this Effect.*

Now know therefore, (*a*) *Brother* [or *Siſter*] that altho' you are a Sinner, yet * *Jeſus Chriſt came into the World to ſave Sinners.* Altho' you have been a loſt Sinner, yet he is † *come to ſave, and ſeek after that which was loſt.* * 1 *Tim.* 1. 15. † *Mat.* 18. 11.

Altho' you have ſinn'd, yet you do not cover your Sins, or juſtifie them; but with Grief of Heart confeſs them, and condemn your ſelf for the ſame. And ‡ *if we confeſs our Sins, he is faithful and juſt to forgive us our Sins.* ‡ 1 *Joh.* 1. 9.

You confeſs them to him with a reſolved Averſion, and turn away from the ſame; having, by the Help of his Grace, already forſaken ſome, and ſtudying and being reſolved in Heart to forſake all: And ‖ *whoſo confeſſeth and forſaketh his Sins, ſhall find Mercy.* ‖ *Prov.* 28. 13.

If you have ſinned againſt your Brethren, you are ready to ſubmit your ſelf, and ſeek to reconcile your ſelf to them, and to the utmoſt of your Power to make them any reaſonable Satisfaction. And if a Man has ⸸ *firſt reconciled himſelf to his Brother*, he may *come* to God with a good Heart, *and offer his Gift.* * *If he hath repented, and given again what he hath robbed, his Sin ſhall not be mentioned.* ⸸ *Mat.* 5. 24. * *Ezek.* 33. 15, 16.

Whilſt with an humble, a contrite, and a returning Heart, you are thus ſeeking to the Father of Mercies to forgive you your Treſpaſſes, you do from your Heart forgive all other Perſons, who have ſinned againſt you, their Treſpaſſes. And † *if we forgive Men their Treſpaſſes, our heavenly Father will alſo forgive us.* † *Mat.* 6. 14.

As you earneſtly ſeek Mercy, you are ready to ſhow it, and according to your Ability to give Alms to the Needy. And ‡ *bleſſed are the merciful for they ſhall obtain Mercy,* ‖ *and Mercy rejoiceth againſt Judgment.* ‡ *Mat.* 5. 7. ‖ *Jam.* 2. 13.

(*b*) Upon ſuch Faith, and Repentance, and Satisfaction for Injuries, and ſhewing Mercy and Forgiveneſs of others, when they are ſincere and right, our moſt merciful God and Saviour will moſt graciouſly forgive us, at the Great Day of Judgment. And he ⸸ *has committed the Miniſtry of Reconciliation* to his Miniſters, that, upon Appearance of the ſame, they may de- ⸸ 2 *Cor.* 5. 18.

(*a*) O my Soul, that altho' thou art, *&c. When it is only the Penitent trying himſelf.*

(*b*) *This, when the Guide of Souls is the Examiner. But when the Penitent is his own Examiner, he may go on from hence, if he pleaſes, to comfort up his Spirit, and further expreſs his Devotion to Almighty God, by Prayer the* 3*d*, pag. 337. *Intituled,* A Profeſſion of the Fruits of Repentance, and the Conditions of Forgiveneſs. *And by Prayer the* 4*th*, pag. 338. *Intituled,* A Prayer for Pardon of Sins. *Or, if he is deſirous to ſhorten the Office, he may omit them, and paſs on to the Confeſſion of Sins, taken out of the Office for the Communion, and the other Prayers and Sentences, which are here ſet down.*

clare and deal it out, for the Comfort of ſuch truly faithful and penitent Perſons here in this World.

And now, upon this Profeſſion, which you have here made, of this Chriſtian Faith, and Repentance, and Reparation of Injuries, and of Forgiveneſs of others, and having Charity towards all Perſons, and of ſhewing Mercy to the Miſerable, all which you declare is unfeigned, and from the bottom of your Heart, do you deſire from the Mouth of *Chriſt*'s Miniſter to receive the Benefit of *Abſolution*?

Then may the Miniſter proceed, as he ſees fit, to lead the Penitent on in this Form of Confeſſion, taken out of the Office for the Communion.

'ALmighty God, Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, Maker of all Things, 'Judge of all Men, (*a*) We humbly acknowledge and bewail, *and eſpecially this humble Penitent doth hereby acknowledge and bewail*, * his manifold Sins and Wickedneſs, which † he from Time to Time moſt grievouſly 'hath committed, by Thought, Word and Deed, againſt thy Divine Majeſty, 'Provoking moſt juſtly thy Wrath and Indignation againſt ‡ him. || He doth 'earneſtly repent, and is heartily ſorry for theſe his Miſdoings. The Remembrance of them is grievous unto him; the Burden of them is intolle'rable. Have Mercy upon him, have Mercy upon him, moſt merciful Fa'ther. For thy Son, our Lord Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, forgive him all that is 'paſt, and grant that he may ever hereafter ſerve and pleaſe Thee in New'neſs of Life, to the Honour and Glory of thy Name, thro' Jeſus Chriſt our 'Lord. *Amen.*

* *Or*, Her.
† *Or*, She.
‡ *Or*, Her.
|| *Or*, She, *acccording as the Perſon is.*

And then pronounce the Abſolution following.

ALmighty *God our heavenly Father, who of his great Mercy, hath promiſed Forgiveneſs of Sins, to all them, that with hearty Repentance, and true Faith turn unto him; have Mercy upon you* (*b*), *pardon and deliver you from all your Sins, confirm and ſtrengthen you in all Goodneſs, and bring you to everlaſting Life, thro' Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* Amen.

Or, inſtead of this *Form of Abſolution*, if he think that fitter, he may uſe the *Form in the Viſitation of the Sick.*

OUR *Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who hath left Power to his Church to abſolve all Sinners, who truly repent and believe in him, of his great Mercy forgive thee thine Offences: And by his Authority committed to me, I abſolve thee from all thy Sins, In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghoſt.* Amen.

After which, the Miniſter (*c*) may go on with the *Collect* that follows the *Abſolution* in the *Office of the Viſitation of the Sick.*

O *Moſt Merciful God, who according to the multitude of thy Mercies doſt ſo put away the Sins of thoſe who truly repent, that thou remembreſt them no more; open thine Eye of Mercy upon this thy Servant, who moſt earneſtly deſireth Pardon and Forgiveneſs. Renew in him, moſt loving Father,*

(*a*) Or, *I acknowledge and bewail*, when the Penitent is his own Examiner.

(*b*) When the Penitent examines himſelf, he may repeat this on his Knees, and ſay *me*, and *my* for *them* and *you*.

(*c*) Or the Perſon himſelf, when he is his own Examiner, making ſuch Changes in this, and the following Prayers, of *me* for *him*, mine for *his*, *&c.* as are requiſite when one ſpeaks not of another but of himſelf.

hatſoever hath been decayed by the Fraud and Malice of the Devil, or by his on carnal Will and Frailneſs: Preſerve and continue this [(*a*) Sick] *Mem- r, in the Unity of the Church; conſider his Contrition, accept his Tears, aſſwage his Pain, as ſhall ſeem to Thee moſt expedient for him.*] *And, for much as he puttreth his whole Truſt in thy Mercy, impute not unto him his mer Sins; but ſtrengthen him with thy Bleſſed Spirit, and when thou art aſed to take him hence, take him unto thy Favour, thro' the Merits of thy ſt dearly Beloved Son Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* Amen.

And if the Penitent is viſited as a ſick Perſon, he may then uſe the *Pſalm* after it.

In Thee, O Lord, have I put my truſt, let me never be put to Confuſion: t rid me, &c.

But elſe inſtead thereof he may uſe theſe Sentences and Prayers.

Sentences after the Abſolution, in the Communion Service.

Hear (*b*) what comfortable Words our Saviour Chriſt ſaith, unto all that ly turn unto him.

Come unto me, all that travel and are heavy laden, and I will refreſh you. tth. 11. 28.

So God loved the World, that he gave his only begotten Son, to the end that that believe on him ſhould not periſh but have everlaſting Life. Joh. 3. 16.

Hear alſo what St. *Paul* ſaith.

This is a true Saying, and worthy of all men to be received, that Jeſus riſt came into the World to ſave Sinners. 1 Tim. 1. 15.

Hear alſo what St. *John* ſaith.

If any Man ſin we have an Advocate with the Father, Jeſus Chriſt the ghteous, and he is the Propitiation for our Sns. 1 John 2. 1.

In the *Viſitation of the Sick.*

O Saviour of the World, who by thy Croſs and precious Blood haſt redeem- ed us, ſave this thy Servant, and help him, we humbly intreat Thee, Lord. Amen.

In the Communion.

Pare him, O Lord, who hath confeſſed his Sins unto Thee, that he, whoſe Conſcience by Sin was accuſed, by thy merciful Pardon may be abſolved, ough Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. Amen.

The Collect for the 21 *Sunday* after *Trinity.*

GRant we beſeech Thee, Merciful Lord, to this thy Servant, and to all thy *faithful People, Pardon and Peace, that they may be cleanſed from their Sins, and ſerve Thee with a quiet Mind, through Jeſus Chriſt our rd.* Amen.

(*a*) The *Sick*, as likewiſe the following Words within the Hoooks [ ], muſt be omitted, when this ce is uſed in Time of *Health.*

(*b*) Or, *Hear, O my Soul,* when the Penitent examines himſelf.

In the *Viſitation of the Sick.*

THE Almighty Lord, who is a moſt ſtrong Tower to all them that put their Truſt in him, to whom all things in Heaven, and Earth, and under the Earth, do bow and obey; be now and evermore thy Defence, and make thee know and feel, that there is none other Name under Heaven given to Man in whom, and thro' whom, thou mayeſt receive Health and Salvation, but only the Name of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt. Amen.

UNto God's gracious Mercy and Protection we commit thee. The Lord bleſs thee and keep thee. The Lord make his Face to ſhine upon thee and be gracious unto thee. The Lord lift up his Countenance upon thee and give thee Peace, both now and evermore. Amen.

AND the Peace of God, which paſſeth all Underſtanding, keep your Heart and Mind in the Knowledge and Love of God, and of his Son Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, and the Bleſſing of God Almighty, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghoſt, be with you, and remain in you, always. Amen.

After all this is done, I would put the Penitent in Mind of one Thing, *viz.* That the *Holy Communion* is ſtill a further and principal Means, to ſettle and ſecure both the Pardon and the Peace of his Soul. The receiving it from the Hand of God's Authorized Miniſter, acting therein by God's Appointment, and in God's Name, is the moſt effectual Abſolution, and one of the beſt Aſſurances and Seals of Pardon. The *Cup*, which he gives the Penitent to *drink* from God, is, * *Chriſt's Blood for the Remiſſion of Sins*, * *Mat.* 26. 28. the Remiſſion of Sins which he purchaſed by the ſhedding of his Blood. And the Method of the Church in the Reſtauration of Penitents, was to finish and conſummate their Reconciliation, by giving them the *Holy Communion*. For *as oft as Sins are remitted or abſolved in the Church, they receive Chriſt's Body, that the Remiſſion of Sins which is granted may be conveyed by his Blood*, ſays St. *Ambroſe* (*a*).

And therefore the ſick Penitent, when he has received the foregoing Abſolution, would provide well for the Peace and Comfort of his Soul, if, after ſome Reſpite to recover his Strength, or at ſome convenient Time ſoon after, when he ſees moſt fit, he would conſummate his Abſolution by receiving the Bleſſed Sacrament.

And other Penitents, after the Uſe of this Office, would do well and wiſely to do the ſame, as ſoon after as conveniently they can.

(*a*) *Ita quotieſcunque peccata donantur, corporis ejus ſacramentum ſumimus, ut per Sanguinem ejus peccatorum remiſſio,* Ambroſ. de Pœnit. l. 2. c. 3.

AN OFFICE

For one troubled in Mind.

SCRIPTURES.

Pſalm 103. *v.* 8. *to* 19.
Ezek. 18. *v.* 21. *to the end.*
Luke 15.
} Pſalm. 130.
Ezek. 33. *v.* 11. *to v.* 20.

I. For Profeſſion of Trouble.

I Am poor and needy, and my heart is wounded within me. Pſal. 119. 22.

Mine Iniquities have taken hold upon me, ſo that I am not able to look up: they are more than the hairs of my head, therefore my heart faileth me. Pſal. 40. 12.

Thou writeſt bitter things againſt me, and makeſt me to poſſeſs the Iniquities of my youth. Job 13. 26.

Lord, why caſteſt thou off my Soul? why hideſt thou thy face from me?

The arrows of the Almighty are within me, the poyſon whereof drinketh up my ſpirit: The terrors of God do ſet themſelves in array againſt me. Job 6. 4.

Thy fierce wrath goeth over me, thy terrors have cut me off.

While I ſuffer thy terrors I am diſtracted. Pſal. 88. 14, 15, 16.

II. Grounds of Comfort.

1. From the Mercifulneſs of God.

WIlt thou break a Leaf driven to and fro? and wilt thou purſue the dry Stubble? Job 13. 25.

Will the Lord caſt off for ever? and will he be favourable no more?

Is his Mercy clean gone for ever? doth his Promiſe fail for evermore?

Hath God forgotten to be gracious? has he in anger ſhut up his tender mercies?

And I ſaid, this is my infirmity: but I will remember the years of the right hand of the moſt High.

I will remember the works of the Lord, ſurely I will remember thy wonders of old. Pſalm 77. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

Thou haſt always been a God forgiving Iniquity, Tranſgreſſion, and Sin. Exod. 34. 6, 7.

The Lord is merciful and gracious, he will not always chide, neither will he keep his anger for ever. Pſalm 103. 8, 9.

Who is a God like unto thee, that pardoneth Iniquity? He retaineth not his anger for ever, becauſe he delighteth in mercy. Matt. 7. 18.

2. From Promiſes to the Penitent.

WHen the wicked man turneth away from his Wickedneſs, that he hath committed, and doth that which is lawful and right, he ſhall ſave his Soul alive.

Becauſe he conſidereth and turneth away from his Tranſgreſſions that he hath committed, he ſhall ſurely live, he ſhall not die.

Repent therefore, and turn your ſelves from all your Tranſgreſſions, ſo Iniquity ſhall not be your ruine. Ezek. 18. 27, 28, 30.

As I live, ſaith the Lord God, I have no pleaſure in the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way and live; turn ye, turn ye from your evil ways, for why will you die? Ezek. 33. 11.

Go, and ſin no more, then will I not condemn thee, John 8. 11.

Come unto me all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you reſt, Matt. 11. 28.

This is a faithful ſaying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Jeſus Chriſt came into the World to ſave Sinners, of whom I am chief, 1 Tim. 1. 15.

If any man ſin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jeſus Chriſt the Righteous, and he is the propitiation for our ſins, 1 John 2. 1, 2.

The blood of Jeſus Chriſt his Son, cleanſeth us from all ſin, 1 John 1. 7.

There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Chriſt Jeſus, who walk not after the Fleſh, but after the Spirit, Rom. 8. 1.

3. From the Compaſſionateneſs of our own High-Prieſt.

THe Lord pitieth thoſe that fear him, like as a Father pitieth his own Children.

For he knows our Infirmities, he remembreth that we are but duſt. Pſ. 103. 13, 14.

We have not an High-Prieſt which cannot be touched with the feeling of our Infirmities: but was in all points tempted like as we are, yet without ſin. Heb. 4. 15.

He was made like unto his brethren, that he might be a merciful and faithful High-Prieſt.

For in that he himſelf hath ſuffered being tempted, he is able to ſuccour them that are tempted. Heb. 2. 17, 18.

He can have compaſſion on (or, *reaſonably bear*, as in the Margin, *with*) *the Ignorant, and thoſe that are out of the way.* Heb. 5. 2.

He will not break the bruiſed reed, nor quench the ſmoaking flax. Iſa. 42. 3.

3. The acceptableneſs of an humble Spirit.

THe humble Publican ſtood afar off, would not ſo much as lift up his eyes to Heaven, but ſmote upon his Breaſt, ſaying, God be merciful to me a ſinner. I tell you this man went down to his houſe juſtified, rather than the other: for every one that exalteth himſelf ſhall be abaſed, and he that humbleth himſelf ſhall be exalted. Luke 18. 13, 14.

To this Man will I look, even to him that is poor, and of a contrite Spirit, and trembleth at my word. Iſai. 66. 2.

I dwell with him that is of a contrite and humble Spirit, to revive the Spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones. Iſa. 57. 15.

He healeth the broken in heart, and bindeth up their wounds, Pſal. 147. 3.

4. Of Peace, and Hope, and Joy in God.

PEace I leave with you, my Peace I give unto you. John 14. 27.

Theſe things have I ſpoken unto you, that in me you might have Peace. John 16. 33.

Herein is our Love made perfect, that we may have boldneſs in the day of Judgment.

Perfect Love caſteth out fear, becauſe fear hath torment. 1 John 4. 17, 18.

Let all those that seek thee, rejoice and be glad in thee. Psal. 40. 16.
The fruit of the Spirit is Joy, Peace. Gal. 5. 22.
The kingdom of God is Righteousness, and Peace, and Joy in the Holy Ghost.
om. 14. 17.
Finally, my Brethren, rejoice in the Lord. Phil. 3. 1.
Rejoice in the Lord always, and again I say rejoice.
In every thing, by Prayer and Supplication, with Thanksgiving, let your re-
est be made known unto God.
And the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall keep your
arts and minds through Christ Jesus, Phil. 4. 6, 7.
Now the God of Hope fill you with all Joy and Peace in believing, that ye
y abound in Hope, through the power of the Holy Ghost. Rom. 15, 13.
Shew the same diligence, every one of you, to the full assurance of Hope
o the end.
Which Hope have as an anchor of the Soul, both sure and stedfast. Heb.
11, 19.
Rejoice in Hope. Rom. 12. 12.
Be sober, and Hope to the end. 1 Pet. 1. 13.
Love his appearing. 2 Tim. 4. 8.
Looking for, and hasting unto the coming of the Day of God. 2 Pet. 3. 12.
Come Lord Jesus, come quickly, Rev. 22. 20.
Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, *&c.*

An Hymn of Thanksgiving, after one is delivered from Trouble of Mind.

He bruised Reed, O Lord, thou hast not broke, nor quenched the smoak-
ing Flax. Matt. 12. 20.
Thou hast restored unto me the joy of thy Salvation, and upheld me with
free Spirit.
Thou hast made me to hear of Joy and Gladness, that the Bones which
hadst broken rejoice. Psalm 51. 8, 12.
I said I will confess my Transgressions unto the Lord, and thou forgavest
Iniquity of my Sin.
For this shall every one that is godly pray unto thee in a time when thou
est be found. Psal. 32. 5, 6.
Depart from me all ye workers of Iniquity; for the Lord hath heard the
e of my weeping.
The Lord hath heard my Supplication, the Lord will receive my Prayer.
lm 6. 8, 9.
He will regard the Prayer of the distitute, and not despise their Prayer.
And this shall be written for the Generation to come; and the People which
be created shall praise the Lord. Psalm 102. 17, 18.
Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, *&c.*

PRAYERS.

I. *A general Prayer for one troubled in Mind.*

O Righteous Lord, thy Justice hath brought me to reap the bitter fruits of my own evil ways, and * *to possess mine Iniquities. My sins,* at length, *have taken hold upon me, and thou writest bitter things against* † and thy † *fierce wrath goeth over me. Thy Terrors do even distract my* ‖ *ghts, my Spirit is quite broken within me by reason thereof,* ‖ *and my heart* th me.

* *Job* 13. 26.
† *Psal.* 88. 15, 16.
‖ *Psal.* 40. 12.

But,

But, O gracious God, tho' I be troubled and caſt down, let me not fall, I humbly intreat Thee, into utter deſpair. Whilſt I live, let me not forgo the hopes of thy Mercy, nor the care of my own return to my Duty. When I groan under my Burdens, make me to flee unto Thee for Eaſe. When I am terrified with my former Sins, let me make haſte to forſake the ſame, and labour diligently to ſet my Soul ſafe by new Obedience. When I am ſtruck with the Sting of my own Guilts, enable me, O Jeſu, to look up to thy Croſs and to the Merits thereof, and to reſt my Heart upon the ſame by true Repentance. When I am moſt miſtruſtful of my ſelf, let me not miſtruſt Thee, nor call in Queſtion any comfortable Promiſes of thy free Grace and Mercy.

O Father, let thy Smiting reclaim and amend me, and then let thy Comforts revive me. Let thy dear Son's moſt precious Blood expiate all my Sins, and let his Grace cure them. And inſtead of theſe moſt juſt and deſerved Terrors wherewith Thou now takeſt Vengeance for the ſame: Lord, let me have thy Mercy to forgive my Sins, and cauſe me to hear the Voice of Peace, to quiet and comfort my amazed Conſcience, for my only Saviour and Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. *Amen.*

A Prayer for the ſame, out of the Office of the Viſitation of the Sick.

O *Bleſſed Lord, the Father of Mercies and the God of all Comforts, I beſeech Thee look down in pity and compaſſion upon me thy afflicted Servant. Thou writeſt bitter things againſt me, and makeſt me to poſſeſs my former Iniquities; thy Wrath lieth hard upon me, and my Soul is full of Trouble.* But, O *merciful God, who haſt written thy Holy Word for our Learning, that we through Patience and Comfort of thy Holy Scriptures might have hope; give me a right underſtanding of my ſelf, and of thy Threats and Promiſes, that I may neither caſt away my Confidence in Thee, nor place it any where but in Thee. Give me Strength againſt all my Temptations, and heal all my Diſtempers. Break not the bruiſed Reed, nor quench the ſmoaking Flax. Shut not up thy tender Mercies in Diſpleaſure; but make me to hear of joy and gladneſs, that the Bones which Thou haſt broken may rejoice. Deliver me from fear of the Enemy, and lift up the light of thy Countenance upon me, and give me Peace, through the Merits and Mediation of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* Amen.

Collect for the 21ſt. Sunday after Trinity.

GRant, *I beſeech Thee, merciful Lord, to me and all thy faithful People Pardon and Peace, that we may be cleanſed from all our Sins, and ſerve Thee with a quiet Mind, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord.* Amen.

Prayers for Particular Graces.

1. *Prayers for a ſenſe of Sins, without deſpair of Mercy to pardon them, or of Grace to cure them.*

I.

O Almighty Lord, make me truly and deeply humble for my Sins, and fully ſenſible of my own Vileneſs. Never ſuffer me ſo far to loſe my Fears, as to grow conceited of my ſelf, or careleſs of my Duty; nor ſo far to preſume upon thy Mercy and Pardon, when I truly repent of the ſame, as to caſt off a true Dread and Terror of thy Juſtice, if I ſhould revolt and return to them again.

But deliver me, O my God, from all ſuch abjectedneſs, as, inſtead of letting me further off from my Sins, is fit only to keep me a ſurer Priſoner under them. And whilſt I retain ſo much Fear and Lowlineſs, as will keep holy care and watchfulneſs, grant that I may retain ſo much Hope too, as will encourage and ſtrengthen Holy Endeavours, and afford Peace.

And therefore, O my dear Lord, when I think the worſt of my ſelf, let e not proceed to a Belief, that I am paſt all Bounds of being pardoned by y Mercy, or of being made better by thy Grace. Let me not once ima- ine when I am fallen, either that it is in vain for me to endeavour to riſe gain; or if by thy help I ſhould riſe, that there is no Hope of my being rgiven.

But when I am moſt jealous of my ſelf, let me be confident of Thee. nd, together with an humble Senſe and Fear of my Sins, enable me to keep a ſure Hope of thy Promiſes, and a ſtrict Care of my own Repentance, nd a comfortable Perſuaſion of thy gracious Acceptance thereof, for our ord Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. *Amen.*

II.

KEep me always ſenſible, O God, that as thou art moſt juſtly angred at my Sins, ſo thou art moſt eaſy to be appeaſed, and reconciled by my ue Repentance. And that thou art not more offended with me, whilſt I down in my Folly, than thou wilt be delighted with me, when with the *nitent Prodigal*, I ſhall have come to my ſelf, and returned to my Duty. et me never forget, that * *there is Joy in Heaven over every Sinner that re-* * Luk. 15. *nteth*; and that *whenſoever a Sinner turneth away from his Iniquity*, he 7. all be ſure to *find Mercy* with Thee, thro' the Merits and Mediation of Je- s Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

2. *A Prayer for Hopes of Mercy, and of Grace to encourage Repentance.*

MY Heart, O Almighty Lord, is full of Trouble, and ought to be ſo, whilſt it is fond of Sin: But let not my Sorrow ſettle into a Neglect Cure, nor my Fear grow up into Deſpair. When I think ill of my ſelf, me not fall, O moſt Gracious Father, to think ill of Thee: And after I ve grievouſly affronted thy Majeſty, as I have, alas! thro' all the Courſe of y Life, let me not come now at laſt to affront and exclude thy Mercy.

My Sins, O Lord, are many and great: But my ſweet Saviour's Merits, and y Mercies are infinitely greater. And the Guilt thereof is not too great r thy Mercy to pardon, nor my proneneſs to repeat the ſame, too great for y Mercy to overcome. And therefore, O dear God, tho' by my former il Life I have thrown off my Innocence; give me not up therewith to row away the Thoughts of my own Repentance, nor the Hopes of thy acious Acceptance. Let me not ſhut that Gate of Mercy upon my ſelf y Deſpair, which Thou haſt ſet open for every truly contrite Sinner; nor glect by true Repentance to enter in at the ſame.

* *There is mercy with Thee*, O God, that Thou may'ſt be appeaſed: And * *Pſalm* erefore there ſhall be Repentance with me, and in hopes of thy Mercy *Thou* 130. 4. *lt be feared.* Tho' I have fall'n, yet, by thy Grace, I will not reſt under y Fall; nor deſpair of thy Mercy when I am riſen; nor of Strength, by y Grace, to riſe up again. But ſetting my Heart to fear Thee, I deſire to ſt my Soul on the ſure Hopes of thy Spirit, to perfect my ſincere Endea- urs, and on the ſure Hopes of thy Mercy to Pardon mine Offences, for the erits of thy dear Son, and my only Saviour and Redeemer, Jeſus Chriſt, *men.*

3. *A Prayer ſetting forth the Grounds of Hope thereof.*

O Father of Mercies, be thou my ſupport and ſtay under all this heavi- neſs and Dejection of my Spirit. And let not thy Mercy, or my Faith l me, when all things elſe do.

† *Mic.* 7. 18. Tho' at preſent thou art angry with me: yet, O Lord! † *thou retaineſt not anger for ever, becauſe thou delighteſt in Mercy.* O reſume thy beloved property towards me, and laying aſide thy fierce Wrath ſhew Pity on me.

Tho' I am a wicked, and a wretched Creature, yet thou art a Merciful * *Exod.* 34. 6, 7. God. * *Thou art a God forgiving Iniquity,* forgive that which lies ſo heavy ‖ 1 *Tim.* 1. 15. upon me. ‖ *Thou art the Saviour of Sinners,* ſave me who am a moſt grievous Sinner, and let me not Periſh in my Sins.

Thy Mercies, O Gracious Father, have been wonderful towards the greateſt Offenders; ſuch as thy ſervant *David,* who was guilty of *Adultery* and *Murder*; and *Peter,* who *forſware himſelf,* and *denied his Maſter*; and *Saul* who *Perſecuted* and *made havock of the Church*; yea, and even those wicked *Jews* who *murdered* and *Crucified* the *Son of God himſelf:* and they were never ſhut againſt any Sinners, who turned to Thee with true Repentance. O then let not me deſpair of that Pardon, which was never yet deny'd to any truly contrite Heart in my Condition. Let not me imagine that thou, who art infinite in Mercies, haſt leſs Mercy in ſtore when I need it than thou hadſt for the Needs of others. Or that thou, who art a tender Father towards all, and ‡ *Judgeſt without reſpect of perſons,* wilt deny the Mercy to my true Repentance, which, according to thy gracious Promiſes thou didſt extend to theirs. ‡ 1 *Pet.* 1. 17.

I know, O God, that I have deſerved the ſevereſt Puniſhments. But thy Mercy dealeth not with us according to our Deſerts. And as my ſins have deſerved Puniſhment, ſo Thou, O! Bleſſed Jeſus, haſt deſerved my Pardon of the ſame.

† 1 *Jo.* 2. 2. Thou † *art the Propitiation for our ſins:* And thy * *Blood cleanſeth us from* * 1 *Jo.* 1. 7. *all ſin.* O let me not miſtruſt the ſufficiency of thy Sacrifice, to atone for ‖ 1 *Jo.* 2. 1. all mine Offences, which expiates the Sins of the whole World. ‖ *If any Man ſin, thou art his Advocate with the Father:* And let not me imagine that thou canſt ever move in vain; or, that whilſt thou art ready, yea, ſure to intercede in the Cauſe of every other contrite Sinner, thou wilt be ſilent, and ſit ſtill in mine.

Holy Father, have mercy on me. Sweet Jeſu, cleanſe and ſave me. Wash away the ſtain of my Sins, and ſpeak peace to my affrighted Conſcience, and revive and comfort up my broken Heart: that I may live a monument of thy mercy, and a comfort to poor Penitents and broken Spirits, who ſhall hereafter be upheld thereby, and hope for like mercy in their Dejection, as thou ſhalt have graciouſly ſhewed to me in mine, for my Bleſſed Saviour and Redeemer Jeſus Chriſts ſake. *Amen.*

4 *Prayeres for Mercy and (a) favourable allowances, in trying our Service.*

I.

BE not extream, O Lord, in marking what I have done amiſs, nor deal ſtrictly and rigorouſly with me; but judge of all my Ways with Mercy. ‖ *Pſalm* 103. 14. *Thou* ‖ *knoweſt our frame, and conſidereſt how weak and frail it is:* O make gracious allowances for all the pitiable Frailties, and Forgetfulneſs thereof.

* *Heb.* 2. 17. & c. 4. 15. & c. 5. 2. In pleading my Cauſe, O Bleſſed Jeſu, ſhew thy ſelf * *a merciful High Prieſt, who canſt bear in reaſon with our Ignorance and Errors, and can be touched with the feeling of our Infirmities.* Stand not upon Rigours in diſcuſſing my poor Services, nor reject any good beginnings of thy Grace in † *Iſa.* 42. 3. my returning Heart. † *Quench not the ſmoaking Flax,* but by the gentle breathings of thy Holy Spirit, quicken it into a pure flame: *Nor break the bruiſed Reed,* but in tender care and pity bind it up.

(a) For clearer information about theſe favourable Allowances, the Devout Petitioner may conſult *The Practical Believer: or, the Articles of the Apoſtles Creed, drawn out to form a true Chriſtians Faith and Practice,* Part 2. Chap. 4. And, *The Meaſures of Chriſtian Obedience.* Parts the 4th and 5th.

Ex

Examine all my ways, and weakneſſes, O my God! with the indulgent
nd compaſſionate abatements of a Father. Judge me, O Lord! with the
ercy and gentleneſs of a Saviour. Try me with the favour of one that
ed for me, and ſeeks at any rate, if it may be done juſtly and reaſonably,
ſave, not to condemn me.

Be ſuch a Judge, O Bleſſed Jeſu! as will not ſtrain things to my prejudice,
t that ſeeks, as far as it may be done with any Fairneſs, to make the beſt
my Cauſe. A Judge that is ready to make the moſt of my well meant
d ſincere Services, and to ſupply their Wants and Imperfections, by a
acious Acceptance. And to make the leaſt of my Errors and Miſcarriages,
mitting, and making the uttermoſt of any thing, which can with truth and
ſon be offered, in Abatement or Excuſe thereof.

Judge me, O merciful God, with ſuch Condeſcentions of Love and Mer-
, and with ſuch Mixtures of Favour and Equity, as may give poor Sin-
rs, who know they labour under manifold Defects and Frailties, cauſe to
pe in Thee, and Comfort to appear before Thee. With ſuch, as may
ke them look up to Thee with *Peace* and *Joy*, and long, * *for thy coming*;
d ſupport them under all the Trials and Sorrows of this troubleſome World,
th a comfortable Confidence of being received at laſt into thine everlaſting
ngdom, thro' the Merits and Mediation of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, *Amen*.

* 2 *Pet.* 3. 12. *Rev.* 22. 20.

II.

Ord, tho' I am ſtill offending Thee, yet I dearly love Thee. I can ne-
ver take Pleaſure in my ſelf, but when I think I have pleaſed Thee.
y, I hate my ſelf for it, as often as I find I have offended Thee. And I
r Thee a Child's obedient Regard and Reverence, tho' alas! with too much
the Alloy and Mixture of a Child's Folly and Forgetfulneſs.

Look upon mine Offences therefore, I humbly intreat Thee, O Father,
the Offences of one who loves Thee above all things. Look upon them
the Slips of one, whoſe Heart, nevertheleſs is bent upon thy Fear, and
voted to thy Service. But who pays Thee this Serviee under a load of
man Infirmities, and much Frailty of the Fleſh. Who at one time is
owſy, at another unwary; who is forgetful in many things, and haſty
d inconſiderate in more; who naturally grows weary and remiſs, when
ials return often, or continue long; and whoſe unconſtant Temper is too
en dull and liftleſs, when it needs to be moſt active and vigorous; and
ine and inadvertent, when it ſhould be moſt circumſpect, and ſtand moſt
ictly upon its Guard.

But thro' all this Cloud of mine Infirmities, be Thou pleaſed, O gracious
ord, to look to my Love and Devotedneſs to thy Laws: and mercifully
cept my Love, and pity my Weakneſſes. O thou who madeſt me; con-
er and pity my Frailty. O thou who † *haſt bore our Infirmities*, tho'
ithout Sin, in thy ſelf, have Compaſſion on them in me. Bear with them,
Lord, as with the Failures and Forgetfulneſſes of a ſincerely affectionate
d devoted, tho' of a very frail and heedleſs Servant. Bear with them, O
ther, as with the Errors and Overſights, of a loving and dutiful, tho' of
very weak, and frail, and ſimple Child. And let me have thy Grace to
lp and guard me againſt them, as well as thy Mercy to pity and pardon
em, for my deareſt Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. *Amen*.

† *Heb.* 4. 15.

5. *A Prayer for a clear and ſettled Judgment of our ſelves, and of what may eſtabliſh us in Peace.*

O God, the giver of all wiſe Thoughts, and the light of thoſe that ſit in
Darkneſs, ſend forth the Light of thy Spirit into my Heart, and ſcat-

ter thoſe Clouds of Fear and Ignorance, which have been gathering, and ſettling themſelves upon it. Rid me of all Confuſedneſs of Thoughts; and clear up my Mind with juſt and due apprehenſions, both of Thee, and of myſelf. And fix and ſtabliſh me, O Lord, in right Judgments, that when by thy Grace, I am once well reſolved in Things belonging to my Peace, I may not be ſoon ſhaken in Mind, or eaſily removed from the ſame, by any return of ill-grounded and diſtemper'd Fears, and melancholly ſuggeſtions.

Remove from me, if it may pleaſe Thee, O merciful Father, any diſorder of a diſtemper'd Body, that make me unſtable in thoſe juſt Perſuaſions of thy Grace and Mercy, which ſhould do me good; or that do any otherways caſt a Miſt before my troubled Spirit. Suffer not my Fears for my Sins to increaſe ſo far, as inſtead of being a help to carry me out of them, to prove a ſnare to detain me in them, and to hinder me from putting forth my ſelf to do my Duty, by holding me under an unprofitable Sorrow, and tempting me to deſpair of Mercy.

Lord, fill me plenteouſly with all thoſe Graces of thy holy Spirit, which muſt recommend my Soul to Thee: and with ſuch Comforts of the ſame, as may ſweeten Religion to me, and carry me, inſtead of ſpending my ſelf in fruitleſs Complaints, to put forth real Endeavours of doing Thee Honour and Service, and to lay out my ſelf in ways of thy Glory and of mine own everlaſting Peace, through Jeſus Chriſt my Lord. *Amen.*

6. *A Prayer for Recommendation of our humble Fears to God's merciful Acceptance.*

* Pſal. 50. 3. BUT **tho' I am afraid*, yet, O my God, *I truſt in Thee.* My Fears and Miſtruſts are only of my ſelf, and of the worthleſneſs and unacceptableneſs of mine own Services, or of the Inſufficiency, or Inſincerity of my own Repentance; but are not at all a miſtruſt of thy Promiſes, or of the certainty of thy Mercy towards all true Penitent Sinners.

And let not this lowlineſs in mine own Eyes, O merciful Lord, hinder me from being acceptable in thine. Look graciouſly upon me, as Thou didſt † Luk. 18. 13, 14. upon the *poor Publican*, tho' † *I ſtand afar off*, and dare only call for Mercy at a diſtance, and *not lift up ſo much as my Eyes to Heaven.* || *Look upon* || Iſa. 66. 2. & c. 57. 15. *me*, who have a *contrite Heart*, and deſpiſe not; *who am Poor and trembleth at thy Word*, and according to thy Promiſe, *dwell with me*, and *receive my Spirit.*

‡ Jam. 4. 10. Lord, ‡ *I humble my ſelf before thee, do thou take me up.* I humble my ſelf juſtly, but do thou take me up in Mercy. And all my Comforts will I ever moſt thankfully aſcribe to the praiſe of thy free Bounty and Grace, through the Merits of my bleſſed Saviour and Redeemer, Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

7. *Prayers for Peace, and Hope, and Joy in God.*

I.

O Bleſſed Lord, grant that I may both do thy holy Will, and take delight in doing it; and have the Comfort, as well as the Guidance of thy Grace. Grant me even now to taſte the Pleaſures, as well as hereafter to reap the Profits of thy Service, that I may both go on therein more cheerfully my ſelf, and may alſo recommend the ſame unto others, by ſhewing a comfortable and joyful Spirit in performance thereof.

O that no hard or unjuſt Thoughts of Thee may embitter Religion to me. O that no miſtruſts of thy merciful Acceptance, may either diſcourage the courſe of my ſincere Obedience, or deprive me of the Comforts of the ſame. Whilſt I am labouring ſincerely to ſerve Thee, give me the comfort of hope that Thou doſt accept me, and let me find the ways * *of righteouſneſs to be ways of Peace*, both now and in the end, through Jeſus Chriſt my Lord. *Amen.*

* Prov. 3. 17. Pſal. 119. 156. Pſ. 33. 37.

II.

LOrd, let thy Holy Spirit work in me * *Joy and Peace*, together with *Faith and Righteouſneſs*, and other of its bleſſed *fruits*. Set up † *thy Kingdom* in my Heart, as in *righteouſneſs*, ſo in *Peace and Joy in the Holy Ghoſt*. Teach me ‖ *to rejoice in the Lord*; yea, to *rejoice in him always*. Let *perfect Love*, when it encreaſeth Obedience and chearful Reverence, ‡ *caſt out all tormenting Fears*; *and let the Peace of God which paſſeth all underſtanding*, *keep my heart and mind*, yea, keep it ſo ſure, that Doubtfulneſs or Deſpair may never be able to poſſeſs themſelves thereof any more.

Make my Heart to *hope in God*; yea, ‡ *to abound in Hope through the Power of the Holy Ghoſt*. To * *give diligence to the full aſſurance of Hope*, and that *even to the end*. O that I may have this comfortable Hope of thy Mercies, *as an Anchor of the Soul both ſure and ſtedfaſt*, and may never be driven from the ſame, by any Storms or Troubles of this World.

Yea, grant, O Lord, that I may † *rejoice in hope*, and ‡ *be filled with all Joy and Peace in believing*. That I may ‖ *look for thy glorious Appearance*, and love it, and with Deſire *haſte it on*. And that in all my Trials here, I may bear up my ſelf with the comfortable Expectation of the ſame, till at length thou ſhalt mercifully accompliſh my Hope, and turn it into a bleſſed and everlaſting Fruition and Enjoyment, for my deareſt Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. *Amen.*

* *Gal.* 5. 22.
† *Rom.* 14. 17.
‖ *Phil.* 3. 1. c. 4. 4.
‡ *Jo.* 4. 17.
‡ *Rom.* 15. 13.
* *Heb.* 6. 11, 19.
† *Rom.* 12. 12.
‡ *Rom.* 15. 13.
‖ 2 *Tim.* 4. 8. 2 *Pet.* 3. 12.

The Perſon in Trouble, may likewiſe uſe the Prayers in the Office for Penitents, *intituled*, A Profeſſion of the Fruits of Repentance, and the Conditions of Forgiveneſs, *p.* 337. *for the quieting of his Mind. And the two Prayers following*, for Pardon of Sins, *and* for Peace of Mind and Comfort upon the ſame, *as he ſees Cauſe.*

8. *A Prayer againſt perplexing Doubts and Scruples.*

O Merciful Lord, keep me under ſuch an holy Fear, as will make me careful not to truſt in falſe Ways, nor to ſwerve from my Duty when I know it. But remove from me perplexing Doubts, and Unreſolvedneſs about the ſame, which will either hinder me from doing it at all, or make me do it heavily and with a troubled Mind. Let not me indulge them, as true Tenderneſs of Spirit, and Fruits of thy Grace; but labour againſt them, as my ſpiritual Diſeaſes, or as Satan's Temptations.

Lord, let not me be ſtill diſputing what thy Holy Will is, when I ſhould be doing it; or endleſly doubtful and diſturbed to find thy Ways, when I ſhould be walking in them; and ever irreſolute and ſtill ſcrupulouſly deliberating when I am called out to Action.

Let me not want Knowledge of my Duty, ſo as to diſobey Thee blindly and ſecurely: Nor true Tenderneſs of Conſcience, ſo as to venture on ſome things which really offend Thee, without Remorſe, becauſe they ſeem little to my carnal and corrupt Thoughts, or are little accounted of by others.

But after once I have been duly inſtructed therein, and am tenderly ſenſible of the ſame, cauſe me to be fixed and firmly ſettled in what I know, and to give up my ſelf afterwards chearfully to perform it; not ſcrupulouſly to deliberate a new, and endleſly examine on every Occaſion, whether I may ſafely and acceptably do it or no.

O my God, let Faith and Knowledge direct my Steps, and let Joy and Peace accompany them. Whatever elſe thou leaveſt me ignorant of, let me be clear and well reſolved about thy Ways, and careful with all Uprightneſs to walk therein. Let me not miſs here of finding and doing my Duty, or at laſt of thy eternal Mercy, through Jeſus Chriſt my Lord. *Amen.*

9. *A*

9. *A Prayer againſt prophane miſtruſt of divine Truths and blaſphemous Thoughts.*

O Moſt gracious God, who by the Power of thy Spirit, art only able to cure the Sickneſs, and to overcome the Unruſineſs of mine; protect me, I humbly and earneſtly intreat Thee, againſt all prophane Doubts and Miſtruſts of thy Truths, and againſt all blaſphemous Thoughts and Suggeſtions about divine Things, which either mine own melancholly Fancy, or the buſy and wicked Adverſary, are ready to repreſent and ſuggeſt to me.

Never ſuffer them, O God, to ſtagger or weaken my Faith, nor to hinder or clog my Practice, nor, if thou pleaſeſt, by their wearifom Conflicts, to be a Pain and Burden to my Life. Preſerve me, not only from the Sin, but, if it may ſeem good to thy Fatherly Wiſdom, from the Temptation too, and from the Trouble and Sorrow of them.

But if it be thy bleſſed Will, to continue theſe prophane and terrifying Thoughts for my Trial and Humiliation; Lord, make me ſenſible, and comfort my diſturbed Heart with the Senſe thereof, that it will not be imputed as a Sin to me to be tempted therewith, but to yield to the Temptation. And that in thy ſight, I am not guilty of the ſame, whilſt I neither believe them, nor give place to them; not altering or abating, either my Faith, or my Practice thereupon. And that they are the Enemy's Sin, who, to try and tempt me, ſtudiouſly and wickedly ſuggeſts them; not mine, who, inſtead of hearkening thereto, and complying therewith, immediately reſiſt them as ſoon as I perceive them, and caſt them out with Horror and Indignation.

And O that during this Trial, I may learn to depend entirely upon Thee, without whom I can do nothing. That as often as theſe prophane Thoughts are thrown into my Mind, I may find Grace to overcome them, and without the leaſt Allowance or Delay to throw them out again. And that I may learn to bear with my ſelf, and to ſhew Patience under them, as under every other Affliction and Trial of thy ordering. Truſting to thy Grace to aſſiſt me, and to thy Mercy to accept me, whilſt I am humbly labouring under the ſame; and to thy Goodneſs to rid me of them in thy due time, for my dear Lord and only Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. *Amen.*

10. *A Thankſgiv. for ſatisfaction and comfort, after one has been troubled in mind.*

O Merciful Lord, Thou haſt cauſed the Light to ſhine out of the midſt of Darkneſs, and given me Order and Clearneſs, for my former Confuſedneſs of Thoughts, and ſettled my trembling and troubled Spirit in Reſt and Peace. Thy Grace has comfortably reſolved and enlightned me about thy Ways, and ſet me free from my entangling Scruples, and rid me of my dejecting and diſquieting Fears, by comfortable Hopes of thy free Mercies in Chriſt Jeſus.

Bleſſed be thy Love, O gracious Father, for ſending me ſuch ſeaſonable Helps, and ſuitable Inſtructors, who by clear Repreſentations of Things, have happily removed my Fears and Ignorance. And bleſſed be thy Grace, for opening my Heart and Eyes, and enlightening and quieting my Spirit, by their Means. But above all, bleſſed be thy Goodneſs, for giving us ſuch ſweet Promiſes of Favour and Mercy in Jeſus Chriſt, as may give poor Sinners Eaſe of Heart and humble Confidence in Thee.

And, O do Thou, who haſt now moſt graciouſly ſpoken Peace unto my Soul, maintain and keep up clear Knowledge, and unſwerving Righteouſneſs in the ſame, that it relapſe not into Guilt and Fear, nor be clogg'd and diſquieted by Doubts and Scruples any more. Make me ſatisfied and ſettled in a right Underſtanding of all good Things, and careful in the Obſervance of them. And let not any buſy Workings of the Adverſary, or of my own Melancholly, make me unneceſſarily miſtruſtful, or ſuſpicious, or unduly jealous either of Thee, or of my ſelf. Let me not be fickle and ſoon alter'd, in my Perſuaſions of thy Love, or in my Purpoſes of thy Service. But fix my Heart in Thoughts of Righteouſneſs, and in the Bleſſings and Comfort of Joy and Peace, for our Lord Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. *Amen.*

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DEATH

DEATH

MADE

COMFORTABLE:

OR THE

Way to Die Well.

Conſiſting of

Directions for an Holy and an Happy Death.

Together with

An Office for the Sick; and for certain kinds of Bodily Illneſs.
And for dying Perſons.
And proper Prayers upon the Death of Friends.

LONDON:

Printed in the Year M DCC XVIII.

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WAY TO DIG WELL

OR THE

COMFORTABLE:

MADE

DEATH

Contrasted with

Directions for an Holy and an Happy Death.

Together with

An Office for the Sick; and for certain Kinds of

Bodily Harms.

And for Parents when the Death of Infants

And

THE PREFACE.

EVery Person, who comes into this World under the Guilt of Sin, is a Debtor to Death. And this Debt, sooner or later, all must pay; even they who fence themselves about with the strongest Armies, or heap up Riches as if they were always to possess them, or whose daily Business it is to drown all Thoughts of Death in the Noise Mirth and Pleasures. In the midst of all their Care and Labour to avoid m, Death will surely meet them, and spoil all their Glory and Follity; and that mmonly when they least expect him. And then he makes them see their own anity, and the Vanity of all earthly Things, which nothing else could teach em to consider of. For he shews us the Shame of our Bodies, and makes the ide of human Greatness to become an easy Conquest and inglorious Prey for orms, and brings all earthly Hopes and Projects to end and hide themselves Dust.

This is a Thing which all Men know, and all Men fear. And they who study ost, to keep the Thoughts of Death far from them, do yet certainly know that will come. And happy then is he, whose Mind is so well prepared and forfied, that it can neither fright nor hurt him; who has disarmed this † King Terrors, and made this great Enemy of Nature to become a Friend. † Job 18. 14.

All this Religion will do, if we will make a right Use of it. For ‖ the sting Death is Sin, and true Repentance takes that out. And if we take care that ‖ 1 Cor. 15, 56. r Life contain nothing terrifying, our Death need not. And the compleatest ictory over Death is Eternal Life, and the same Repentance secures us thereof. nd Trust in God fortifies us against Fear, and Patience makes our Pains lighter. o that whilst by true Devotion we are spending our selves in these Exercises, e are dressing our Souls in Armour, which will not only sustain the Shock of eath, but conquer it, with all its Strength and Terror.

And the Business of these Papers is to furnish our Thoughts, for all those who re willing and desirous to use the same, whereby all this may be done. And hereby we may receive Sickness, and meet Death, so as at the same time to have ough under them to support and comfort us, and in the end to be made better by oth.

And all this I treat of, not as a Man who is preaching to Men at Ease, who ust be diverted and entertained with nice Enquiries, and fine Discourses and peculations about Death; but as one who is called to sick and dying Persons, who esire to be helped and directed in Things of Use, and told those Matters which re fit to support and ease their weary Souls, and to dress them in such habits as are he best Defence both against the Sting and Terror of their approaching Enemy.

I have first, according to the best of my Skill, given them Directions what to o, and wherein to spend their Care, thro' all the Steps and Progress of their Sickess, from its first Seisure to their Departure. I shew them what will render their ick-bed Carriage rewardable, and its Sorrows tolerable and comfortable. How ey are like to be most easy to themselves, and may most profitably chuse or improve he Company, and employ and receive the Services and kind Offices of others. What they are to do, that they may die well, and be happy and full of Comfort t their Death, and after it; and how it is fit for them to part with all Men, nd take a decent and a Christian Leave of this World.

And in regard Devotion is the chief Work, and the best Support of sick and dyng Persons, to these Directions, I have added Offices of Devotion.

In these, I have made Collections of select and proper Scriptures, upon the se-

veral Duties and Neceſſities of ſick or dying Perſons, which I have ranged and put in Order the beſt I can, for their Comfort and Inſtruction. And theſe they may reſort to, as a Storehouſe of divine Sentences, fit to direct their Practice in the Virtues, and to cheer and revive their Spirits under all the Sorrows, of their Affliction. How forcible are right words, *ſays* Job *under the bitterneſs of his Sorrows,* Job 6.25. *And* heavineſs in the heart of man maketh it ſtoop: but a good word maketh it glad, *ſays* Solomon, *Prov.* 12.25. *But the good Words which God himſelf ſpeaks to us, do leave a much ſtronger Impreſſion, and give more Eaſe, and do more revive and make glad the Heart, than any others.*

And after theſe Collections of Scriptures, I have furniſhed them with variety of fit and proper Prayers, upon their ſeveral Duties or Needs, in that Condition. And as I was able, I have ſtored thoſe Prayers with ſuch proper Thoughts and Conſiderations, as may ſerve, at once, both to expreſs and put up to God the ſeveral bounden Duties and Tempers required of us, and alſo to ingenerate and increaſe the ſame in our own Minds.

And to theſe, for ſick *and* dying Perſons, *I have annexed like Devotional Helps, for* Women with Child, *or in* Child-Birth, *and for ſome other Caſes of* Bodily Diſtempers *and* Calamities. *And, to conclude all, I have added Devotions* on the Death of Friends, *and made particular Prayers for thoſe Caſes which uſually are moſt affecting, and provided them with ſuch Conſiderations as ſeeem to me to be moſt proper and of greateſt Force to ſupport and comfort us under ſuch mortifying and afflictive Loſſes.*

And in all theſe Prayers, I have taken care to be as inſtructive as I can, in the ſeveral States and Caſes they refer to, that we may ſee what our Work and Wants are under them, and know what we have to mind and do therein better than we know before. And ſo likewiſe in the ſeveral Duties, which the Prayers are made upon. For I have endeavoured therein, eſpecially in the Prayers about Truſt in God, *and about* Patience (*which are the Virtues moſt tryed on Sick-beds, and indeed of moſt general Uſe thro' the whole Courſe of our Lives*) *to ſet off the ſeveral Acts, wherein we are to exerciſe and ſhew forth theſe Graces; and the moſt proper and important Helps and Conſiderations, whereby we are like to be moſt quickned, and beſt aſſiſted in our Performance of them. And therefore when any are deſirous to encreaſe Knowledge, and improve their Underſtandings therein, they may read the Prayers, or have them read to them, tho' not in Way of Devotion, but as Diſcourſes upon them.*

And theſe Offices for ſick or dying Perſons, ſhould not be neglected or thrown aſide by Men in Health, as if they were a Study and Imployment only for Sick-beds: For living Men muſt think of Death, and prepare for it, as well as dying; and if, whilſt Health and Strength laſts, we throw theſe Thoughts and Preparations by, when it comes it will be like to find us unready: And then we can neither die comfortably nor ſafely.

* Matt. 25. † Ver. 10. ‡ V. 8, 10. || V. 7, 10.

For when once the Bridegroom is come, *as our Saviour tells us * in the* Parable *of the* wiſe and fooliſh Virgins, † they that are ready go in with him to the Marriage. *And if any* ‡ want Oil in their Lamps, *and need to ſeek it, when they ſhould* go out to meet him, *he will enter without them, and then the* Door is ſhut, *and will not be opened again for them. If they are ready with* Oil in their Lamps, when || the Cry of the Bridegroom comes, *they may fall to* trim *them: but they muſt not have their Oil to ſeek, or the Virtues of a Death-bed to learn, when they are called forth to ſhow and take Comfort in them.*

Beſides, Repentance and Reconciliation, and Satisfaction for Injuries, and ſettling one's worldly Affairs, are a Work moſt fit and proper for the beſt Days of Life. And Reſignation, and Truſt in God, and Patience, and Thankfulneſs, (the great Virtue and Employment of Sick-beds) are all Duties as neceſſary and acceptable in Health, as they are in Sickneſs. Death it ſelf, is but the laſt Act, and End of Life. And thoſe ſpiritual Exerciſes, which make us at laſt to die well and happily, are but the laſt Acts of thoſe Duties which had made us live well and holily before.

Defer

Defer not *therefore, as the wiſe Son of* Syrach *ſays,* until Death to be juſtified. But humble thy ſelf before thou be ſick, and in the Time of Sins ſhew Repentance. Before Judgment examine thy ſelf, and in the Day of Viſitation thou ſhalt find Mercy, *Eccleſ.* 18. 20, 21, 22.

But when we come to be ſick, then are we moſt eſpecially to make ſuch Offices our Employment, and to ſeek to them as our chiefeſt Comfort. And each one may pick out Prayers for himſelf, on one Head or another, according as thoſe Wants ſhall require, which at that Time are moſt preſſing upon his Body or his Spirit, or which, in the preſent Temper of his Soul he is beſt diſpoſed for. And he may uſe ſometimes more of them, and ſometimes fewer, according as he finds his Strength and Time will bear. And theſe, when he is in Strength and Circumſtances fit for it, he may read himſelf; but at other times they may be read to him for his Spirit to repeat and ſend up to God, by ſome religious Friend who attends about him. Or they may be read to him, as a Chapter of ſeaſonable and needful Doctrine and Direction, which will lay ſuch Conſiderations before him, as are fit to guide and comfort him in that condition, when he is leſs able to bear the Fatigue and expenſive Pains of Devotion.

As for ſome Diſtempers, they are ſlow and chronical, and carry us off by lingring Degrees: And in theſe, Men have Time enough to employ, if they have but the Will and Heart to employ it, in theſe or ſuch like Offices, which teach them both how to ſuſtain Sickneſs, and how to prepare for Death.

Other Diſtempers, indeed, are more violent and accute, which both carry us off ſuddenly, and whilſt we are ſtruggling with them, leaves us little mental Vigour or Ability. And under theſe, there is leſs to be done in this Way. But ſomething may be done, tho' more ſhort and broken; and with more Application and quickneſs, when it pleaſes God they have Intervals of Eaſe, or any Recruit of Spirits. And they have great need to make the beſt of theſe Opportunities, and to do as much as they can in their Condition, and ſpend as many Thoughts in ſuch Devotions as they have Leiſure and Strength for. And as for the great Defectiveneſs in exerciſing theſe Death-bed Graces, which will unavoidably attend this Caſe, it will be beſt provided for, by their making theſe Thoughts their great Buſineſs, and familiarizing the ſame to their Minds in Time of Health.

In theſe Matters, tho' many and the moſt important Things, are common to all ſick or dying Perſons; yet ſome are particular to each, and all have not the ſame Wants or Complaints. And therefore whilſt a Prayer deſcends to Particulars to fit and ſerve one Perſon's Caſe, it may contain ſome Clauſes or Expreſſions, which are not ſuitable to another's. But in this the Readers themſelves are to uſe and uſe a Diſcretion, and muſt omit ſuch Paſſages as do not belong to them, making uſe only of the reſt which do. And think, that altho' theſe paſſages are not to their Uſe, yet hitting the Caſe of others, who are touched and affected in thoſe Particulars, they may be received and uſed by them with great Thankfulneſs.

This Treatiſe I had begun, and had made ſome conſiderable progreſs in it; but had laid it aſide again, by reaſon of ſome Hindrances. But afterwards being brought my ſelf into a State of more uncertain Health and Life, by the moſt wiſe and good Ordering of Almighty God, I reſumed it, and made ſuch haſte as the needful Attendance of my Health would allow, to finiſh it. For I was deſirous to have ſome Benefit and Help thereby my ſelf, whilſt I live, as well as to leave it to be ſome way helpful unto others, and come in, by this means, to bear ſome part of their Burthens, if it pleaſe God (at whoſe wiſe and good choice I reſign and deſire to be) that I die of this Illneſs. And if any devout Readers receive any Comfort or ſpiritual Improvement, from this poor Labour of Love *to my bleſſed Maſter and to them, as they have the Offer of my Pains, I hope he will vouchſafe me the Benefit of their Prayers, and that God will have the Glory of all.*

* Heb. 6. 10.

From my Houſe in *London*,
Auguſt 17. 1694.

DIRE-

DIRECTIONS
FOR AN
Holy and happy Death;

In very Particular, but Brief Inſtructions, how to order and carry our ſelves under Sickneſs, and the ſeveral Trials and Accidents thereof, and at the Approach of Death.

CHAP. I.

Of the ſick Man's Thoughts of leaving the World, and ſetting his Affairs in Order; and of the Care of his Body.

WHEN God arreſts us with Sickneſs, 'tis time to think of leaving this World. Not that every Man who falls ſick, muſt preſently give himſelf up for dead; but becauſe Sickneſs puts Life in Hazard, and brings a Man to reſign himſelf into the Hands of God, whether he ſhall die thereof or no.

To think of leaving the World, is not only profitable, but needful, at all Times: For the great Buſineſs we have to do here, is to prepare for an happy Departure; and if we do not think of it, we are like to be very ill prepared for it. In our Days of Health and Pleaſure, we muſt call theſe Thoughts to us; but when Sickneſs comes, it calls us to them, and naturally imprints the ſame. And it is our trueſt Wiſdom, to entertain them in our Sickneſs. For if we die, we ſhall all judge it was the beſt way we had to employ our Thoughts; and that, of all things, Death ſhould not be met unthought of. And they render us fitter to live, if God ſpare us. They make Death ſafer, but do not haſten or bring it ſooner; and are no hindrance to our living longer, but a great Help, if we recover, to our living better.

In this Preparation to leave the World, the ſick Perſon's firſt Care, is to ſeparate himſelf from worldly Cares and Incumbrances of Buſineſs. Let him look upon himſelf, as one call'd off from the Conduct of theſe Matters, to the giving a ſtrict Account of them. And who has Work enough cut out for his Thoughts and Care, to take a decent Leave of this World, and * *trim up his Lamp*, and prepare his Soul for a better. His Buſineſs now is how to meet Death with more Safety and Comfort to himſelf, if he dies, for ought he knows he may die of this Sickneſs; and to commit no Error therein, becauſe he is to die but once, and cannot afterwards amend the Work and worldly Cares of Life are to be left to thoſe who think of living; but how to die is the Buſineſs that lies before him.

* *Mat.* 25. 7.

To caſt off theſe worldly Cares, 'tis fit he firſt ſettle them. And that is by ſetting his Houſe in Order, and *making his Will.*

This, methinks, ſhould be done with great Conſideration, and Men

wanting in that Prudence and Care, which they uſually ſhew in their Affairs hro' all their Lives, if this is left to be clapt up in haſte at their Deaths. When hey diſpoſe of a little Parcel of Land, or of a moderate Sum of Money, they conſider well of it before they part with it. And if they are thus conſiderate when they diſpoſe of any ſingle Branch of their Eſtate, muſt that be left to e the only haſty and unconſidered Act, when they are to diſpoſe of all?

When a Perſon has his Worldly Eſtate to give away, it will take much Thought to do it like a wiſe Man, and a good Chriſtian. To conſider what Portions are fit to be given to Dependants, as Recompence of Diligence and ood Services; What to Benefactors, as reſpectful Tokens of Gratitude, for avours and Obligations; What to particular Friends and Acquaintance, as Memorials of Love and Dearneſs; What among Kindred, in declaration of atural Affection, for their Nearneſs, their Deſerts, or their Wants; And what himſelf, for ſo I more eſpecially call that which is given to Religious or ious Uſes, ſince theſe Works follow him, and theſe Layings out go along with im, to be recompenced and repaid in a better Place: Such as are all Gifts of eſtitution, when he had wrong'd or defrauded any Perſons; of equitable ompenſation, where he has taken too great Advantage of other Peoples Wants Weakneſs, and been too hard upon them, and made too great advantage of em, in Bargaining or Dealing; of Charity or Piety, in Gifts or Settlements the Poor and Needy, or for the Encouragement and Promotion of Piety. o ſettle Accounts in Dealing, what he owes, and what is owing unto him; hat he has in his Hands in Truſt for others, and what he has left in their ands, or in Truſt with them.

For this Diſpoſal, he muſt remember, is the Farewel he takes of all the orld. And when he is parting with Kindred and Relations, Friends and nefactors, Servants and Dependants, Chapmen and Cuſtomers, Poor and ch, Sacred and Secular Perſons: A wiſe and good Man, who has carried it ll towards them all his Life, ſhould think of continuing to do the ſame, d ſupplying of former Defects at his Death, and ſtudy to take a fair and endly, and decent Leave of all. Eſpecially to carry it as becomes him towards God, and in this great diſpoſal of all his Goods, to look at him the vereign Donor of them.

And to do all this with Diſcretion, and to a Man's Satisfaction, will require nſideration: And therefore is like to be beſt diſpatch'd whilſt the Perſon h both Ability and Leiſure for it. And accordingly is always moſt providentially, and is like to be moſt perfectly ſettled in time of Health: However, in the beginning of Sickneſs, e're Nature is weak, and Time is ſhort, or iſeaſe is come to Extremities.

When all his Worldly Cares and Concerns are thus ſettled and laid aſide, ing taken his Leave of the World, he may give himſelf up to the Will good Pleaſure of Almighty God, to diſpoſe of him either in Life or ath, and make his Sickneſs end either in Health or Heaven, as he ſees will ke moſt for the Sick Man's Good and for his own Glory.

f the Phyſicians are called in to take Care of his Body, 'tis fit he receive r Advice with Meekneſs and Thankfulneſs, and willingly follow and ſubhimſelf to their wholſome and reaſonable Directions. A prudent and paſſionate Phyſician will be tenderly and conſcientiouſly careful of his Eaſe, ar as that is conſiſtent with the Care of his Health: Eſpecially he will conr well, how he propoſes, and much more how he preſſes any Medicine, ch the Patient hath an Antipathy againſt, and which is found greatly to rder him, tho' it generally relieve others. And when he ſends for him, muſt put his Body into his Hands, under God, and willingly take ſuch Meines, and ſubmit to ſuch Rules and Reſtraints as he judges needful for his ty, or for the Recovery of his Health; and not order and tell his Phyſi- what he ſhall preſcribe to him, nor weary him out with Importunities,

to

to let him have what he himſelf fancies, tho' the other thinks it would be to his prejudice.

And theſe Preſcriptions of the Phyſician he muſt uſe, with looking up to God, in the firſt place, for the good Effects of all Medicines; and without Fretfulneſs and Accuſations of the Means and Methods, if, by the pleaſure of God, the Diſeaſe increaſe and grow more troubleſome in ſpight of all Remedies; and without being too eagerly deſirous of Life or Eaſe, unleſs God pleaſe, thanking his Phyſician for the Eaſe which he ſtudies, but at the ſame time ſubmitting to God for the Pains which he ſends.

And let him ſtill remember to make fervent Prayers one Ingredient in all his Medicines, conſidering that ſince it is God who works Cures, Prayers are as neceſſary thereto as any thing elſe. He muſt not, like *Aſa*, * *ſet God aſide when he ſeeks to the Phyſicians*; but expect all the Cure from God's Bleſſing, and when it comes, give him the chief Honour and Praiſe for the ſame, and acknowledge that the Prayers of pious Friends have been among the powerfulleſt of his Medicines.

* 2 *Chron.* 16. 12.

If it be thought needful or profitable for the Body, ſometimes at Intervals, eſpecially in ſlow and languiſhing Diſeaſes, to divert his Spirits, let it not be by reading Plays or Romances, or fooliſh and undue Ideas of Love and Honour, which feed or revive vain Things, nor by Play, or other things fit to excite Paſſion, or exerciſe Covetouſneſs; but in Paſtimes of leaſt Lightneſs and feweſt Temptations, and uſed with Moderation, remembring that on a Sick-Bed, when a Man's Time is almoſt ſpent, 'tis not for him to caſt about how to paſs away his Time, but how to redeem and improve it.

Let the Reading which is read to him, and the Converſation which is held with him, be ſuitable to one in his Condition; not light, to leſſen his Serioufneſs; nor in any thing Vicious, uttering Things either againſt Modeſty, or againſt Piety, or againſt Juſtice, or againſt Charity: All which may either leave ill Impreſſions upon him, by giving his Spirit a tincture of the ſame; or bring him into a Snare, by thinking that he has been wanting in Reproof thereof, out of too little Reſpect to God, and too much to the Speakers; by either of which he is the worſe for them.

But let all that paſſes be fit to ſuit the Seriouſneſs, and preſerve the Innocence and help on ſome Virtues, but hinder none that are befitting a Perſon in his Condition: Whereof I ſhall ſay more in the enſuing Directions.

CHAP. II.

Of ſettling his Accounts, and ſecuring his Peace with God, by Repentance, Faith, and continuance in the Unity of the Church.

BUT whilſt this Care is taken for the Body, the chief thing which he has to employ himſelf in on his Sick-Bed after the Settlement of his worldly Eſtate, is to take care of his Soul. This muſt exerciſe his own Thoughts when he is by himſelf. And for this, he muſt call in the aſſiſtance of the Guides of Souls, † *Sending for the Elders of the Church that they may pray over him*, and aſſiſt and comfort him by Words ſpoken in their due Seaſon, and adminiſter to him the Word, and the Benefit of Abſolution, and the Holy Communion, reſolving and aſſiſting him in all Things, that may be needful for the finiſhing of his Repentance, the ſupport of his Spirit, or the Peace of his Conſcience.

† *Jam.* 5. 14.

And in this Care of his Soul, theſe Things are chiefly to employ his Thoughts, or his Guides aſſiſtance. 1.

1. *To ſettle his Account, and ſecure his Peace with Almighty God.* And n care of this, let this Work be,

1. *To finiſh his Repentance.* And in order thereto, let him carefully review ll his paſt Life, and the preſent frame and habit of his Mind. And let him iligently obſerve what is good in either, and with all humility thank God or it, and take comfort in it; and what is amiſs in both, and work himſelf p into true Contrition for the ſame, affectionately bewailing his extream olly and Unworthineſs therein.

And let him fix holy, deliberate, and unreſerved Purpoſes againſt all his ormer Offences.

And make all due and reaſonable Satisfaction for all Wrongs done by him o any Perſons, by any ways.

And take care of the payment of all his juſt Debts.

And ſeek Reconciliation where he has given any juſt Offence.

And forgive thoſe who have injured or diſobliged him.

And *break off his Iniquity by Righteouſneſs*, or by being more abundant n Alms-Deeds; and conſummate and finiſh any good Deſigns, which he had iouſly laid in his Health, and would not loſe the Reward thereof, by having hem dropt at his Death. *Dan.* 4.27.

And in theſe ways of expiating Sins, let him earneſtly beg God's Pardon, nd comfortably hope for the ſame, through the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt.

And in the care of paying his Debts, and making Reſtitution, or giving cha- itable or pious Gifts, if he can, let him ſettle and finiſh them himſelf before is own Death; and not refer all to a Will, and leave the accompliſhment and ecompence of ſo rewardable Purpoſes, to the contingencies of Time, and the idelity, Kindneſs, or Care of Executors. Sometimes indeed the Surprize of ying Perſons is ſo great, that they muſt leave theſe Things to others. And ometimes the Perſons intruſted are fit to ſerve the dying Perſon's Ends, and eally do ſerve them to advantage. But this is not ordinarily to be truſted to, f he can help it. For why ſhould he think they will make more diſpatch, or ind fewer Delays and Put-offs in doing theſe Things for him, than he did in oing them for himſelf? He has a quicker ſenſe of his own Burthens, and of is own Deſires and Longings, than another ordinarily can, or will have; and f for all that, he ſhall delay to diſburthen his own Soul, and conſummate his wn Deſires and Purpoſes when he may, why may not they do ſo too?

And on this Point let him often ſay,

A broken and a contrite heart, O Lord! thou wilt not deſpiſe. *Pſal.* 51. 2, 3, 17.
I acknowledge my tranſgreſſions, and my ſins are ever before me.
Waſh me throughly from mine Iniquities, and cleanſe me from my Sins. Amen.
Lord! be merciful to me a ſinner. Amen. *Luke* 18. 13.
O let the Blood of Jeſus cleanſe me from all my Sins. Amen. *John* 1. 7.
Lord, I have ſinned againſt Heaven, and before thee, am no more worthy to *Luke* 15. 18, 19.
e called thy Son; make me as one of thy hired Servants. Amen.
Forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us. Amen. *Matt.* 6. 12.

2. To *ſhew forth his Faith*, which he may do by often repeating his *Creed*.

I believe in Thee, O God! the Father Almighty, and that Thou art the Maker of Heaven and Earth.

And I believe in Thee, O Jeſu Chriſt! that Thou art God's only Son, and ur Lord. I believe that Thou waſt conceived by the Holy Ghoſt, and born f the Virgin *Mary*. That Thou didſt ſuffer under *Pontius Pilate*, waſt cru- ified, dead, and buried, and deſcendeſt into Hell. That Thou didſt riſe gain the third day from the Dead. That Thou didſt aſcend into Heaven, nd there now ſitteſt at the Right-hand of God. And that from thence Thou halt come again to judge both the Quick and the Dead.

I believe in Thee alſo, O Holy Ghoſt!

I likewiſe believe, that my bleſſed Saviour had, and hath, and whilſt the

World laſts ever will have on Earth, an Holy Catholick Church. And that in this Church, there is to be a Communion of Saints. I believe alſo, that therein is to be had Remiſſion of Sins. And after Death, I believe there ſhall be a Reſurrection of the Body both for good and bad, and a Life everlaſting for the Righteous. *Amen.*

And let him often ſay,

Mark 9. 24. *Lord I believe, help thou my Unbelief.* Amen.

Luke 17.5. *Lord encreaſe my Faith.* Amen.

All this, O Lord, I ſtedfaſtly believe, O keep me from having my Portion *among Unbelievers*! Amen.

Luke 12. 46. Lord, I thank Thee that I have been inſtructed in this Belief, and profeſſed it in my Life. *Amen.*

Lord keep me from wavering, or any ways doubting of the ſame in my weakneſs. *Amen.*

Lord give me the comfort of this Belief at my Death, and make me find the Bleſſing of it after Death. *Amen.*

And if the Adverſary ſhall ſuggeſt Doubts and Suſpicions to him in his Weakneſs, about any of the Articles of his Faith, or Points of Religion; ſo far as the Doubt comes with any offer of Argument or Reaſon with it, it ſhould have a rational Satisfaction.

But, if formerly they have been Perſons of ſincere Conſciences, in that State, their Doubts of theſe Things are much oftner an Irreſoluteneſs owing to their preſent bodily Weakneſs, and Satan's Suggeſtions, than an unſettlement of Belief owing to Arguments. And then theſe new Doubts and Suſpicions are to be looked on by the ſick Man, rather as Temptations, and an Advantage taken of his preſent Feebleneſs and Lowneſs of Spirit, which may raiſe or increaſe Melancholly that is naturally apt to make one miſtruſtful and irreſolute, and he will guard better againſt them by Devotion than by Diſputation. And therefore in this Caſe, let him not debate them, but reject them, and pray againſt them. And think it reaſonable to abide by his former Perſwaſions about theſe Matters, which he took up in time of Health and Strength, when he had both Ability and Leiſure to examine them; and not exchange them for Sick-bed Fancies, when he has neither.

3. *To profeſs his Continuance in the Unity of the Church*, and that as he has lived, ſo now by God's Grace he is preparing himſelf to die in the *Communion thereof.*

And let him often ſay,

Lord! as I have endeavour'd to live, ſo now I profeſs to die in the *Communion of Saints*, and in the *one Body*, whereof thou art the bleſſed Head, *keeping* therein to the laſt, *the unity of the Spirit, and the bond of Peace.* Amen.

Eph. 4. 3, 4.

For I profeſs thy true Faith, O my God! and preſent unto Thee holy Prayers, and a pure Worſhip, in the Unity and Communion of thy Holy Church.

Particularly, O Lord, I profeſs this Faith, and preſent this Worſhip in due adherence, and ſubjection and obedience to thoſe Orthodox Paſtors, whom Thou haſt ſet over me in this Church where I live.

And I profeſs and preſent the ſame, in hearty Concurrence and Communion, with all other faithful Chriſtians and communicating Members of this Body, in all other Times and Places; and with Brotherly Affection, Concern, and Interceſſion with Thee for them, whereſoever placed or diſperſed, as well as for myſelf.

I am moſt ready to receive and join with them in theſe Profeſſions, and in this Worſhip, whenſoever thy Providence ſhall bring us together. To ſeek their Communion, paſſing thro' all places. And to own them as my Brethren, coming from all Countries. And to be heartily affected with what befals them, either particular Perſons or whole Churches, and *rejoice* in their Proſperity and Peace, as *one Member* ſhould in the Joy of another. *Amen.*

1 Cor. 12. 26.

And

And as for those who are broken off from this true Faith and Worship, or from the Unity and Peace of thy Church, Lord, I look upon them with the Bowels of a Brother, not with the Insults and Triumphs of an Enemy.

I pity all *Hereticks*, and pray that they may return to be found in the Faith.

I pity all *Schismaticks*, and pray that they may return to the Unity and Communion of thy Church.

And, O blessed Lord, do Thou give unto them humble and teachable Minds, that so they may either all see the way of thy Truth, or at least that Numbers among those who do not, may be pitiable and excusable before Thee, under their Error and Mistake of it. *Amen.*

And as for all the Divisions which have rent thy Church into pieces, O blessed Jesu! I do most heartily lament and bewail them.

My Heart, O Prince of Peace! is with them who love to see those Truths that make for Peace, and who long and labour to heal thy Church's Breaches.

I utterly disclaim all bitter Zeal, and cruel and unchristian Violence, against Persons of different Parties from me.

I am ready, both willingly to see, and joyfully to own, all that is good, and all that is thine, O my dear Lord! in any of their Persons, or Actings: And am religiously careful not to make any of them worse than they really are, by my evil Surmises; but to hope and surmise the best of them, which their Case and Carriage can reasonably bear.

And I am, and thro' thy Grace, O merciful Saviour, ever will be ready to shew them all Offices of Justice and Humanity, and of common Charity, notwithstanding their Communion is different from mine. *Amen.*

And after these Things are done to procure God's Peace, for the quieting and comforting his Conscience with the lively Hopes thereof, he may receive the benefit of *Absolution*. And also the *Holy Communion*, which he must not omit, if he can have it, looking on it, both as God's own sure Seal of Remission of his Sins, and also as his own * *Viaticum* or *Provision by the way*, to strengthen and support his Spirit, and keep him from Faintness or Failures thro' all the remainder of his difficult and wearisome Passage to the Regions of Rest and Peace.

And for more particular Directions, how to make trial and discovery of the safety of his Spiritual Estate before he puts it upon the final Issue, if he is desirous thereof, I refer him to the *Trial or Judgment of the Soul*, in the *Companion for the Penitent*, where I have given him an Account and Prospect of this, as full, and yet as short as I could, and which it would be too long here to insert. And there also he may meet with variety of fitting Forms, to instruct him in all the Parts of his Repentance, and to serve him in making a religious and devout Profession thereof to Almighty God.

* The Great Council of *Nice* calls it, ἀναγκαῖον τὸν ἐφόδιον, *the most necessary Viaticum of dying Men.* Can. 13.

CHAP. III.

Of his Carriage and Demeanour under his Sickness, and the Virtues thereof, viz. *Trust in God, Resignation, Thankfulness.*

AFter the Sick Person has taken this first and chief Care for his Soul, to make its Peace for past or present Offences; his next Care for it must be, to keep it from falling into any new Diseases, or that under the burthen of a sick Body, his Soul do not fall sick too: As it will do, if it grows secure and careless of Duty, or regardless of Mercies, or is greedy of Life, and finds no relish in Prayers, or in Discourses of another World, and falls into Impatience, and is fret-

ted with Fleſhly Cares and Worldly Deſires. All which, and the like, ſhow his Spirit to be more diſtemper'd, and more dangerouſly ill than his Body is.

To prevent this, his next care for his Soul muſt be to *order his Carriage well under his Sickneſs*, or to bear the Pains and Weakneſs of his Sickbed, with *Truſt in God*, with *Reſignation to his Will*, with *Thankfulneſs* and with *Patience to the end*. Which Duties, tho' they are all neceſſary under the former Head, *viz.* of *making of his Peace*; yet I ſhall now conſider and treat of them, as they are neceſſary and of greateſt uſe, to *ſupport his Spirit*, and *recommend his Carriage*.

Firſt, He muſt ſet himſelf to bear them with *Truſt in God*. The Accidents and Uneaſineſs of his Sickneſs will ſtill alarm his Fears, and try his Faith; and it muſt be his Care to ſhew no anxious or diſtracted Thoughts under them. But as often as any Accidents or Proſpects terrify him, let him remember that they are all in God's hands, and ſhall have ſuch end only as he pleaſes. That he who ſends them, will take care they go no further than 'tis fit they ſhould, and will turn them to the beſt at laſt. That he is ſafer and better in God's keeping and ordering, than he could be in his own; and therefore may lay aſide all painful and miſtruſtful Cares for himſelf, as knowing under all that happens how ſure he is to be taken care of.

Devout Thoughts about truſting God in Sickneſs.

I. *About truſting him with one's ſelf.*

AND when he feels much Sorrow and many Difficulties, and may fear and foreſee worſe, let him often ſay,

Lord! I meekly receive all my Sorrows and Dangers, becauſe thou ſend'ſt them. And they ſhall not terrify me, becauſe thou governeſt them.

And I am ſure thou conſider'ſt all that lies upon me, and wilt turn it unto good.

That thou conſidereſt how much I can bear, and wilt in tender Mercy take off the reſt.

That thou conſidereſt what Strength I have to bear, and wilt graciouſly ſupply me with what is wanting.

That thou conſidereſt how long I can bear, and wilt give me eaſe at the fitteſt Seaſon.

And ſince thou wilt eaſe me in thy due time, and ſupport me till thou eaſeſt me, I will not *grow weary*, O my dear Lord, or *faint in my mind*, but wait with Patience till my Eaſe comes. *Amen.*

Heb. 12. 3.

Tho' I walk through the valley of the ſhadow of death, I will fear no Evil, for thou art with me, and thy Rod and thy Staff they comfort me. Pſal. 23. 4.

Yea, *tho' thou killeſt me, yet will I truſt in thee*, and have hope even in my Death, to find everlaſting Reſt and Joy after Death. *Amen.*

Job 13. 15.

Becauſe I live, ye ſhall live alſo. John 14. 19.

I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he ſhall ſtand at the latter day upon the Earth.

And tho' after my Skin Worms deſtroy this body, yet in my fleſh ſhall I ſee God. Whom I ſhall ſee for my ſelf, and mine Eyes ſhall behold, and not another. Job 19. 25, 26, 27.

II. *About truſting him with our neareſt Relations, or dear Children, Friends or Dependants.*

IF it troubles him to leave his Friends or Family, perhaps meanly provided for, (or any good Deſigns unfiniſhed which his Heart has been much ſet upon) let him conſider, that God ſees this, as well as he, and yet he thinks fit to call him away from them. And this may make it plain to him, that God himſelf, who is more wiſely careful for them than he can be, has a mind to be truſted with them. And therefore let him reckon to ſet them all ſafe, by recommending them to him. As our departing Lord provided for his

is diſconſolate and *deſtitute Diſciples*, by recommending them to his Hea- *John* 17.
enly Father, and praying to him for them.

And let him remember alſo, that this is truly *to leave all* to come to God, if e can find in our Heart to go forth readily, when all theſe call upon us to ſtay.

And let him often ſay,

I truſt Thee, O God, as with myſelf, ſo with my neareſt Relations, my Wife nd Family [or Children] and with my Friends, and with all that depend on me.

I truſt them with Thee, O Lord, for they are more thine than they are mine.

I truſt them with Thee, in full aſſurance, that there is no way to make em happy and ſafe, like putting them into thy hands.

I truſt them to Thee, becauſe thou art *the Huſband of the Widow*, and *the ather of the Fatherleſs*, and haſt promiſed to take care of them.

I have always truſted them with Thee whilſt I was with them, and have er found thy tender Love and Care of them. So that my own Experience, well as thy ſure Promiſes, may engage me to truſt and commit them to hee, now I may ſeem to be going from them.

And tho' I know not what they will do, or how they will be cared for hen I am gone, yet I know thou doſt, and wilt order all Things kindly, th for me and them.

I leave them not deſtitute, for Thou art with them; and thy Care, O my ar God, is the beſt Guardian, and thy Bleſſing is the richeſt Portion.

And Thou wilt have infinitely a more watchful Care of them, and canſt do finitely more for them than I can.

Lord! take care of them, for I commit them to thy Care.

Yea, even *all my Cares for them I caſt on Thee.* 1 *Pet.* 5. 7.

O let them always have the ſpecial Care and Providence, which Thou keſt of the Widows and Orphans.

Let them have the Bleſſing, which by thine abundant Mercy follows the ildren of thoſe that truly fear Thee.

Lord be with them, as thou haſt been with me, to their Lives end. And keep em always moſt thankful and obedient unto Thee. And let them all have e Bleſſing of thy tender Care at preſent, and of thy Peace at the laſt. *Amen.*

When my Father and Mother forſake me, then the Lord taketh me up, Pſ. 27. 10.

Leave thy fatherleſs Children, I will preſerve them alive, and let thy Widows uſt in me, Jer. 49. 11.

In God, the Fatherleſs findeth Mercy. Hoſ. 14. 3.

The Generation of the Upright ſhall be bleſſed. Amen. Pſal. 112. 2.

Secondly, He muſt ſet himſelf to bear them with *Reſignation of himſelf to the ill of God.* And this will be eaſy after the former: For there is no difficulty giving up ourſelves to God, if we dare truſt him. And we ſhall not only be ntented, but deſirous to quit our own Wills for his, if we are perſwaded that s is better for us, and that our true Intereſt and Happineſs is ſafelier lodged, d may be infinitely better truſted with him, than with ourſelves. And if we ve no Will to be under what he orders, 'tis a plain ſign that we do not ap- ehend ourſelves ſafe in his, but think we ſhould be better in our own hands.

Let the ſick Man, therefore, amidſt all his Pains and Perils, freely give up mſelf into God's Hands, and be glad and thankful that he can lodge him- f there. And let him often ſay,

Lord! I know I am in thy Hands, and that I cannot be in better, nor do deſire to be in any other. Eſpecially not in my own, nor to be the Car- r of my own Condition. *Not my Will, O God, but thine be done.* Amen. *Luke* 22. 42.

And do Thou allot for me, Life or Death, Health or Sickneſs, Removal or ntinuance of my Sorrows, as Thou ſeeſt would really be fitteſt for me and r thy Glory, not as my miſtaken Fancy may think to be ſo. *Amen.*

Thy Will be done, O my God, for it is always a moſt bleſſed and bene- al Will to thoſe that fear Thee. It ſends Mercies at the fitteſt time, and

ſends

ſends Troubles when they have moſt need of them, and takes them off again when 'tis fitteſt to remove them.

If it cauſes preſent Sorrow and Smart, it is to do them good; and if they do not ſee how it ſhould turn to their good, yet Thou doſt, and wilt make them ſee it too in the End.

Our Wills, O Father, are too often guided by Folly; but thine is always and altogether wiſe, and has ever been moſt gracious and full of Mercy towards me.

Thou knoweſt beſt, O Lord, when it was fit for me to come into this World, and when it is fit for me to leave it, and what Part is fitteſt for me to bear whilſt I ſtay therein. O do thou appoint me how, or in what Condition I ſhall live, and how long! but withal help me to do thy Work whilſt I live.

Chuſe thou my Condition, and let my Lot be what may pleaſe thee; but then give me Grace faithfully and wiſely to diſcharge the Duties of that Condition, and let my Carrriage under it be ſuch as may pleaſe Thee too. *Amen.*

Lord I am not only contented, but glad to be at thy choice. I pray thee that I may always be what thou pleaſeſt, and that I myſelf may always be pleaſed with it.

I deſire alſo, O Father, what ſeems good and pleaſing unto me. Yea, when my Pains and Diſtreſſes are extream, I deſire it earneſtly. But when I deſire it, I do not preſcribe unto Thee, but beg that Thou wouldſt order therein, not what my Weakneſs wiſhes, unleſs thy Wiſdom alſo ſees it fitting. And I know, O Lord, that Thou art ready to grant my Deſires, if they be really for my good and thy Glory, and agree with the wiſe Ends of thy Providence; and I preſs them no longer, if Thou ſeeſt they are otherwiſe. *Amen.*

It is the Lord, let him do what ſeemeth him good, 1 Sam. 3. 18.

If it be poſſible let this Cup paſs from me, nevertheleſs not as I will, but as thou wilt.

And *if it may not paſs from me, except I drink it, thy will be done,* Mat. 26. 39, 42.

Even in inflicting Evil upon me Thou art kind ſtill, and art doing me good againſt my Will. *Amen.*

Thirdly, He muſt ſet himſelf to bear his Sick-bed Sorrows with *Thankfulneſs.* We muſt not think it ſtrange, or that things are ſtrained too high, when we are called upon to be thankful under Sickneſs, or other Afflictions. For the difference between thankful and unthankful or complaining Natures, lies more in their Spirits, than in their outward Circumſtances. A thankful Spirit will find enough to give God thanks for, on a Sick-bed, or in any Affliction. And an unthankful Spirit will never want matter enough to complain of, in a better condition. And if any afflicted or ſick Perſons are unthankful, it is not becauſe they want Mercies good ſtore, which deſerve their Thanks, but becauſe they overlook them.

This Virtue of Thankfulneſs to God, as it is one of the moſt neceſſary Duties, ſo is it one of the livelieſt Beauties and brighteſt Ornaments of a ſick-bed. For it ſpeaks true Humility, when we ſhew, as we do thereby, that the leaſt Mercies deſerve our Thanks, and that the worſt ſtates which God puts us into, are to good for us. And it expreſſes entire Good-will and Love to God, when we can love and praiſe him even whilſt he corrects and ſmites us, and take notice of all his Kindneſſes in the midſt of our Afflictions, and place an implicit Belief and Confidence in his Love, that by all theſe Sorrows He is doing us Good, and deſerves our Thanks, tho' in our weak Reaſon we are not able to ſee the Good which is to accrue to us thereby.

And to preſerve in himſelf this excellent Virtue of Thankfulneſs to God, let the ſick Perſon ſet himſelf thro' all the Courſe and Contingencies of his Sickneſs diligently to mark and ſeek out what may deſerve his Thanks; and not, as is too often done, what may miniſter to Complaints. Let him pick out of every Thing, and out of every Accident that befals him, what he may ſpeak well of God for; and let thoſe be the Things which he reflects on within himſelf, and diſcourſes of to others. And under any Pain or Weakneſs, let him often ſay,

Lord! under all my Sorrows, I have nothing to accuſe, but much to give Thee Thanks for.

I ſuffer leſs, yea, infinitely leſs than I deſerve: Bleſſed be thy Mercy for ſparing me. *Amen.*

My Sufferings, O Lord, are not only juſtly deſerved, but they are needful alſo to do me good, and ſuch as Thou wilt turn to good; Bleſſed be thy Name, for ſeeking and compaſſing my benefit thereby. *Amen.*

And when my Ailments come, they want many Aggravations, which would make them a great deal worſe to be born. And are attended with many ſeaſonable Helps and Comforts, to eaſe and ſtrengthen my Spirit under them.

My Evils are tolerable Evils; Bleſſed be thy Pity and Tenderneſs for conſidering not what I ſhould ſuffer, but what I can bear to ſuffer. *Amen.*

Sometimes, O Lord! by thy Grace I have eaſe, and reliſh worldly Comforts.

Sometimes I take ſweet Sleep, and reſt from my Pains and Labours, and wake with great Refreſhment.

And under all my Pains and Weakneſs, by thy Mercy, I have ſome to help me, and more to pity and pray for me. I find Support, and thou ſtill ſeaſonably refreſheſt my Spirit, from within or from without; bleſſed be thy Name for theſe Helps and Comforts under my Diſtreſs. *Amen.*

Thou often moderateſt and mitigateſt my Pains; and then, tho' they are long Trouble, they are a tolerable one.

Or if one Symptom rages, that is ſometimes made a ſtep to the Eaſe, or the Prevention of a worſe.

Or, if it is ſmart, it is not laſting, but in waiting a little longer for Thee I ſtill have Eaſe in thy due time.

Bleſſed be thy Goodneſs, O Father, which is pleaſed thus to *make my Bed* *Pſal.* 41. *my Sickneſs.* Amen.

And however, if I have leſs Eaſe, and more Sorrows now at preſent, yet, my God, I have the bleſſed Hopes of Reſt and Joy to come. And I can never bleſs Thee enough for the Comforts of Hope, that after a patient and ſhort endurance of my portion of Evil Things here, I ſhall be taken to the everlaſting Happineſs of thy heavenly Kingdom. *Amen.*

Moreover, O Lord, I receive my bodily Sorrows, as Medicines to my Soul, to cure my Spirit, and call me back to Thee when I have gone aſtray.

I bleſs Thee for all the lowly Thoughts they give me of myſelf, and for all the diſcovery which I make of my own Errors thereby. *Amen.*

And for all the Proſtration both of Mind and Body, which they put me upon ſhowing towards Thee, and for all the dependance which I learn thence to place on thy Mercy. *Amen.*

And for their taking off my fondneſs from all Earthly Delights, and making me ceaſe to be in love with Vanity. *Amen.*

And for their lifting up my Heart to Heavenly Things, and to all the ways of preparing my Soul for thine everlaſting Mercy. *Amen.*

And if I want Health, and the reliſh of worldly Comforts now, I owe Thee infinite Thanks, O Lord, for all the time I enjoy'd them formerly, tho' all that time I had deſerved to loſe them.

If I am deprived of ſome Mercies, yet many, amd moſt Thankworthy, are thoſe which I ſtill enjoy.

If I would declare and ſpeak of thy Mercies to me, they are more than can be numbred, Pſal. 40. 5.

The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, bleſſed be the Name of the Lord, Job 1. 21.

And let the ſick Perſon perſevere in this Truſt and Confidence in God, and this Reſignation and Thankfulneſs of Spirit, amidſt all his Sorrows. Let him keep his Soul always ſet out in theſe Dreſſes, and expreſs them on all occaſions, to God and to his Friends. For they are the livelieſt Ingredients, and the cleareſt Beauty and Grace.

Fourthly,

Fourthly, Of the Fourth Virtue wherewith he is to bear his Sorrows, *viz.* *Patience*; which he is to exerciſe through the whole courſe of his Sickneſs, and which is next to be treated of.

CHAP. IV.

Of Patience under Sickneſs. With other Directions to the Sick Perſon, for ſpending his Sick-bed Hours, and to his Friends for miniſtring to him.

THE whole courſe of a Sick-bed is a Trial of Patience. And when 'tis tried thereon, we muſt give good proof thereof, or elſe we can never act our Part tolerably, nor approve ourſelves.

And if we have the forementioned Virtues, we ſhall have Patience. For if we dare truſt God, our fears of Pain, or other evil Accidents, will not make us unquiet. If our Wills are reſigned to his, we ſhall not be unwilling to bear what he ſends, but meet our Sorrows with humble and contented Submiſſion, inſtead of angry and uneaſy Repining. If we are thankful to him under our Sickneſs, we ſhall bleſs him for what we have, and not diſcontentedly complain for what we want; and thank him becauſe he once gave, inſtead of accuſing him, becauſe now he has taken away.

And therefore when God calls any Perſon to be ſick, let him look on Patience as the proper Virtue of his State, and make it his care at every turn to arm his Soul with it.

Let him ſet himſelf to bear his Pains and Weakneſs with Gravity and Compoſedneſs, keeping back from all paſſionate, and from all light and vain Words.

And to bear all, out of Submiſſion and Reſignation to the Will of God, quietly ſuffering becauſe he ſends them.

And let him remember always to humble himſelf under the Hand that ſmites him, and own 'tis juſt.

And to kiſs the Rod, and confeſs 'tis for his good.

And to receive the Strokes with Quietneſs, and ſuffer without ſtriving, and bear them without uneaſy Complaints of them, and wait on God without fainting, and not ſink under his Load; but ſupport and ſtay himſelf upon God, till his Time comes to ſend Eaſe.

He muſt not ſhew Anger and Uneaſineſs with his Diſeaſe, or with his Medicines, with his Food, or with his Attendance.

Nor fall to feign Reaſons of taking things ill, where really there are none, nor aggravate them where there are; nor be haſty in his Suſpicions or Cenſures of Things made for him, or of Perſons concerned with him, and thereby grow anxious, and angry, and troubleſome to himſelf and others.

Nor expoſe himſelf, or ſcandalize the By-ſtanders, by making Burthens which are not too heavy to be born at preſent, intolerable to himſelf, by puſillanimous Deſpondency, or anxious Fears and Miſtruſts of what they will be in a little time.

Indeed, his Bodily Weakneſs and Uneaſineſs may many times excuſe his Forgetfulneſs and Surprizes in theſe Points, both to God and Men, if afterwards he ſhews himſelf ſenſible of them, and ſorry for them, and doth not indulge them. But he muſt not give way, or lay himſelf open to them, and much leſs juſtify them, or hope to remove the Guilt and Blame of theſe Sins from off his Soul, and lay them upon the Diſtemper of his Body.

A

And inſtead of blaming and aggravating the Heavineſs of his Diſeaſe, or e Negligence of his Attendance, or God's Orderings, let him fall to blame s own Impatience, and to tax his own Folly, which had not learnt before expect ſuch Croſſes as now diſquiet him, and prepare to bear them.

As for reſtleſneſs of Body, and frequent changes of Place or Poſture, and rning from Side to Side, and Sighs and Groans, and other unquietneſs of dy, without any diſturbance of Spirit, they are not to be accounted, I nceive, for Acts of Impatience; and if they can divert the Pains of ſick erſons, or give eaſe to their Bodies, I think they need be no matter of ſcru-e to their Minds.

This Trial of Patience indeed is an hard Trial, and therefore requires a con-ant and a watchful Care. And it may be a great help to him therein, if among oſe who are pleaſed to expreſs their Kindneſs, and do him Comfort by their reſence and friendly Attendance, he can chuſe a diſcreet and pious Superviſor his Carriage, both towards God and all about him, under his Sickneſs, and ſire him to be his Admoniſher, where exceſs of Pain and Wearineſs makes m forget himſelf, and receive his Brotherly Admonitions with Willingneſs d Thankfulneſs.

And under all the uneaſineſs of his Sickneſs, and temptations to Impati-ce, let him often ſay one or other of theſe ſhort Prayers.

Thy Will be done in Earth, as it is in Heaven. Amen. *Mat.* 6.20.

Shall a living Man complain, a Man for the Puniſhment of his Sin? *Lam.* 3.39.

Woe be to him that ſtriveth with his Maker; ſhall the Clay ſay unto him at faſhioneth it, what makeſt thou? *Iſa.* 45.9.

Lord, I will be dumb, and not open my mouth againſt it, becauſe it is thy ing. *Pſal.* 39.9.

And Thou ordereſt mine Infirmities, as *thou ordereſt all things* elſe, *in Wiſdom umber, Weight and Meaſure.* *Wiſdom* 11. 20.

So that I know they ſhall not be too many, nor too heavy, nor continue more ays or Hours, than Thou ſeeſt ſuitable to thy Goodneſs, and my Weakneſs.

If Eaſe is long delayed, and his Spirit is almoſt wearied, let him ever and anon put up ſuch ſhort Petitions as theſe.

I wait for the Lord, my Soul doth wait, and in his Word do I hope. Amen. *Pſa* 130.5.

I will hope continually, and will yet praiſe thee more and more. Amen. *Pſa.* 71.14.

O tarry thou the Lord's leiſure, O my Soul! *I know whom I have believed,* d *in due Seaſon I ſhall reap, if I faint not.* *Pſ.* 27. *ult.* 2 *Tim.* 1. 12. *Gal.* 6. 9.

Though he kill me, yet will I truſt in him, Amen. *Job* 13.15.

Remember, O Lord, whereof I am made, and have compaſſion on mine firmities, and lay not more upon me than I can bear.

Let thy Grace be ſufficient for me. Amen. 2 *Cor.* 12. 9.

Lord encreaſe my Patience, or abate my Pains. *Amen.*

If he is ready to think or ſay, *he can no longer bear*, let him remember, at God knows that better than he.

And that when he can bear no longer, God will inflict no longer.

And who can ſay, how much, or how long God's Grace ſhall enable a an to bear?

And the ſame Grace that did enable him to bear it yeſterday, is as power-l and as ready now to enable him to bear as much again to day.

Yea, and till we are tried, we none of us know what, or how long we can bear.

And Reſolution, by God's Grace, can bear much, a great deal more, and great deal longer than we thought of. But if we are irreſolute, any thing Trouble is difficult. And any Difficulty will conquer thoſe who come epared, not to bear and ſtrive with it, but to yield.

If his Thoughts are diſturbed, and his Devotions faint and broken, by rea-n of his Weakneſs or Pain, let him have Patience with himſelf, and believe

that God will have Patience with him too, and exact no more of him, whilſt he is in that condition. And let him frequently ſay,

Rom. 8. 26, 27. *Under our Infirmities the Spirit helpeth us*, by holy and affectionate, tho' *unuttered Groans:* and *he who ſearcheth the Heart* hears them.

Lord, I will honour Thee, by ſubmitting my Will to thine, and being content with my Sickneſs. And when Thou makeſt me ſick, I will preſent Thee with a ſick Man's Offering, and pray to Thee the beſt I can with my ſickly Faculties.

And from a ſickly and feeble Man, good Lord, accept a ſickly and feeble Supplication. *Amen.*

Pſ. 51.17. Lord, Thou *rejecteſt not the broken Spirit*, deſpiſe not the brokenneſs of my Devotions. *Amen.*

Matt. 21. 16. *Out of the Mouths of Babes and Sucklings thou haſt perfected Praiſe.* Refuſe it not out of my Mouth then, O God, which in the midſt of all my Weakneſs, is not more weak than theirs. *Amen.*

Let him alſo be conſtantly mindful to ſhew Patience and Thankfulneſs towards thoſe who kindly attend about him. And not be fretful, and ſhow Uneaſineſs on every little Slowneſs or Forgetfulneſs, or when Things are not done for him juſt when, and as he would have them.

And let him often ſay to himſelf, under any temptations to Uneaſineſs *with his Attendants*;

Lord! if they err, even their Errors are governed and directed by thy hand which errs not, and Thou haſt ſome wiſe and kind End to ſerve by it, either for my Soul or Body. Thou bringeſt about thy gracious Purpoſes concerning me, by their Errors and Overſights, as well as by their Care and Kindneſs.

And therefore, inſtead of being angry at them, I humbly ſubmit to Thee, and look to have it turn'd to good, becauſe it is thy doing. *Amen.*

Lord! enable me to receive all the Pains which Thou ſendeſt upon me, with Patience; but all the kind Services which they ſeek to do me, with Thankfulneſs. *Amen.*

Remember, Lord, for them, all their charitable Services; but remember not againſt me, my Fretfulneſs or Uneaſineſs in the acceptance thereof. *Amen.*

Lord! enable them to conſider my Weakneſs, and to pity and bear with it; and enable me to watch againſt it, and not to fall any more into it. *Amen.*

And let him think it is now his Work and Taſk, to ſhew an Example of Humility, Patience, quiet Reſignation to the Hand that ſmites him, and of comfortable Hope and Truſt in God, and a thankful Senſe of all his paſt and preſent Mercies, to all Viſitants.

And to arm him yet more thorowly with all this Patience, which is the Virtue moſt particularly required and marked out, and yet moſt difficult to be exerciſed and preſerved in his Caſe:

Let him ſet before his Eyes, the far greater Trials and Sufferings of the ever bleſſed Son of God, Jeſus Chriſt.

Let him think within himſelf, and let it often be ſuggeſted to him by others, that it is not for us to accuſe God, for ſuffering our Patience to be tried, when he could thus ſuffer his Patience to be tried.

That we are not to think much at ſuffering Trials deſervedly, and for ourſelves; when he refuſed not to ſuffer infinitely greater, without having deſerved to ſuffer any thing himſelf, but meerly in pity and kindneſs for others, yea, for his Enemies.

Let him be reminded, that God has made Pain the way to Pleaſure, and that Jeſus bore Pains before he was fixed in Eaſe.

That if the preſent Pains are ſad, eternal Pains are infinitely ſadder, and that we need theſe here, to prevent our falling under thoſe hereafter. And inſtead of repining, that we are left ſtill to ſuffer the Pains of this World, let him rejoice and give God Thanks, that we are deliver'd by his Mercy, and our bleſſed Saviour's Merits, from the endleſs and inſupportable Anguiſh of the next World.

Inſtead

Inſtead of Repining, therefore, let him often ſay,

Thy Will be done, O my God! give me my Evil Things here, that I may have everlaſting Reſt and Joy with Thee hereafter. *Amen.*

I am content to be a Member of an afflicted Saviour, and to ſuffer with him, in hopes at laſt, thro' thy Mercy, to rejoice and reign with him. *Amen.*

'Tis enough, yea too much, O Lord, *for the Servant to be as his Maſter.* Since He bore Sorrows I will not refuſe them, but meekly bear them after him whilſt Thou pleaſeſt, and patiently wait to be eaſed thereof at any time. *Amen.* *Matt.* 10. 25.

Lord! Thou art juſt in my Sorrows, thou art kind in them. I juſtify Thee, yea thank Thee for what I feel. I diſclaim my own Will, either about the bringing or removing of my Pains, and ſubmit myſelf wholly to take up with thine. *Amen.*

And during all the Progreſs of the Sickneſs, Devotions and pious Thoughts, and ſet Prayers or ſhort Ejaculations, are to be the ſick Man's vital Breath, and ſhould conſtantly be ſent up to God, whilſt he has Spirit left to offer them.

Let him be frequently enjoying the Prayers of the Church, from the Miniſter, or others.

And any of the Prayers hereafter following, for particular Graces, or for any of his particular Needs or Deſires; not burthening himſelf with too many Prayers, or too long ones at once, but taking them as his Strength or Time ſerves; and as employing his Thoughts thereupon, to exerciſe, not to burthen them.

And when he is kept from reading and uſing them himſelf, let ſuch of them as he likes or deſires, be read to him by his Friends, for him to follow, and put up to God with holy Deſires.

And when he wants Leiſure, or Strength for longer, let him diſtinguiſh Minutes, or the ſmall Portions of his Time with ſhorter Petitions and Ejaculations.

He may be often affectionately repeating the Lord's Prayer. Or any particular Petitions thereof, as *thy Kingdom come*; *thy will be done in Earth as it is in Heaven*; *Forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them that treſpaſs againſt us*; *Lead us not into Temptation, but deliver us from evil*; or the like, as beſt ſuits with his preſent Needs or Deſires. Or any of the forementionʼd ſhort Petitions and Ejaculations, which he may be often repeating, and devoutly offering up from his own Memory, or the Reading of his Friends; or any others, which his own Mind, or their Diſcourſes, ſhall ſupply him with.

And let the ſweet Name of JESUS be often in his Mouth, but oftner in his Heart; and let him think that the bleſſed Name of a Saviour, cannot be ſaid too much upon the Soul, or too deep in the Deſire of a loſt Sinner.

Let him therefore ſay, Jeſu have Mercy on me!

Jeſu! Thou art the Rock of my Hope; Thou art my Love, and my Life, and the chief Object of my Deſire.

Lord Jeſu! Thou alone art my Saviour.

And that he may ſtill be ſtored with Matter for ſuch devout Thoughts and Ejaculations, when he is not fit to read himſelf, let them read to him, either one of the Scriptures, Hymns or Prayers hereafter deſcribed for the uſe of ſick Perſons; and ſome convenient Portion out of the Penitential Pſalms; or ſomething about the Sufferings of our Saviour; or ſome part of any profitable Diſcourſe, concerning Repentance, or Patience, or Truſt in God, or Thankfulneſs, or concerning Death and Judgment, Heaven or Hell.

Let their Diſcourſes alſo be ſavory, and miniſter Thoughts fit for the Seriouſneſs, or for the Comfort or Service of Men who look upon themſelves as taking leave of this World, and going to meet their Lord.

Let them ſeek to ſpiritualize Accidents, and take occaſions from all that happens, to raiſe up the ſick Man's Thoughts to devout and profitable Reflections; ſo that he may not want the offer of a good Thought, as oft as he is free and ready for it.

If he awakes more eaſy, let them bleſs God for the Eaſe, and obſerve how tenderly he proportions Trials to our Weakneſs, conſidering what we can bear,

as

as a tender Father doth. How ſeaſonably he ſends Relief, and how ſweetly we reliſh it after ſharp Sorrows, and how from their experience of the ſeaſonableneſs of his Succour in this Caſe, they ſhould learn to truſt him, if he ſends upon them more Agonies, and quietly to wait for him, hoping he will not ſtay then more than he has done now, paſt the due time.

Or if he awakes under more Pain and Diſturbance, let them ſuggeſt to him, that if 'tis great, 'tis like to be the ſhorter; that God knows beſt, how much and how long we can bear; that he is in good and merciful hands, whilſt he is in His, and ſhould be quiet under them; that he muſt wait on God, who loves to be waited on, and loves to try Faith and Truſt, before he recompence it with the deſired Bleſſing.

On all Occaſions of any Benefits received, either by Food or by Phyſick, or by Sleep; and likewiſe on any want of them; or on any Occurrence or Diſcourſe that comes before them, they will be acceptable and uſeful Friends indeed, if they can ſhew Dexterity in raiſing up the devout Sick Man's Mind to ſome Pious Thoughts, or Virtuous Reſentments or Deſires about the ſame, to make him reflect on the Power, the Patience, the Mercifulneſs, or the Faithfulneſs of God; or upon the Wickedneſs and Folly of Men; the Vanity of worldly Things; the Serviceableneſs of Religion, and Holy Affections; the happy end of truſt in God; the temptations and dangers of Health and Eaſe, the advantage of Sickneſs; the bleſſed Fruits of Patience, and the Recompences that ſhall crown it at the laſt.

And if at any time he receives not their Diſcourſes, or their other Services, with that Willingneſs and Eaſineſs which they would expect from him, let them wait another Opportunity, and not ſlacken their good Offices, but only ſtudy how to time them better, or make them more agreeable to him on the next occaſion; not taking Things ill from him in this Condition, but pitying what would provoke them at another time.

Or if he ſeems troubled, as ingenious and kind Natures are apt to be, that his Diſeaſe makes him ſo troubleſome as he is to his Friends; let them ſuggeſt to him, that Friends are born for Adverſity, and to bear a part of each others Troubles. And that the ſame wiſe Orderer, who ſends him the trouble of his Pains and Sickneſs, ſends them alſo the trouble of their Attendance, and doth equally expect a willing and chearful Reception of their reſpective Troubles from both.

And in the Viſits they pay the Sick, let not the deſire they have of ſeeing him make them any ways incommodious or uneaſy to him. Sometimes ſick Perſons can ill bear Noiſe, or would be troubled, not relieved by the Preſence of others; or when their Spirits are a little freer, and more refreſhed, having but little Time, or free Thoughts left, they would have them to themſelves, and can ill complement them away to pleaſe others. And 'tis not for wiſe and kind Friends to break in upon them, when they would be alone; but only when their Company would be acceptable, or may be helpful to them.

And beſides all the Prayers and devout Thoughts which he puts up thus for himſelf, let him alſo deſire the Prayers of others. Let him ſend to deſire the Prayers of the publick Congregation. And if he ſend Alms at the ſame time, good Prayers will be more like to prevail for him. And when he takes his Leave of any friendly Viſitants, let him deſire them to remember him in their ſhewing thus on all Occaſions, that his Eye is unto God in all his Sickneſs, and that he looks to reap moſt benefit from good Prayers.

And by ſuch Ways and Thoughts as theſe, may the Sick Perſon ſet himſelf to this *ſecond* Part of his Taſk, *viz. The bearing of his Pains and Weakneſs with Patience, Reſignation of himſelf, Thankfulneſs*, and *Truſt in God*, and his Reſentment of Things, and Reflections on them, as are fitting for a Sick Bed.

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CHAP. V.

Of his Carriage in his last Extremities, and the near Approach of Death.

AND when Sickneſs goes on to Extremities, and Death approaches, that calls louder to him to * *trim up his Lamp*, and dreſs his Soul *to meet the Bridegroom*; but 'tis only with the ſame Habits, whereof I have been hitherto ſpeaking. A dying Man is not diſtinguiſh'd from a ſick Man, by the Difference of his Habits, but only by a greater Care and Exactneſs in putting of them on. The ſame Thoughts and Deſires beſit him; but when he is expiring, he would be glad, if his Strength will ſerve, to ſend them up in a brighter and a hotter Flame. So that when he comes to die, he muſt hold on the ſame Exerciſe of Repentance, Patience, Faith, Thankfulneſs, Devotion, and the like; but only ſeek to put forth more Zeal and Fervour in them, if he has bodily Strength enough ſo to do; or elſe be content, and reſt ſatisfy'd to do it as his Strength will ſerve him.

* Matt. 25. 6, 7.

And let him welcome Death when God ſends it, and ſay,

Lord! my Times are in thy Hand, and thou knoweſt beſt when 'tis fit for me to depart this World.

And thy Time ſhall be mine; and I am now willing to come to thee, ſince thou ſeeſt fit to call me, *Amen.*

I willingly receive my Death, and think 'tis Time for me to die, if thou do'ſt; becauſe Life now is grown very uneaſy to me, and every Day brings much more Evil than Good, and is more my Burthen than my Bleſſing.

I receive it from thee, O Lord! as my Paſſage to a better Life, and am not only willing, but thankful, to change Wearineſs for Reſt, and earthly Sorrows for heavenly and everlaſting Joys. *Amen.*

If the dying Perſons have liv'd ill and looſely, they have Reaſon, indeed, if God pleaſe, to deſire to live longer, that they may learn to live better, and may be more perfect before they die. Yea, and even good Perſons do, many Times, deſire the ſame, ſince the beſt may mend, and ſtill grow better.

But let ſuch good Souls think with themſelves, that if they ſhould live longer, yet, living on in the ſame frail Natures, peradventure more Days would ſtill heap up more Frailties and Infirmities, to make them ſtill more afraid of Death; and they would be more imperfect, and leſs fit to die then, than they are now. So that 'tis beſt to let God chooſe for them, and be willing to die when he pleaſes.

If he would not leave the Ordering and Expences of his Funeral to the Diſcretion of his Friends, but is minded to give Directions about the ſame himſelf, let him declare where he deſires they ſhould lay his Body, and who ſhould be deſir'd to accompany it, and who to bear it to his Grave; and what Tokens of kind Remembrance ſhall be given to any of them. And if he ſee fit, he may order ſome of the ſmall Gifts and Memorials of Kindneſs, which I mention'd before at the making of his Will, to be given at that Time.

In proportioning the Expences thereof, he ſhould have Regard to the Eſtate which he has to leave, and to his Rank and Station in the World. And in laying out the ſame, he will moſt comfort and benefit himſelf, by ſuch Ways of Expence as beſt honour God, and profit others; ſuch as ſatisfying the Hungry with Doles, and cloathing the Needy with Garments, and ſending Gifts in Money (more or leſs, as he pleaſes, and as ſuits with his worldly Circumſtances) to his own or other adjacent Pariſhes, to be diſtributed among the Poor thereof; or in ſuch other Acts of Piety and Beneficence, as are fit to attend the Body of one, who, both living in the World, and leaving it, was ſtudious to be found doing Good.

And when he is near about to leave the World, he may take a pious and ſolemn Leave of it.

Let him call in his Parents, if he has any, to aſk their Pardon for any Offence he ever gave them, and to beg their Bleſſing, and give them his Thanks for all their Love and Care of him. And alſo his Children, to give them his Bleſſing, and charge them to keep upright and conſtant in God's Fear, and in loving and helping one another. And likewiſe his Friends, and Family, and Dependants, to receive his laſt Farewel.

Let him profeſs the great Need he has of God's Mercy, and the good Hopes he has, thro' the Merits of Chriſt, and thro' his alone, to find it.

Let him profeſs alſo, that he dies in the Faith of Chriſt, and repeat the Creed.

And that he Hopes for the Acceptance of his Faith and Repentance, in the Unity and Communion of Chriſt's Church, in which he dies; and, particularly, as a ſtedfaſt and ſincere, tho' unworthy Member of the Church, *&c.* * whoſe declar'd Belief he profeſſes, whoſe Way of Worſhip he heartily receives, and in whoſe Peace and Communion he has hitherto liv'd, and now dies.

* *Here mention his own Church.*

Then let him profeſs, that he takes Leave of the World in Peace; and forgives all, both preſent and abſent, as he deſires himſelf God would forgive him; and that if any have ever taken any Thing ill of him, he deſires they would forgive him.

After which, let him ſend Meſſages to any abſent Friends, whoſe Reformation he deſires, whoſe Peace he ſeeks, or whoſe Love or Favours he would expreſs either a juſt Thankfulneſs or a friendly Senſe of.

And as for themſelves, let him thank them all for their good Wiſhes, and good Services in his Life, and at his Death; and pray God to remember the ſame for their Benefit. And let him heartily beg their Pardon, for all the unreaſonable, or paſſionate, or unequal Uſage, which he had ever been guilty of towards any of them in his Health; for all the unneceſſary Trouble which he has given to any of them by his Weakneſs; but eſpecially for all the Provocation and Offence which he has given to any of them by his Fretfulneſs and Impatience, during the Time of his Sickneſs.

And then let him charge all about him, to keep conſtant in the Faith, and firm in the Unity of the Church; and endeavour to confirm them in the Ways of Piety, Sobriety, Juſtice, and Charity; and to warn them againſt falling from any of them, for any Intereſts or Enjoyments of this World; or if at any Time they do, againſt delaying Repentance, or growing hardned and ſecure under their Fall.

Then let him exhort them all to keep Peace among themſelves, eſpecially thoſe who are concern'd in the Diviſion of his Eſtate: And

desire all their Prayers to assist him in his Agonies. And so recommend them all to God's Mercy, praying, That he will keep them all stedfast in his Fear, and safe under his Care, whilst they live; and give them all Comfort, when they come into his Condition; and bring them all, at last, to meet together again in his heavenly Kingdom.

After this, he may tell those Friends, who attend more about him, that, in his Departure, he desires he may have no Disturbance to lengthen out his Pains and molest his Passage. And therefore, if any of them think they cannot contain themselves, and govern their Grief, nor see him die without bursting into passionate Out-cries, and noisy Disturbance, to call back his retiring Spirit, let him beg them to withdraw when his Death approaches, and pray for him, and vent their own Grief by themselves. But if any of them can stand by, and accompany him in Silence, if they happen then to be about him, he may desire that they would stay to assist him with their Prayers in his last Agonies, and recommend his departing Soul to God at his last Breath.

After he hath taken such religious and solemn Leave of all his Friends; he has nothing left to do, but whilst his Strength serves, to employ his Spirit in holy Thoughts and Desires, as he did before, and devoutly and willingly wait God's Time for his Change.

And, under this Expectation, let him often say,

My Flesh and my Heart faileth, but thou art the Strength of my Heart, and my Portion for ever, Ps. 73. 26.

Lord! strengthen me in my last Agonies, and guard me from all Frights and Molestations of the Enemy, *Amen*.

I have a good Master; for *Jesus*, that most blessed of all Names, is my Master, and I will neither be afraid nor unwilling to go to him.

For whom have I in Heaven, Lord! but thee? And there is none upon Earth that I desire besides thee, Ps. 73. 25.

I desire to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, Phil. 1. 22.

Sweet *Jesu! come quickly*, Amen. *Rev.* 22. 20.

Yea, as the Heart panteth after the Water-brooks, so panteth my Soul after thee, O God!

My Soul thirsteth for God, for the living God; when shall I come and appear before God? Ps. 42. 1, 2.

Lord! I come to thee, receive me out of thine abundant Mercy.

I come to thee, and *him who cometh unto thee thou wilt in no wise cast out*, Jo. 6. 37. *Lord Jesu! receive my Spirit*, Amen, *Acts* 7. 59.

Receive me according to thy Word, and I shall live, and shall not be disappointed of my Hope.

Because I live, ye shall live also, Amen. *Jo.* 14. 19.

Blessed is that Servant, whom his Lord, when he cometh, shall find watching, Luke 12. 37.

All the Days of my appointed Time will I wait, till my Change come, Job 14. 14.

O Father! pity me † *as a Father pitieth his Children*, and receive me *for whom thou hast laboured, and hast made me what I am.* *Ps. 103. 13. † Jon. 4. 10.

O Jesu! Saviour of Sinners, save me whom thou hast redeemed with thy Blood, which is too dear a Price to be thrown away in a lost Purchase.

O Holy Ghost! the Sanctifier and Comforter, now finish in me thine own Work, and comfort up my fainting Spirit.

O Holy, Blessed, and Glorious Trinity! I have humbly serv'd and fear'd thee, tho' in much Frailty, [*all] my Life; receive and comfort me now at my Death, *Amen*. * or *in*.

CHAP. VI.

Of Care and Treatment of the Dead.

AS ſoon as the dying Perſon has breath'd his laſt, his ſurviving Friends, eſpecially they whom he has intruſted with the Care and Diſpoſal of his Body, muſt be very careful to dreſs and treat it decently, 'till it be decently interr'd.

Let it not lie too open to the Inquiries of the Curious, nor let any Thing of it be expos'd, which the Perſon, if alive, would bluſh at.

If he gave Orders for his own Funeral, thoſe Orders are a Truſt, which are religiouſly to be obſerv'd. But if he has left it to them, they muſt order the ſame, with as prudent a Regard to his Circumſtances and worldly Eſtate, and with as much Decency and wiſe Expreſſion of Love and Reſpect to him, as they can. And lay out what is fit, in dreſſing out the Body, and interring it; in ſhewing Reſpect and Kindneſs, where he bore them, or where he ought them; and in Doles and Deeds of Charity to the Poor and Needy.

In theſe Layings-out, they ſhould not ſpend more than is meet, nor laviſh any thing away vainly or imprudently.

And on the other Hand, they need not ſcruple ſome well-choſen Inſtances of Expence, which are rather Honorary than Uſeful, if there be Eſtate enough to bear them, and good Reaſon for them, and Moderation and Diſcretion ſhewn in them, For tho' this Coſt doth the *Poor no good*, as *Judas* * once objected; yet it expreſſes their Love and Reſpect to the Dead: And ſuch Expreſſions of Eſteem and Kindneſs to them who have greatly deſerv'd it, and can now make no more Returns of it, are religious, and well approv'd of both by God and Men. Our bleſſed Lord himſelf very kindly receiving † *the Coſt of the rich Ointment, which* Mary, Lazarus's *Siſter, poured upon his Head*, becauſe *ſhe did it for his Burial.*

*Matt. 26. 8, 9. & Jo. 12. 4, 5.

†Matt. 26. 7. 10, 11, 12, 13. & Jo. 11. 2.

At the Funeral, when a Refection is brought, (according to the Cuſtom of the Place, to the friendly Attendants of the Body, before it is carry'd forth, to relieve their Waiting, or their Wearineſs) let it be dealt among them with great Moderation; remembering, that theſe Gueſts come not to gratify and pleaſe their Palates; but to bear their Part in a Scene of Grief, and attend as Mourners.

And let all who meet there remember, that they are come * *to mourn with thoſe that mourn*, and bear a Part with the Afflicted; and be careful to ſhew themſelves ſenſibly and ſeriouſly affected with their own, or the ſurviving Relation's Loſs, according as there is juſt Cauſe; however, with the loud Warning and Alarm to themſelves, which is in theſe Providences.

* Rom. 12. 15.

Let them not talk lightly or pleaſantly, nor fall into Diſcourſes of News, or Marketings, or of other worldly Buſineſs.

For theſe neither ſuit with the friendly Sadneſs, nor with the religious Seriouſneſs of that Occaſion; and ſhew them to be little touch'd either with their Friend's Death, or with Thoughts and Expectations of their own.

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But instead thereof, let them study each to employ themselves, and ntertain their Company, with Thoughts and Discourses about the Vanity and Uncertainty of all earthly Things; about the Sorrows nd Benefits of Sickness; about the Troublesomeness and Shortness f Life; the Certainty that we shall all die, and the Uncertainty of he Time when, and the Suddenness, many Times, of these Changes, nd the great Need we all have constantly to expect and prepare for hem; and about the Hopes and Blessedness there is in dying well, nd the Happiness of that State, where we shall die no more, nor ver have the Loss of any dear Friends to mourn for.

They may also discourse of their deceas'd Friends, especially when ey have Things to say of them to their Advantage: As, how their atience was try'd and approv'd in their Sickness; how good God as to them, and how submissive and devout they were towards him; hat good Words they said, or good Works they did, or Comfort and upport they found; or any Thing else belonging to them, either ving or dying, for which they are fit to live in our Memory, and be xamples for our Instruction or Imitation.

And when they come thus to take up good and heavenly Thoughts, nd to infuse them into one another, they will do great Good to emselves, as well as Honour to their Friend, by paying him this st Office, and all return better than they came from the House of lourning.

When the Relations and Friends mourn, and shew decent Sorrow r the Deceas'd, as 'tis fit they should, to shew they expect to find a Vant of them, or to express their Love and Value for them, as *Jesus wept at* Lazarus's *Grave*, to shew *how he lov'd him*; they must e careful to do it moderately and Christianly; and grieve for him ke Men who know that God has taken him, and who have Hope nd Comfort in Death and after it, and believe when a pious Friend es, that the Living only have lost, but that the Deceas'd has got by ying. But they must not repine against God, who has taken their riend away; nor mistrust his Care to provide for them, now their riend is gone; nor grow out of Humour, or unthankful for all his her Mercies, because they are depriv'd of his; nor let their Grief e excessive or obstinate, and refuse to be comforted, † *as they who have o Hope.*

* Jo. 11. 35, 36.

† 1 Thes. 4. 13.

Particularly, let them *not refrain going to Church for such a certain pace of Time, or Number of Weeks, after a dear Wife or Husband's Death,* s the Manner of some is; which I think is a very ill-chosen Expres- on of Grief, or Ceremony of Mourning. For this looks as if we ere out of Humour with God, because he has taken our Friend from s; and is very unsuitable to that Patience and Thankfulness which e ought to express, and to that Devotion which we not only ought, ut need to use on such Occasions. For these Changes should not ake us less religious, but more; and call us to God, and his House, nd Service, instead of driving us from them. The House of God is he House of Comfort; and in our Affliction we have the more Need o run to it, to be eas'd of our Sorrows, as well as to shew our intire ubmission and Service to that most wise and good Hand, which has ow dispos'd of our Friend; and, in his due Time, will dispose of s too to his own Mercy.

And as for the Mourning of the Survivor, when God has this Way arted dear Pairs, the Memory of the Deceas'd should not easily wear off, but stick fast and long with the Living, as is very fit, both in Respect to the Dead, and in Decency and due Regard to the Censure

of

of the wiſe and ſober Part of the World. And unleſs the Circumſtances or Needs of Families are very extraordinary and preſſing, for them to change their Condition ſooner, they ſhould, at leaſt, wait the Time which Cuſtom and good Report have fix'd in Mourning for the Dead, before they forget their Sorrows, or hearken to any Motions of exchanging them for new Joys.

Laſtly, The Executors, and neareſt Relations, may ſtill farther ſhew their Kindneſs and careful Reſpect, and deſerve well of their deceas'd Friends, by being very ſtudious to keep Peace among themſelves: And if any Clauſes of the Will are not clearly worded, or any Matters about the Eſtate are left liable to Diſpute, by compoſing them amicably among themſelves without Suits, that the Contentions of the Living may not ſpoil or diſparage the Kindneſs, nor ever be laid, by God or Men, to the Neglect or Careleſsneſs of the Dead.

By fulfilling their Wills punctually, and giving to every one at their Time, with Good-will, and without unneceſſary Trouble or Delays, what is really intended for them, and due to them thereby.

Yea, by having Regard to what was fit for them to order, tho' they forgot to order it: Or what they needed to order, but could not, as Payment of Debts, which they left not Eſtate enough to pay.

This Law, indeed, will not compel them to pay beyond *Aſſets*, or what the Deceas'd has left them to pay out of: But natural Affection, and the Virtue of Gratitude in near and dear Kindred, eſpecially in Children towards their Parents, may call for more than any human Law doth.

For Children have receiv'd abundance from their Parents; and if ever they ſee them brought to Want, they ought to look upon themſelves as much in their Debt, and greatly oblig'd, in Gratitude, * to *requite them*, if they are able; which St. *Paul* calls, *ſhewing Piety at home*. Eſpecially to ſhew this Piety, in doing ſuch Things for them, as they would moſt deſire to be done for themſelves. And if theſe deceas'd Relations had Liberty to ſpeak their own Minds to us, I believe we ſhould hear, that nothing lies nearer to their Hearts, or would be more for their Eaſe or Comfort, than doing Juſtice for them, where they owe it, or paying their juſt Debts. And therefore, to take theſe up according to our Ability and Circumſtances, and reaſonably to content and ſatisfy their Creditors, is a great and noble Part of religious Piety towards them, and a moſt rewardable Inſtance of Gratitude and natural Kindneſs. Which is of the more Account, as being ſhewn towards thoſe, who, tho' heretofore they have done much more for us, yet now can do nothing, either for us, or for themſelves; and as being thereby an Office full of Humanity and Generoſity, as well as of Gratitude and Piety.

* 1 Tim. 4, 5.

Thus much I thought fit to premiſe for a brief Direction to ſick or dying Perſons, how to manage and employ themſelves, when call'd by God to theſe Conditions; and alſo to the ſurviving Relations, how to diſcharge their Parts well upon the Death of Friends.

But for a more full Aſſiſtance and Direction of their Practice or Devotions, I have laid together ſome choice Scriptures, and compos'd particular Prayers, fit to guide their Practice, and expreſs their Devotion, on the ſeveral Duties and Exegencies of the State of ſick or dying Men, or of the ſurviving Kindred, when their Friends are taken from them. And theſe are contain'd in the Pages following.

PRAYERS and DEVOTIONS FOR THE State of SICKNESS.

Scriptures for the Duties and Needs of ſick PERSONS.

Pſalm 39 *and* 130.
Job 7.
Matt. 25, *to* v. 14.
2 Cor. 5, *to* v. 12.
Pſalm 77 *and*
Pſalm 6.
Iſaiah 38.
Hebrews 12.

Sickneſs and Afflictions are ſent and order'd by Almighty God, and come on Errands of Mercy.

AFFLICTION *cometh not forth of the Duſt, neither doth Trouble ſpring out of the Ground.*

For God maketh ſore, and bindeth up; he woundeth, and his Hands make whole, Job 5, 6, 18.

I kill, and I make alive; * *I wound, and I heal: neither is* * 1 Sam. 1. 6.
any that can deliver out of my Hand, Deut. 32, 39.

As many as I love, I rebuke and chaſten, Rev. 3. 19.

Even as the Father doth the Son, in whom he delighteth, Prov. 3. 12.

For what Son is he, whom the Father chaſteneth not?

So that if ye endure chaſtening, God dealeth with you as with Sons.

But if ye be without Chaſtiſement, whereof all are Partakers, then are Baſtards, and not Sons, Heb. 12, 7, 8.

You only have I known of all the Families of the Earth; therefore will I viſit you for all your Iniquities, Amos 3. 2.

Behold then, † *happy is the Man whom God correcteth,* Job 5. 17.

For when we are judged, we are chaſtened of the Lord, that we ſhould † Jam. 1. 12.
not be condemned with the World, 1 Cor. 11. 32.

And it is good for me that I have been afflicted, that I might learn thy Statutes, Pſalm 119. 71.

Our earthly Fathers, indeed, *chaſtened us after their own Pleaſure; but for our Profit, that we might be Partakers of his Holineſs,* Heb. 12. 10.

So that I know, O Lord! thy Judgments are right, and that thou in Faithfulneſs haſt afflicted me, Pſalm 119. 75.

Glory

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt: As it was in the beginning, is now, and ever ſhall be, World without end. Amen.

And this, *Glory be to the Father*, &c. may be added at the End of the following Collections of Scripture, when they are uſed devotionally.

II. How they are to be receiv'd.

I. *With Repentance of their Sins.*

BY Sin came Death, and Death hath paſſed upon all Men, becauſe all have ſinned, Rom. 5. 12.

I will make thee ſick in ſmiting thee, becauſe of thy Sins, Mich. 6.

I will viſit their Offences with the Rod, and their Sin with Scourges, Pſalm 89. 32.

And when he ſlew them, they ſought him, and return'd and enquir'd early after God, Pſalm 78. 34.

In their Affliction they will ſeek me early, Hoſ. 5. 15.

And this ſuch a Repentance, as expreſſes it ſelf,

1. In Amendment of their Sins.

When I bring them through the Fire, it is to refine them like as Silver is refined, Zech. 13. 9.

And by this [ſmiting] *ſhall the Iniquities of Jacob be purg'd; and this is all the Fruit, to take away his Sin*, Iſa. 27. 7, 9.

For when they be holden in Cords of Affliction, then he ſheweth them their Work, and their Tranſgreſſion, that they have exceeded.

He openeth alſo their Ear to Diſcipline, and commandeth that they return from Iniquity, Job 36. 8, 9, 10.

And ſurely it is meet to be ſaid unto God, I have borne Chaſtiſement, I will not offend any more.

That which I ſee not, teach thou me; and if I have done Iniquity, I will do no more, Job 34. 31, 32.

2. In reconciling themſelves to thoſe whom they have offended, and making Satisfaction for Injuries.

If ye forgive Men their Treſpaſſes, your heavenly Father will alſo forgive you.

But if ye forgive not Men their Treſpaſſes, neither will your Father forgive your Treſpaſſes, Matt. 6. 14, 15.

And if thou bring thy Gift to the Altar, and there remembereſt that thy Brother hath ought againſt thee; go thy way, firſt be reconcil'd to thy Brother, and then come and offer thy Gift, Matt. 5. 23, 24.

Oppreſs not any, reſtore the Debtor his Pledge, and ſpoil none by Violence, but withdraw thy Hand from Iniquity, and deal truly, and thou ſhalt ſurely live, Ezek. 18. 7, 8, 9.

Looſe the Bands of Wickedneſs, and undo the heavy Burdens, and let the Oppreſſed go free.

And then ſhalt thou call, and the Lord ſhall anſwer thee; thy Righteouſneſs ſhall go before thee, and his Glory ſhall be thy Reward, Iſa. 58. 6, 8, 9.

But without ſuch Reparations of Wrongs done, *He that doth Wrong, ſhall receive for the Wrong which he hath done, and their is no reſpect of perſons;* Col. 3. 25.

And keep not wrongful Getting to leave thine Heir rich: *For better is a little with Righteouſneſs, than great Revenues without Right,* Prov. 16. 8.

Nor think of appeaſing God by giving Alms, 'till thou haſt firſt done Juſtice: *For I the Lord love Judgment, I hate Robbery for Burnt-offering,* Iſa. 61. 8.

3. In Alms-Deeds.

Break off thy Sins by Righteouſneſs, and thine Iniquities by ſhewing mercy to the Poor, Dan. 4. 27.

For by Mercy and Truth Iniquity is purged, Prov. 16. 6.

Water will quench a flaming Fire, and Alms maketh an Atonement for Sin, Eccleſ. 3. 30.

Sell that ye have therefore, and give Alms: Provide your ſelves Bags which wax not old, a Treaſure in the Heavens that faileth not, where no Thief approacheth, neither Moth corrupteth, Luke 12. 33.

And make to your ſelves Friends of the Mammon of Unrighteouſneſs, that when ye fail they may receive you into everlaſting Habitations, Luke 16. 9.

And charge them that are rich in this World, that they be rich in good Works, ready to diſtribute, willing to communicate.

Laying up in Store for themſelves a good Foundation againſt the Time to come, that they may lay hold on eternal Life, 1 Tim. 6. 18, 19.

Deal thy Bread to the Hungry, and bring the Poor, that is caſt out, to thine Houſe. When thou ſeeſt the Naked cover him, and hide not thy ſelf from thine own Fleſh.

Then ſhalt thou call, and the Lord ſhall anſwer thee; thine Health ſhall ſpring forth ſpeedily, and thy Righteouſneſs ſhall go before thee, and the Glory of the Lord ſhall be thy Reward, Iſa. 58. 7, 8, 9, &c.

Becauſe that Alms do deliver from Death, and ſuffereth not to come into Darkneſs, Tob. 4. 10. and cap. 12. 9.

It ſhall deliver thee from all Affliction, when it is ſhut up in thy Storehouſes.

It ſhall fight for thee againſt thine Enemies, better than a mighty Shield, and a ſtrong Spear, Eccleſ. 29. 12, 13.

Bleſſed therefore is he that conſidereth the Poor, for the Lord will deliver him in Time of Trouble, Pſalm 41. 1.

In Penitential Confeſſions, and earneſt Prayers for God's Pardon of our Sins.

There is no Soundneſs in my Fleſh, becauſe of thine Anger; neither is there any Reſt in my Bones, becauſe of my Sin.

For mine Iniquities are gone over my Head; as an heavy Burden, they are too heavy for me.

I will declare mine Iniquity, I will be ſorry for my Sin, Pſalm 38. 3, 4, 18.

I have ſinned, what ſhall I do unto thee, O thou Preſerver of Men, Job 7. 20.

Lord! be merciful unto me, heal my Soul, for I have ſinned againſt thee, Pſalm 41. 4.

O! Remember not againſt me former Iniquities; let thy tender Mercies ſpeedily prevent me, for I am brought very low, Pſalm 79. 8.

Remember not the Sins of my Youth, nor my Tranſgreſſions: According to thy Mercy remember thou me for thy Goodneſs ſake, Pſalm 25. 7.

According to the Multitude of thy Mercies do away mine Offences. Waſh me throughly from mine Iniquity, and cleanſe me from my Sin, Pſalm 51. 1, 2.

Thou haſt chaſtiſed me, and I was chaſtiſed as a Bullock accuſtomed to the Yoke: Turn thou me, and I ſhall be turned, for thou art the Lord my God.

Surely after that I was turned, I repented; and after that I was inſtructed, I ſmote upon my Thigh: I was aſham'd, yea, even confounded, becauſe I did bear the Reproach of my Youth, Jer. 31. 18, 19.

Glory be to the Father, *&c.*

II. *With Truſt in* GOD.

1. Truſting him with themſelves.

TRuſt in the Lord at all Times, ye People, for God is a Refuge for us, Pſalm 62. 8.

The Lord is a Refuge in Times of Trouble, Pſalm 9. 9.

Why art thou diſquieted within me, O my Soul! Hope in God, Pſ. 43. 5.

For he ſhall be kept in perfect Peace, O God! whoſe Mind is ſtayed on thee, Iſa. 26. 3.

And therefore what Time I am afraid, I will truſt in thee, Pſalm 56. 3.

I will truſt, and not be afraid, Iſa. 12. 2.

I will hope, and alſo quietly wait for the Salvation of the Lord, Lam. 3. 26.

For he that believeth, will not make Haſte, Iſa. 28. 16.

Therefore when I look unto the Lord, I will wait for the God of my Salvation, Mich. 7. 7.

I will not be afraid of Evil-tidings, for my Heart is fixed, truſting in the Lord, Pſalm 112. 7.

And though I walk through the Valley of the Shadow of Death, I will fear no Evil: For thou art with me, and thy Rod and thy Staff they comfort me, Pſalm 23. 4.

Yea, though he ſlay me, yet will I truſt in him, Job 13. 15.

2. Truſting him with their Friends and Families.

And *all my Cares* for my Wife, and Family, and Friends, *I caſt on thee, for thou careſt for us,* 1 Pet. 5. 7. Pſal. 55. 22.

For *in thee,* O Lord! *the Fatherleſs findeth Mercy,* Hoſ. 14. 3.

And thou haſt ſaid, *Leave thy fatherleſs Children, I will preſerve them alive, and let thy Widows truſt in me,* Jer. 49. 11.

And *I never ſaw the Righteous forſaken, but his Seed is bleſſed,* Pſ. 37. 25, 26.

The Generation of the Upright ſhall be bleſſed.

Riches ſhall be in his Houſe, and his Righteouſneſs endureth for ever.

Surely he ſhall not be moved for ever, but ſhall be in everlaſting Remembrance, Pſalm 112. 2, 3, 6.

For *when their Father and Mother forſake them, then doeſt thou take them up,* Pſalm 27. 10.

Even thou, *who art the Father of the Fatherleſs, and the Judge of the Widows*, Pſalm 68. 5.

And as *a mighty Redeemer wilt plead their Cauſe*, Prov. 23. 10, 11.

3. The Benefit of both.

And *he who thus truſteth in the Lord, Mercy ſhall compaſs him about*, Pſalm 32. 10.

Becauſe thou haſt made the Lord, which is my Refuge, even the moſt High, thy Habitation:

There ſhall no Evil befal thee, neither ſhall any Plague come nigh thy Dwelling.

For he ſhall give his Angels Charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy Ways, Pſalm 91. 9, 10, 11.

Behold the Eye of the Lord is upon them that fear him; upon them that hope in his Mercy.

To deliver their Soul from Death, and to keep them alive in Famine, Pſalm 33. 18, 19.

And *the Lord is a ſtrong Hold in the Day of Trouble, and he knoweth them that truſt in him*, Nahum 1. 7.

He redeemeth the Soul of his Servants, and none of them that truſt in him ſhall be deſolate, Pſalm 34. 22.

And *they who know thy Name will put their Truſt in thee; for thou, Lord! haſt not forſaken them that ſeek thee*, Pſalm 9. 10.

And Truſt him,

1. To Temper the Sickneſs and Sorrows, to our Infirmities.

I will not leave thee altogether unpuniſh'd, but I will correct thee in meaſure, and will not make a full End of thee, Jer. 30. 11. and cap. 46. 28.

And *when* Epaphroditus *was ſick, nigh unto Death, God had Mercy on him; and not on him only, but on me alſo, leſt I ſhould have Sorrow upon Sorrow*, Phil. 2. 27.

In his Wrath he will remember Mercy, Habak. 3. 2.

And *to the Upright, there ariſeth Light in the Darkneſs*, Pſal. 112. 4.

For *he will not always chide, neither will he keep his Anger for ever*, Pſalm 103. 9.

His Anger endureth but a Moment, and in his Favour is Life: Weeping may endure for a Night, but Joy cometh in the Morning, Pſalm 30. 5.

He knows our Frame, and remembreth that we are Duſt; and pitieth us like as a Father pitieth his Children, Pſalm 103. 13, 14.

He remembreth that we are but Fleſh, a Wind that paſſeth away, and cometh not again; and doth not ſtir up all his Wrath, Pſalm 78. 38, 39.

And *he is faithful, and will not ſuffer us to be tempted above what we are able*, 1 Cor. 10. 13.

2. To ſupport us under them, and help us to bear them.

The Salvation of the Righteous is of the Lord; he is their Strength in the time of Trouble.

And *the Lord ſhall help them, becauſe they truſt in him*, Pſalm 37. 39, 40.

The Lord will ſtrengthen him upon the Bed of languiſhing; he will make all his Bed in his Sickneſs, Pſalm 41. 3.

And

And *we have not an High Prieſt which cannot be touched with the Feeling of our Infirmities; but was in all Points tempted like as we are, yet without Sin.*

Let us therefore come boldly unto the Throne of Grace, that we may obtain Mercy, and find Grace to help in Time of Need, Heb. 4. 15, 16.

For in that he himſelf hath ſuffered, being tempted, he is able to ſuccour them that are tempted, Heb. 2. 18.

And *my Grace is ſufficient for thee; my Strength is made perfect in Weakneſs,* 2 Cor. 12. 9.

I ſaid, indeed, in mine Haſte, I am cut off from before thine Eyes, nevertheleſs thou heardeſt the Voice of my Supplications when I cried unto thee, Pſalm 31. 22.

Even *when my Soul fainted within me, I remembered thee, and my Prayer came in unto thee,* John 2. 7.

Wait thou on the Lord then; be of good Courage, and he ſhall ſtrengthen thine Heart, Pſalm 27. 14.

For *he hath ſaid, I will never leave thee nor forſake thee:*

So that we may boldly ſay, I will not fear, for the Lord is my Helper, Heb. 13. 5, 6.

Yea, *though I walk through the Valley of the Shadow of Death, I will fear no Evil: For thou art with me; thy Rod and thy Staff, they comfort me,* Pſalm 23. 4.

3. To Deliver us from them, or make us Gainers by them.

See more afterwards in *Scriptures for Deliverance and Recovery.*

Call upon me in the Day of Trouble, and I will deliver thee, and thou ſhalt glorify me, Pſalm 50. 15.

Behold the Eye of the Lord is upon them that fear him, upon them that hope in his Mercy.

To deliver their Soul from Death, Pſalm 33. 18, 19.

He is their Strength in the Time of Trouble.

And he ſhall help them, and deliver them: He ſhall deliver them, becauſe they truſt in him, Pſalm 37. 39, 40.

We know that all Things work together for Good, to them that love God, Rom. 8. 28.

And tho' *many are the Afflictions of the Righteous, yet the Lord delivereth him out of them all,* Pſalm 34. 19.

For *the Lord he kills, and he makes alive; he wounds, and he heals,* Deut. 32. 39.

He bringeth down to the Grave, and bringeth up, 1 Sam. 2. 6.

And that, *when we have the Sentence of Death in our ſelves, that we ſhould not truſt in our ſelves, but in God who raiſeth the Dead,* 2 Cor. 1. 9.

Glory be to the Father, *&c.*

III. They are to be received with Faith in God's precious Promiſes.

THIS is a faithful Saying, and worthy of all Acceptation, that Jeſus Chriſt came into the World to ſave Sinners, 1 Tim. 1. 15.

If any Man ſin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jeſus Chriſt the Righteous, and he is the Propitiation for our Sins, 1 Joh. 2. 1, 2.

O Death! where is thy Sting? O Grave! where is thy Victory?

The Sting of Death is Sin, and the Strength of Sin is the Law.

But Thanks be to God, which giveth us the Victory through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, 1 Cor. 15. 55, 56, 57.

Who ſhall lay any Thing then to the Charge of God's Elect? It is God that juſtifieth. Who is he that condemneth? It is Chriſt that died, yea rather that is riſen again, who is even at the right Hand of God, who alſo maketh Interceſſion for us, Rom. 8. 33, 34.

And he hath promiſed, *I will never leave thee nor forſake thee*, Heb. 13. 5.

He will give the holy Spirit to thoſe that aſk him, Luke 11. 13.

He will not ſuffer you to be tempted above that ye are able, but will with the Temptation alſo make a Way to eſcape, that ye may be able to bear it, 1 Cor. 10. 13.

And this is the Promiſe that he hath promiſed us, even eternal Life, 1 Joh. 2. 25.

He hath ſaid, *Repent, and be converted, and your Sins ſhall be blotted out*, Acts 3. 19.

For *if we confeſs our Sins, he is faithful and juſt to forgive us our Sins, and to cleanſe us from all Unrighteouſneſs*, 1 Joh. 1. 9.

And *whoſo confeſſeth, and forſaketh his Sins, ſhall find Mercy*, Prov. 28. 13.

And *if ye forgive Men their Treſpaſſes, your heavenly Father will alſo forgive you your Treſpaſſes*, Matt. 6. 14.

And *break off thine Iniquities by giving to the Poor*, Dan. 4. 27.

For by Mercy and Truth Iniquity is purged, Prov. 16. 6.

And *Mercy rejoyceth againſt Judgment*, Jame 2. 13.

And *having theſe Promiſes, let us cleanſe our ſelves from all Filthineſs of Fleſh and Spirit, perfecting Holineſs in the Fear of God*, 2 Cor. 7. 1.

Above all, taking the Shield of Faith, whereby ye ſhall be able to quench all the fiery Darts of the Wicked, Eph. 6. 16.

Putting on the Breaſt-plate of Faith and Love, and for an Helmet the Hope of Salvation, 1 Theſſ. 5. 8.

And truſt in the Lord, and he ſhall ſave thee.

And *know, that the Lord thy God, he is God, the faithful God, which keepeth Covenant and Mercy with them that love him, and keep his Commandments, to a thouſand Generations*, Deut. 7. 9.

His Promiſes are all Yea and Amen, 2 Cor. 1. 20.

His Word is tried, and he is a Buckler to all them that truſt in him, Pſalm. 22. 31.

Glory be to the Father, *&c.*

IV. With Thankfulneſs.

Shall we receive Good at the Hand of God, and ſhall we not receive Evil? Job 2. 10.

The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; bleſſed be the Name of the Lord, Job 1. 21.

It is the Lord's Mercy that we are not ſuddenly conſumed, Lam. 3. 22.

Yea, and it is good for me that I have been afflicted, that I might learn thy Law, Pſalm 119. 71.

And thou out of very Faithfulneſs haſt cauſed me to be troubled, Pſalm 119. 75.

For because the Wicked have no Changes, therefore they fear not God, Pſalm 55. 19.

Bleſſed therefore *is the Man whom thou chaſteneſt, O Lord! and teacheſt him out of thy Law.*

That thou mayeſt give him Reſt in the days of Adverſity, Pſalm 94. 12, 13.

Glory be to the Father, *&c.*

V. With Patience.

1. Patience towards God, in Submiſſion and Reſignation of our ſelves to his holy Will.

WOE be to the Man that hath loſt Patience, for what will he do when the Lord ſhall viſit him? Eccleſ. 2. 15.

Humble your ſelves under the mighty Hand of God, that he may exalt you in due Time, 1 Pet. 5, 6.

For *our Fathers after the Fleſh corrected us, and we gave them Reverence; and ſhall we not much rather be in Subjection to the Father of Spirits?* Heb. 12. 9.

Thy Will be done in Earth, as it is in Heaven, Matt. 6. 10.

Father, if it be poſſible, let this Cup paſs from me; nevertheleſs, not as I will, but as thou wilt, Matt. 26. 39.

Shall we receive Good at the Hand of God, and ſhall we not receive Evil? Job 2. 10.

It is the Lord, let him do what ſeemeth him good, 1 Sam. 3. 18.

And *if he thus ſay, I have no Delight in thee: Behold here am I, let him do to me as ſeemeth good to him,* 2 Sam. 15. 26.

And in maintaining this Patience and Reſignedneſs, oppoſite,

1. To Striving and Reluctance, and Riſing up againſt God.

Why doſt thou ſtrive againſt him, for he giveth no Account of his Matters? Job 33. 13.

Woe unto him that ſtriveth with his Maker: Let the Potſherd ſtrive with the Potſherds of the Earth: Shall the Clay ſay unto him that faſhioneth it, what makeſt thou? Iſa. 45. 9.

Submit your ſelves therefore to God.

And *humble your ſelves in his Sight, and he ſhall lift you up,* Jam. 4. 7, 10.

For if their uncircumciſed Hearts be humbled, and they accept of the Puniſhment of their Iniquity;

Then will I remember my Covenant, Levit. 26. 41, 42.

2. To Unquietneſs and Tumultuouſneſs, and Diſturbedneſs of Spirit.

Why art thou diſquieted within me, O my Soul! Pſalm 42. 11.

It is good that a Man ſhould quietly wait for the Salvation of the Lord, Lam. 3. 26.

In your Patience, therefore, *poſſeſs ye your Souls,* Luke 21. 19.

And *whatſoever is brought upon thee, take chearfully, and be patient when thou art changed to a low Eſtate.*

For Gold is tried in the Fire, and acceptable Men in the Furnace of Adverſity, Eccleſ. 2. 4, 5.

3. To Wearineſs, and Faintneſs, and Dejection.

Thou haſt borne and had Patience, and haſt laboured, and not fainted, Rev. 2. 3.

And, *my Son, deſpiſe not the Chaſtening of the Lord, neither be weary of his Correction*, Prov. 3. 11.

If thou faint in the Day of Adverſity, thy Strength is ſmall, Prov. 24. 10.

And *conſider Jeſus, who endured ſuch Contradiction of Sinners againſt himſelf, leſt ye be wearied, and faint in your Minds*, Heb. 12. 3.

For in due Seaſon we ſhall reap, if we faint not, Gal. 6. 9.

Ye that fear the Lord, therefore, *believe him, and your Reward ſhall not fail.*

Believe in him, and he will help thee.

But Woe be to fearful Hearts, and faint Hands, and the Sinner that goeth two Ways.

Woe unto him that is faint-hearted, for he believeth not, therefore ſhall he not be defended, Eccleſ. 2. 6, 7, 12, 13.

Why art thou caſt down then, O my Soul! Hope thou in God, for I ſhall yet praiſe him, who is the Health of my Countenance, and my God, Pſal. 42. 11.

When I am Weak, then am I Strong, 1 Cor. 12. 10.

And *tho' the outward Man periſh, yet the inner Man is renewed Day by Day.*

Whilſt we look not at the Things which are ſeen, but at the Things which are not ſeen: For the Things which are ſeen, are Temporal; but the Things which are not ſeen, are Eternal, 2 Cor. 4. 16, 18.

Let thy Mercy, O Lord! be upon me, according as I hope in thee, Pſalm 33. 22.

4. Oppoſite to Haſtineſs, as it notes Perſeverance in Waiting.

We give Thanks, remembering your Patience of Hope, 1 Theſſ. 1. 2, 3.

And *I wait for the Lord, my Soul doth wait, and in his Word do I hope*, Pſalm 130. 5.

On thee do I wait all the Day.

Mine Eyes are ever towards the Lord, Pſalm 25. 5, 15.

I will hope continually, and will yet praiſe thee more and more, Pſalm 71. 14.

Ye have need of Patience, and the juſt ſhall live by Faith, Heb. 10. 36, 38.

Set your Heart aright, and conſtantly endure, and make not Haſte in Time of Trouble, Eccleſ. 2. 2.

And *he that believeth, will not make Haſte*, Iſa. 28. 16.

O! therefore tarry thou the Lord's Leiſure, be ſtrong, and he ſhall comfort thine Heart, and put thou thy Truſt in the Lord, Pſalm 26. 14.

For he will not always chide, neither will he keep his Anger for ever.

He knows our Frame, and remembereth that we are but Duſt.

And like as a Father pitieth his own Children, ſo the Lord pitieth them that fear him, Pſalm 103. 9, 13, 14.

He hath not forſaken them that ſeek him, Pſalm 9. 10.

He taketh Pleaſure in them who hope in his Mercy, Pſalm 147. 11.

He is a very preſent Help in Trouble, Pſalm 46. 1.

And, *behold! we account them happy which endure: Ye have heard of the Patience of* Job, *and have ſeen the End of the Lord; that the Lord is very pitiful, and of tender Mercy*, James 5. 11.

They ſhall not be aſhamed, who wait for me, Iſa. 49. 23.

And, *my Soul, wait thou only upon God, for my Expectation is from him*, Pſalm 62. 5.

Wait for his Mercy; but go not aſide leſt ye fall.

Cleave unto him, and depart not away, that thou mayſt be encreaſed at thy laſt End, Eccleſ. 23. 7.

5. To Querulouſneſs, and accuſing God.

It is good for a Man, that he bear the Yoke in his Youth.

He ſitteth alone, and keepeth Silence, becauſe he hath borne it upon him.

He putteth his Mouth in the Duſt, if ſo be there may be Hope.

Wherefore doth a living Man complain? A Man for the Puniſhment of his Sins, Lam. 3. 27, 28, 29, 30.

I was dumb, I opened not my Mouth, becauſe thou didſt it, Pſalm 39. 9.

I was as a Man that heareth not, and in whoſe Mouth are no Reproofs, Pſalm 38. 14.

For, *ſhall he that contendeth with the Almighty inſtruct him? He that reproveth God let him anſwer it.*

But *behold I am vile, what ſhall I anſwer thee? I will lay my Hand upon my Mouth*, Job 40. 2, 4.

He was afflicted, yet he opened not his Mouth: He is brought as a Lamb to the Slaughter, and as a Sheep before her Shearers is Dumb, ſo he openeth not his Mouth, Iſa. 53. 7.

Motives to Patience.

Shall we receive Good at the Hands of God, and ſhall we not receive Evil? Job 2. 10.

The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, bleſſed be the Name of the Lord, Job 1. 21.

Shall the Clay ſay unto him that faſhioned it, what makeſt thou, Iſaiah 45. 9.

And *why doth a living Man complain, yea, a Man for the Puniſhment of his Sin?* Lam. 3. 39.

I will bear the Indignation of the Lord, becauſe I have ſinned againſt him, Mich. 7. 9.

And *the Lord doth not afflict willingly, nor grieve the Children of Men*, ver. 33.

If need be we are in Heavineſs, 1 Pet. 1. 6.

And becauſe all need, *all are Partakers of Chaſtiſements*, Heb. 12. 8.

Even *Jeſus, though he were a Son, yet learned he Obedience by the Things which he ſuffered*, Heb. 5. 8.

So that *it is out of very Faithfulneſs, that he afflicteth me*, Pſ. 119. 15.

And *whom he loveth he correcteth, even as a Father the Son, in whom he delighteth*, Prov. 3. 11.

For *when we are judged, we are chaſtened of the Lord, that we ſhould not be condemned with the World*, 1 Cor. 11. 32.

He chaſteneth us for our Profit, that we may be Partakers of his Holineſs, Heb. 12. 10.

As Gold in the Furnace hath he tried them, and received them as a Burnt-offering.

He proved them, and found them worthy of himſelf; and having been a tle *chaſtiſed, they ſhall be greatly rewarded,* Wiſd. 3. 5, 6.
And *theſe light Afflictions, which are but for a Moment, work for us a* r *more exceeding and eternal Weight of Glory,* 2 Cor. 4. 17.

Glory be to the Father, *&c.*

2. With Patience towards our Friends and Attendants.

Be patient towards all Men, 1 Theſſ. 5. 14.
With all Lowlineſs and Meekneſs, with Long-ſuffering, forbearing one other *in Love,* Eph. 4. 2.
Be gentle, ſhewing all Meekneſs to all Men, Tit. 3. 2.
And *be not haſty in thy Spirit to be angry,* Eccleſ. 7. 9.
For *he that is haſty of Spirit, exalteth Folly,* Prov. 14. 29.
And *a Man that hath Friends, muſt ſhew himſelf friendly,* Prov. .24.

With Patience with our ſelves, and with the Heavineſs and Brokenneſs of our own Spirit under Sickneſs.

'Tis wrong ſaid, that *God is hard, reaping where he has not ſown,* d *gathering where he has not ſtrow'd,* Matt. 25. 24.
For 'tis only *where much is given, that much ſhall be requir'd,* Luke . 48.
He remembereth that we are but Fleſh, Pſalm 78. 39.
He himſelf bore our Sickneſs, Matt, 8. 17.
And *had the Feeling of our Infirmities.*
And *it behoved him to have ſo in all Things, that he might be a merciful* gh *Prieſt,* Heb. 2. 17. and Chap. 4. 15.
He attends unto our Cry when we are brought very low, Pſalm 142. 6.
And will *not forſake us, becauſe our Strength faileth,* Pſalm 71. 9.
Dying, as well as *living, we are the Lord's,* Rom. 14. 8.
And *fall aſleep in him,* 1 Theſſ. 4. 14.

Glory be to the Father, *&c.*

VI. Of Improvements thereof to ſpiritual Advantages.

THAT I ſhould not be exalted above Meaſure, there was given me a Thorn in the Fleſh, 2 Cor. 12. 7.
She did not know that I gave her Corn, and Wine, and Oil.
Therefore will I return, and take away my Corn in the Time thereof, and Wine *in the Seaſon thereof,* Hoſ. 2. 8, 9.
And *I will go, and return to my Place, 'till they acknowledge their* fences, *and ſeek my Face: In their Affliction they will ſeek me early,* oſ. 5. 15.
When my Heart is overwhelmed, lead me to the Rock that is higher than I, alm 61. 2.
So that altho' *for the Time, no Affliction ſeemeth joyous, but grievous;* afterwards *it yieldeth the peaceable Fruits of Righteouſneſs, to thoſe that* e *exerciſed thereby,* Heb. 12. 11.

For *he chaſtiſeth us for our Profit, that we may be Partakers of his Holineſs*, Heb. 12. 10.

Glory be to the Father, *&c.*

3. Scriptures for the Bodily Needs and Deſires of ſick Perſons.

I. For Eaſe and Strength.

1. To pour out their Grief and Complaints.

BEhold! *all Fleſh is Graſs, and all the Goodlineſs thereof is as the Flower of the Field.*

The Graſs withereth, the Flower fadeth, becauſe the Spirit of the Lord bloweth upon it; but the Word of our God ſhall ſtand for ever, Iſa. 40. 6, 7, 8.

When thou, Lord, with Rebukes doſt correct Man for Iniquity, thou makeſt his Beauty to conſume away like a Moth: Surely every Man is Vanity, Pſalm 39. 11.

Thou haſt weakened my Strength in the Way, and ſhortened my Days, Pſalm 102. 23.

Thine Arrows, O Lord! ſtick faſt in me, and thy Hand preſſeth me ſore.

There is no Soundneſs in my Fleſh, becauſe of thine Anger; neither is there any Reſt in my Bones, becauſe of my Sin.

I am troubled, I am bowed down greatly, I go mourning all the Day long.

I am feeble and ſore broken; I have roared by reaſon of the Diſquietneſs of my Heart.

My Heart panteth, my Strength faileth me: As for the Light of mine Eyes, it alſo is gone from me.

Pſ. 88. 4, 6, 7, 8. & Pſ. 69. 1, 2, 3. *My Lovers and my Friends ſtand aloof from my Sore; and my Kinſmen ſtand afar off*, Pſalm 38. 2, 3, 6, 8, 10, 11.

My Spirit is overwhelmed within me, and my Heart within me is deſolate, Pſalm 143. 4.

My Soul alſo is ſore troubled; but, Lord! how long wilt thou puniſh me? Pſalm 6. 3.

2. To pray for Eaſe and Mitigation thereof.

And *now, Lord, what wait I for? truly my Hope is even in thee*, Pſalm 39. 7.

My Fleſh and my Heart faileth: but thou art the Strength of my Heart and my Portion for ever, Pſalm 73. 26.

I ſtretch out my Hands unto thee, my Soul thirſteth after thee, as a thirſty Land, Pſalm 43. 6.

All my Deſire is before thee, and my Groaning is not hid from thee, Pſalm 38. 9.

Hide not then thy Face from me, and forget not my Miſery and Trouble, Pſalm 44. 24.

Caſt me not off, nor forſake me when my Strength faileth, Pſalm 71. 9.

And *rebuke me not, O Lord! in thine Anger, neither chaſten me in thine heavy Diſpleaſure*, Pſalm 6. 1.

But *remove thy Stroke away from me, for I am conſumed by the Blow of thine Hand*, Pſalm 39. 10.

Wilt thou break a Leaf driven to and and fro? and wilt thou purſue the dry Stubble? Job 13. 25.

O

O! Spare me a little, that I may recover my Strength, before I go hence and be no more, Pſalm 36. 13.

Be not wroth very ſore, O Lord! neither remember Iniquity for ever, Iſa. 64. 9.

But turn from me that I may reſt, till I accompliſh as an Hireling my Day, Job 14. 6. and Chap. 10. 20, 21,

Hear my Prayer, O Lord! and give Ear unto my Cry; hold not thy Peace at my Tears, Pſalm 39. 12.

Be merciful unto me, O Lord! for I cry unto thee daily.

And thou art good, and plenteous in Mercy, to all them that call upon thee.

Rejoice the Soul of thy Servant; for unto thee, O Lord! do I lift up my Soul, Pſalm 86. 3, 4, 5.

And hear me * *ſpeedily, O Lord! for my Spirit faileth*, Pſalm 143. 7. * Pſ. 79. 8.

And *mine Eyes fail for thy Word, ſaying, when wilt thou comfort me?* Pſalm 119. 82.

And make me hear of Joy and Gladneſs, that the Bones which thou haſt broken may rejoice, Pſalm 51. 8.

Glory be to the Father, *&c.*

II. For Deliverance and Recovery from the ſame.

1.

IN thee, O Lord! do I put my Truſt, let me never be aſhamed; deliver me in thy Righteouſneſs, Pſalm 31. 1.

Unto thee have I cried, O Lord! and in the Morning ſhall my Prayer prevent thee, Pſalm 88. 13.

Hear my Prayer, O Lord? and hide not thy ſelf from my Petition.

Take heed unto me and hear me, how I mourn in my Prayer, and am vexed, Pſalm 55. 1, 2.

Lord! how long wilt thou be angry with thy Servant that prayeth? Pſalm 80. 4. Pſ. 86. 3, 4, 5.

Save me for thy Name's ſake, and deliver me in thy Strength, Pſal. 54. 1.

Make thy Face to ſhine upon thy Servant, and ſave me for thy Mercies ſake, Pſalm 31. 16.

O! let it be thy Pleaſure to deliver me; make haſte, O Lord! to help me, Pſalm 40. 13.

And ſend out thy Light and thy Truth, and let them lead me, and bring me unto thy holy Hill, and to thy Tabernacle, Pſalm 43. 3.

2.

What Profit is there in my Blood, if I go down into the Pit? Shall the Duſt praiſe thee? Shall it declare thy Truth? Pſalm 30. 9.

Shall thy Loving-kindneſs be declared in the Grave? or thy Faithfulneſs in Deſtruction?

Shall thy Wonders be known in the Dark? and thy Righteouſneſs in the Land of Forgetfulneſs? Pſalm 88. 11, 12.

The Living, the Living, he ſhall praiſe thee; the Father to the Children ſhall make known thy Truth, Iſa. 38. 19.

Thou haſt been my Succour, leave me not, neither forſake me, O God of my Salvation? Pſalm 27. 9.

Thou art he that tookeſt me out of my Mother's Womb; thou waſt my Hope when I hanged yet upon my Mother's Breaſts.

I have been left unto thee ever ſince I was born, thou art my God even from my Mother's Womb.

Our Fathers alſo hoped in thee, they truſted in thee, and thou didſt deliver them.

They called upon thee, and were holpen; they put their truſt in thee, and were not confounded, Pſalm 22, 4, 5, 9, 10.

And *the Poor ſhall not always be forgotten, and the patient Abiding of the Meek ſhall not periſh for ever,* Pſalm 9. 18.

O! then deliver me, and let me not be confounded, for I have put my Truſt in thee, Pſalm 25. 19.

And Men ſhall know, that this is thy Hand, and that thou Lord haſt done it, Pſalm 109. 26.

Glory be to the Father, *&c.*

On Receipt of Eaſe, or any Abatement of Pain or Sickneſs.

Behold! God is my Salvation: I will truſt, and not be afraid; for the Lord Jehovah is my Strength and my Song, he alſo is become my Salvation.

Thou waſt angry with me, O Lord! thine Anger is turned away, and thou comforteſt me, Iſa. 12. 1, 2.

He hath chaſtened me ſore, but he hath not given me over unto Death, Pſalm 118. 18.

He knows our Frame, he remembereth that we are Duſt.

And like as a Father pitieth his Children, ſo the Lord pitieth thoſe that fear him, Pſalm 103. 13, 14.

Glory be to the Father, *&c.*

IV. Under the Accidents of Sickneſs.

1. Want of Sleep.

ALL the Night make I my Bed to ſwim; I water my Couch with my Tears, Pſalm 6. 6.

For *thou holdeſt mine Eyes waking, I am ſo feeble that I cannot ſpeak.*

My Sore ran in the Night, and ceaſed not; my Soul refuſed to be comforted.

Pſ. 4. 4. *I call to Remembrance my Song in the Night: I * commune with mine own Heart, and my Spirit maketh diligent Search.*

Will the Lord caſt off for ever, and will he be favourable no more?

Is his Mercy clean gone for ever? doth his Promiſe fail for evermore?

Hath God forgotten to be gracious? hath he in Anger ſhut up his tender Mercies?

And I ſaid this is my Infirmity: but I will remember the Works of the Lord, ſurely I will remember thy Wonders of old, Pſalm 77. 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

Lord, I remember thee upon my Bed, and meditate on thee in the Night-watches, Pſalm 63. 6.

I have remembered thy Name, O Lord! in the Night, and have kept thy Law, Pſalm 119. 55.

Glory be to the Father, *&c.*

2. On Exceſs of Pain and Wearineſs.

Lord! thou haſt ſet me as a Mark againſt thee, ſo that I am a Burthen my ſelf.

* *In the Day time I cry* and ceaſe not, *and wearifom Nights are appointed* Pſ. 22. 2. *me.*

When I lie down, I ſay when ſhall I ariſe, and the Night be gone? and am full of Toſſings to and fro unto the Dawning of the Day, Job 7. 3, 20.

Thou *wilt not ſuffer me to take my Breath, but filleſt me with Bitterneſs,* Job 9. 18.

O! *turn* thee unto *me, and have Mercy upon me; give thy Strength unto thy Servant, and ſave the Son of thine Handmaid,* Pſalm 86. 16.

Are not my Days few? ceaſe then, Lord, *and let me alone that I may take Comfort a little,* Job 10. 20.

O! *ſpare me a little, that I may recover my Strength,* Pſalm 39. 13.

And *lay not more upon me than I am able to bear,* 1 Cor. 10. 13.

My Grace, ſayeſt thou, *is ſufficient for thee, and my Strength ſhall be made perfect in Weakneſs,* 2 Cor. 12. 9.

And *in the Multitude of my Thoughts within me, thy Comforts,* Lord, *delight my Soul,* Pſalm 94. 19.

Glory be to the Father, *&c.*

3. On taking Phyſick.

Man liveth not by Bread alone, but by every Word that proceedeth out of the Mouth of God, Matt. 4. 4.

And *it was neither Herb, nor mollifying Plaiſter, that reſtored them to Health; but thy Word, O Lord! which healeth all Things.*

For thou haſt Power of Life and Death; thou leadeſt to the Gates of Hell, and bringeſt up again, Wiſd. 16. 12, 13.

He that is our God, is the God of Salvation; and unto God the Lord belong the Iſſues from Death, Pſalm 68. 20.

The Lord hath created Medicines out of [*the Earth, and he that is wiſe will not abhor them.*

And with ſuch doth he heal Men, and taketh away their Pains.

For of the moſt High cometh healing, and he hath given Men Skill, that he might be honoured in his marvellous Works, Eccleſ. 38. 2, 4, 6, 7.

My Time is in thy Hand, therefore *I truſt in thee,* O *Lord,* Pſalm 31. 14, 15.

O! *ſend thy Word and heal me, and deliver me from my Deſtruction,* Pſalm 107. 20.

Glory be to the Father, *&c.*

V. For Attendants about Sick Perſons.

1.

HE that is ready to ſlip with his Feet, is as a Lamp deſpiſed in the Thought of him that is at Eaſe, Job 12. 5.

But to him that is afflicted, Pity ſhould be ſhewed from his Friends, Job 6. 14.

For

For *a Friend loveth at all Times, and a Brother is born for Adverſity*, Prov. 17. 17.

And *if your Soul were in my Soul's ſtead, I would ſtrengthen you with my Mouth, and the moving of my Lips ſhould aſſwage your Grief*, Job 16. 4, 5.

But *my Brethren have dealt deceitfully as a Brook, and as the Stream of Brooks they paſs away.*

As Brooks that *are blackiſh with Ice, wherein Snow is hid.*

What Time they wax warm, they vaniſh; when it is hot, they are conſumed out of their Place.

Now ye are nothing; you ſee my caſting down, and are afraid.

Yea, *you dig a Pit for your Friend*, Job 6. 15, 16, 17, 21, 27.

2.

Whether one Member ſuffer, all the Members ſuffer with it; or one Member rejoice, all the Members rejoice with it, 1 Cor. 12. 26.

Diſtribute then *to the Neceſſity of Saints, and weep with thoſe that weep*, Rom. 12. 13, 15.

And *he that ſheweth Mercy, let him do it with Chearfulneſs*, ver. 8.

For God is not unrighteous to forget your Work and Labour of Love, which ye have ſhew'd towards his Name, in that ye have miniſtred to the Saints, and do miniſter, Heb. 6. 10.

I was ſick, and ye viſited me.

In as much as ye have done it to the leaſt of theſe my Brethren, ye did it unto me, Matt. 25. 36, 40.

And this is pure and undefiled Religion, to viſit the Fatherleſs and Widows in their Affliction, Jam. 1. 27.

And *the Heart of the Wiſe is in the Houſe of Mourning; for by the Sadneſs of the Countenance the Heart is made better.*

That is the End of all Men, and the Living will lay it to his Heart, Eccleſ. 7. 2, 3, 4.

Glory be to the Father, *&c.*

VI. An Hymn of Thankſgiving for Recovery from Sickneſs.

IN my Wrath I ſmote thee, but in my Favour have I had Mercy on thee, Iſ. 60. 10.

The Lord hath chaſtened me ſore, but he hath not given me over unto Death, Pſalm 118. 18.

Pſ. 103. 3, 4. *In Love to my Soul he hath delivered it from the Pit of Corruption, for he hath caſt all my Sins behind his Back*, Iſa. 38. 17.

O Lord my God, thou haſt conſidered my Trouble, thou haſt known my Soul in Adverſities, Pſalm 31. 7.

Thou healeſt the broken in Heart, and bindeſt up their Wounds, Pſalm 147. 3.

And *I cryed unto thee, and thou haſt healed me.*

And haſt turned for me my Mourning into Dancing; thou haſt put off my Sackcloth, and girded me with Gladneſs.

To the End that my Glory may ſing Praiſe to thee, and not be ſilent: O Lord my God! I will give Thanks unto thee for ever, Pſalm 30. 2, 11, 12.

My

My Mouth ſhall ſhew forth thy Righteouſneſs and thy Salvation all the Day: For I know not the Numbers thereof.

And *my Lips ſhall greatly rejoice when I ſing unto thee, and my Soul, which thou haſt redeemed,* Pſalm 71. 15, 23.

O ſing unto the Lord, ye Saints of his, and give Thanks at the Remembrance of his Holineſs, Pſalm 30. 4.

And *ye that fear the Lord, truſt in the Lord; for he is their Help and their Shield,* Pſalm 115. 11.

To the Upright he maketh *Light to ariſe in the Darkneſs,* Pſal. 112. 4.

For his Anger endureth but a Moment, in his Favour is Life: Weeping may endure for a Night, but Joy cometh in the Morning, Pſalm 30. 5.

I will offer the Sacrifice of Thankſgiving, and will call upon the Name of the Lord, Pſalm 116. 17.

And *I will pay thee my Vows,* O God! *which my Lips have uttered, and my Mouth hath ſpoken when I was in Trouble,* Pſalm 66. 13, 14.

I will not hide thy Righteouſneſs within my Heart; I will declare thy Faithfulneſs and thy Salvation: I will not conceal thy Loving-kindneſs and thy Truth from the great Congregation, Pſalm 40. 10.

I will pay my Vows unto the Lord, now, in the Preſence of all his People. In the Courts of the Lord's Houſe, in the midſt of thee, O Jeruſalem! *Praiſe ye the Lord,* Pſalm 116. 18, 19.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt. As it was in the Beginning, is now, and ever ſhall be, World without End, *Amen.*

PRAYERS

PRAYERS
FOR THE
DUTIES and *NEEDS*
OF
SICK PERSONS.

I. *A general Prayer for Things needful under Sickneſs.*

* Job 5. 18.
† Pſ. 68. 20.

O Almighty and moſt righteous Lord! *who* * *makeſt ſore and bindeſt up*, and in † *whoſe Hands are the Iſſues of Life and Death*, give me Grace to look upon this my Sickneſs as of thy ſending, and to own both the Juſtice and the Mercifulneſs of thy Viſitation, and of my Suffering therein, and to look up to thee for Strength to bear, and for Grace to profit by the ſame.

It comes, O my God! as thy Scourge for my Sins, which is to make me ſee them, and avoid them; and as thy Medicine, to cure my ſpiritual Diſeaſes, and repair in me the Decays of thy Grace; and as thy fiery Tryal, which is to prove my Virtues, and to purge away my Droſs.

And, Lord! let it not miſs of ſerving and effecting in me all theſe gracious Purpoſes; and make all my Thoughts under the ſame, to be only Thoughts of Love and Thankfulneſs; of holy Reſignation and Obedience unto thee, and of humble Hope in thy Mercy. And ſuffer me not to fall into Impatience, or Miſtruſt of thy Love and gracious Promiſes, or into any evil and indecent Carriage, which will add to my Guilt if I die, or to my Remorſe and Shame if I live.

Temper my Sorrows alſo, O Father! to my Weakneſs, and ſupport me under them by thy Comforts; and direct and recompenſe the Labours and Kindneſs of thoſe who charitably attend about me in my Sickneſs. Keep me always ſubmiſſive and devout towards Thee, and thankful and eaſy unto them: And let thy Bleſſing go along with all their Means and Medicines; and in thy due Time aſſwage and end my Pains; and either reſtore me to my Strength, and ſend me Health and Eaſe, and the Mercies of a longer and a better Life; or elſe a bleſſed and a comfortable Death, for our Lord Jeſus Chriſt's Sake, *Amen*.

Our

Out of the Office of Viſitation of the Sick.

O Lord! look down from Heaven, behold, viſit, and relieve me thy Servant. Look upon me with the Eyes of thy Mercy, give me Comt and ſure Confidence in thee, defend me from the Danger of the Enemy, d keep me in perpetual Peace and Safety, through Jeſus Chriſt my Lord, nen.

Our Father which art in Heaven; Hallowed be thy Name. Thy King- n come. Thy Will be done in Earth, as it is in Heaven. Give us this y our daily Bread. And forgive us our Treſpaſſes, as we forgive them t Treſpaſs againſt us. And lead us not into Temptation; But deliver us m Evil: For thine is the Kingdom, and the Power, and the Glory, for r and ever, Amen.

And he may ſtill conclude with the *Lord's Prayer* on all Occaſions, en he has uſed as many of theſe Prayers as he thinks fit for that me.

articular Prayers for the Duties and Needs of ſick Perſons.

I. *Prayers for Repentance in Sickneſs.*

1.

) Ighteous art thou, O God! in all theſe Pains and Sorrows, which puniſh my Sins and try my Patience; and I have none to accuſe complain of for the ſame, but my ſelf. I receive my Sickneſs, as Chaſtiſement of a Sinner; and am willing to bear Chaſtiſement my Sins, that I may be thereby reclaimed from them. Correct , O Lord! that thou may'ſt not condemn me, and let me be g'd by thee for my Sins; and judge my ſelf for them here, that ay have nothing but Mercy without Judgment to receive at thine nds hereafter.

But judge me, O my God! with Mercy, and not in thine Anger. dge me not according as my Sins have deſerv'd, but according as Weakneſs can bear, and according as thy Compaſſions are wont mitigate thy Judgments. And let my Sickneſs work my true Re- ntance, and prove an happy Means, in the Hand of thy Mercy, to piate my Guilts, not to encreaſe them; and to reclaim me perfectly m all the Evils which I have committed formerly, not to occaſion committing more; and to confer that Reſt and Peace upon my ul, which is deny'd to my Body, for our dear Lord and Saviour ſus Chriſt's Sake, *Amen.*

2.

Thou ſmiteſt me, O gracious Lord! that thou may'ſt cure me, and puſheſt my Sin, that thou may'ſt thereby amend and reclaim my Perſon. nd I am weary of my Sins, which have brought upon me all theſe rrows, and which I know aſſuredly will bring infinitely worſe, unleſs prevent the ſame by my timely and true Repentance of them.

Help me, therefore, to ſearch them out, O God! and to diſcover every accurſed Thing; and when I ſee them, let me not ſtop at any one, but ſet my ſelf entirely to renounce and amend all. Let thy Love make me hate every evil Way.

And make my Purpoſes againſt them ſtrong and reſolute; and my Care in fulfilling the ſame, vigilant and patient; and all the Remainder of my Days, to be one continu'd Defacement of my former Errors, and Devotion of my ſelf to thy Service.

Lord! cure my Folly by my Miſery; and teach me, by the Loſs of my bodily Eaſe, to purchaſe the Bleſſing of true Repentance, and the comfortable Hopes of thy merciful Acceptance thereof, thro' the Merits of our dear Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

To make his Confeſſions, and other Acts of Repentance, with greater Sureneſs and Satisfaction to himſelf, the ſick Man muſt firſt make a Diſcovery of his Sins, by examining himſelf, and trying his Ways upon the ſeveral Heads and Branches of God's Commandments. And thereby enquire into the State of his Soul, to ſee whether he is already ſafe within the Terms of Pardon, or what he wants to make him ſo. This is a Work for all Men, at all Times, who would live with Safety, or die with Peace. But eſpecially for ſick and dying Perſons, who are more ſenſible their Caſe admits of no Delays; and who not only ought, but alſo more commonly are wont to make it their earneſt Deſire and Care. And in their Performance of this moſt important Taſk, with Security and Comfort, I have aſſiſted them, as well as I can, in *the Tryal, or Judgment of the Soul*, &c. in a ſmall Treatiſe intituled, *A Companion for the Penitent*, to which I refer them.

3. *A Confeſſion of Sins, taken out of the Office of the Penitent, or thoſe who mourn for Sin*, p. 39, *&c.*

O Almighty and moſt righteous Lord! I do here, with Grief of Heart, and with Shame and deep Humility, confeſs unto thy dreadful Majeſty, that my Sins are exceeding many and great, and have been frequently repeated.

I have oft-times tranſgreſs'd out of Ignorance: O that I could not ſay careleſs Ignorance, under Opportunities of Knowledge! yea, or affected Ignorance, eſpous'd for earthly Ends, againſt Light and clear Evidence, which was enough to ſhame and ſilence me, tho' not to gain and convince me. But I have tranſgreſs'd oftener out of Negligence, worldly Fear, or Deſire; yea, alas! too oft, out of preſumptuous Wilfullneſs, condemning the Evil whilſt I was a-doing it, and offending wittingly, and with Checks and Convictions to the contrary.

* Eſpecially, *&c.* Heremention *Particulars.*

And theſe Sins I have been drawn to, againſt all the Endearments of thy Mercies, and all the Alarms and louder Warnings of thy Puniſhments; againſt all the Rebukes and Strivings of thy Grace, and of my own Conſcience, and of other faithful and ſeaſonable Admoniſhers; and againſt all mine own Purpoſes and Engagements, deliberately made, and ſolemnly profeſs'd, and frequently repeated, that I would offend therein no more.

Lord be merciful to me, a great and wretched Sinner!

2. BUT

2.

BUT thou, O bleſſed Jeſus! by making thy ſelf a Sin-offering for us, art come to take away the Sins of all, who truly repent thereof. And, O merciful Lord! tho' my Sins are many and grievous, yet I do not deſire to overlook them, but would gladly ſee and diſcover them all, that I may penitently bewail and forſake them: And, O! that no corrupt Paſſions, nor Love of worldly or carnal Intereſts, may ever biaſs me, or blind my Eyes from ſeeing the ſame, whilſt there is Space left me to repent of them. And as for thoſe Sins, which I do know my ſelf to be guilty of, I do not cover, but with Shame confeſs them; I do not juſtify nor excuſe, but condemn my ſelf for the ſame.

I ſtand thereby guilty, O Lord! of higheſt Diſobedience againſt the higheſt Obligations, of wretched Diſingenuity and Unthankfulneſs againſt the moſt endearing Mercies, and of moſt ſtupid Folly againſt my own cleareſt, higheſt, and moſt laſting Intereſts, throwing away thy Favour and future Joys, for empty Shows and Shadows, and bleſſed Eternity for Moments of Vanity:

I reflect on all this, O merciful God! with Bitterneſs, and with a Spirit weary'd with mine own Ways. I ſee and lament my own Folly, and abhor mine own Vileneſs on account thereof. I wiſh, with all my Soul, that thoſe Sins had never been done, and would take any Way to undo them; and moſt earneſtly deſire, and fully purpoſe by thy Grace, that I may do ſo no more.

God be merciful to me a ſelf-condemning and repenting Sinner.

3.

LORD! I am burthen'd, and heavy laden with my Sins, O! do thou, who * calleſt out *to the heavy laden*, to ſeek Refreſhment at thine Hands, give me Eaſe: I confeſs them, and deſire above all things elſe, that I may utterly *forſake them*: Let me, according to thy Promiſe † *find Mercy*. From mine Heart I forgive all Perſons who have offended me, even my bittereſt Enemies, and moſt earneſtly entreat thee, that thou wouldſt forgive them: O! do thou, who offereſt *Forgiveneſs* to thoſe who are ready to grant it, for Jeſus Chriſt's Sake forgive me. I repent unfeignedly of all my Sins, and am ready to make all juſt Amends, at leaſt as far as I am able, to any whom I have ever injur'd, whether they be of low or of high Degree, or even the higheſt of all. O! God of all Grace, perfect my Repentance, and accept it, and blot out all my Miſdeeds, as thou † engageſt to do unto all thoſe who ſincerely repent of the ſame.

I know, O bleſſed Jeſus! that * *there is no Name but thine, whereby we can obtain Pardon*. And I truſt only to the Fulneſs of thy Merits, and to the Faithfulneſs of thy gracious Promiſes, and to the Abundance of my heavenly Father's Mercy and Loving-Kindneſs, to me a Great and miſerable, but an humble, contrite, penitent Sinner. Forgive them all, O bleſſed Father! remembring not my Deſervings, but the Pitableneſs of my Weakneſs, and thy dear Son's infinite Merits, and thine own boundleſs Mercies, and moſt precious Promiſes. Let me here have thy Peace, and be admitted hereafter to ſtand for ever in thy Preſence, for our Lord Jeſus Chriſt's Sake, *Amen*.

Our Father, &c.

* Matth. 11. 28.

† Prov. 28. 13.

‖ Matth. 6. 14, 15.

† Acts 3. 19.

* Acts 4. 12.

For carrying on this Duty of *Repentance*, the ſick Perſon may likewiſe make Uſe of the Prayer for *Profeſſion of godly Sorrow for Sins*,

and of *Reſolutions of new Obedience*; and of *the Profeſſion of the Fruits of Repentance*, and *the Conditions of Forgiveneſs*; and of the *Prayer for Pardon of Sins*, in *the Office for Penitents*. And for comforting and quieting his Conſcience againſt Fears and Scruples, he may be ſupply'd with *Hymns* and *Prayers in the Office for Perſons* troubled in Mind; all which are in the *Companion to the Penitent*.

II. *Prayers for an Heart to be liberal in Alms-Deeds, when any Perſons are about to make their Will; or to accompany Repentance at any Time, leaving out the Paſſages within the* [ ], *which particularly refer to their laſt Wills.*

1.

O Almighty Father! thou gaveſt me all my worldly Eſtate, that I ſhould employ it for the convenient Support of my ſelf, and of my Family, and of the Poor and Needy; and when I come to thee, I can have nothing to carry along with me, but a ſtrict Accompt how I have laid it out.

Give me Grace therefore, I earneſtly entreat thee, after I have made a wiſe Proviſion for my Family out of it, with a free and glad Heart to give good Portions thereof to the Poor, who are thy Receivers, or to religious and pious Uſes, that when I can no longer Poſſeſs my Eſtate, I may come with Joy to give up my Accompt of it; and that when my worldly Goods can no longer profit me, my good Diſpoſal thereof may, thro' the Merits of my only Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen*.

2.

AND whatſoever I give to the Poor, or to pious Uſes, for thy Sake, give me the Heart, O Lord! to do it with a good Will, and with a liberal Hand.

For thou, O my God! haſt freely given the whole of this Eſtate to me; and therefore it is not for me to be narrow and niggardly in theſe Returns of a ſmall Part thereof, which I make to thee. [And theſe pious and charitable Gifts, alas! have been far too few, and too poor and ſlender, all my Life; and therefore I need to ſupply that Defect by being more liberal therein at my Death.] And what I thus give out of it, O bleſſed Jeſu! is to thy poor Members, who are all my near Kindred, and *Brethren* in the Spirit.

* Prov. 16. 6. † Luke 16. 9.

Yea, Lord! * *by* ſuch Acts of *Mercy* I know that Iniquity is purged; and by this Uſe † *of the Mammon of Unrighteouſneſs*, I may *make my ſelf Friends* in thy Preſence; and the Poor's Prayers and Thankſgivings for any Relief or Comfort which they have receiv'd by my Means may heap Bleſſings on my Head whilſt I live, and help much to recommend me to thy Mercy and gracious Acceptance when I die.

So that theſe Gifts to them, O bleſſed Lord! are the trueſt Way I have of giving to my ſelf; and are much more for my own Relief than for theirs: And I do and will look upon them as a ‖ *laying up Treaſure for my ſelf in Heaven*, and making a Return of my Wealth for my own Uſe and Behoof in another Life; and reckon, that what I wiſely give in this Kind, I take and carry away with me, to ſtand me in ſtead in the moſt needful Time of thy Mercy, thro' Jeſus Chriſt my Lord and only Saviour, *Amen*.

‖ Matt. 6. 22.

3. *A Prayer at the Oblation, or giving of our Alms; or on allotting any Sums to charitable or pious Uſes.*

O Bleſſed Lord! I humbly entreat thee graciouſly to accept of this poor Return of the worldly Subſtance which thou haſt committed unto me. I offer it to thee for the Uſe of thy poor Members, whom I look upon as my poor Brethren. I offer it with an Heart that is truly ſorrowful for all my Sins, and thankful for all thy Mercies; that ſeeks Acceptance for it, only for the Sake of thy Son's Merits, and from thy mere Grace and Favour; and that is aſham'd for its having made the Offering no ſooner, and now for offering no more.

And all my Alms and Repentance I preſent and put into thy Hands, O holy Jeſu! in the Communion of Saints, and in the Unity of thy holy Church, which is * *thy Body*, and † *Spouſe*, and whereto thou haſt given the precious Promiſes of Grace and Pardon, and eternal Life. * Col. 1. 18. † 2 Cor. 11. 2. & Eph. 5. 23, 24, 25, 32.

O Father! in the Unity of this Body let me find Mercy; and accept mine Alms as an Oblation of a ſweet Savour, and ſupply and perfect all my Wants, and purge away all my Sins, thro' the Merits of my only Saviour and Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

Our Father which art, &c.

III. *Prayers for Truſt in* GOD *in Sickneſs.*

1.

O Almighty Lord! under all my Weakneſs and Pains of Body, and uncertain Proſpects, for my ſelf, and for my Family, I truſt [intirely] to thee, who haſt Goodneſs enough to pity us, and Power enough to help and deliver us.

I truſt in thee, O my dear God! who haſt been my Refuge and Defence in many Troubles, and art ſtill ready to be ſo in more; who inviteſt us moſt lovingly to * *caſt all our Cares upon thee*, and haſt promiſed to *take Care of us*; who loveſt to be truſted, and * *never faileſt them who truſt in thee.* I truſt to thy Wiſdom, to chuſe for me better than I can chuſe for my ſelf. I truſt to thy Power, to help and ſupport me where I am weak, and without Strength to help and ſupport my ſelf: And I truſt to thy Love and Fatherly Care, to deal out all my Sorrows with Tenderneſs, and to turn them all to my good and greater Comfort in the End. * 1 Pet. 5. 7. † Pſ. 9. 10. & 34. 22.

For I believe and know, O gracious Lord! that ‖ *thou wilt correct me in meaſure*, and conſider not what my Sins do deſerve, but what my Weakneſs can bear. I believe that † *thou wilt remember Mercy* in my Corrections, and ſtill * *make Light to ariſe up* to me *out of Darkneſs*, and daily relieve my Sorrows with thy manifold and moſt ſeaſonable Favours. I believe that † *thou wilt not keep Anger* for ever, but in due Time wilt abate my Pains and Troubles; or, if that be good for me and for thy Glory, perfectly remove them; however, in the End, that thou wilt change them all into everlaſting Reſt and Joy with thee, thro' Jeſus Chriſt my Lord, *Amen.* ‖ Jer. 30. 11. † Hab. 3. 2. * Pſ. 112. 4. † Pſ. 103. 9.

2. *For* Truſt *againſt the Torment and Diſtraction of Fears.*

AND ſince under all my Sorrows and Uncertainties thou art my Stay and Confidence, Lord keep me eaſy and quiet within my ſelf. I have caſt all my Cares upon thee, and therefore they ſhould not any longer be troubleſome or diſtracting unto me. I have put my ſelf into

into thy Hands, and thou haſt promiſed to take Care of me; and therefore I ought to reſt aſſured, that all is certainly for my Good, and is moſt wiſely and kindly order'd, which befalls me.

O! then, that I be not diſquieted with fear of Evil, ſince none can happen unto me without thy Leave; that I be not troubled at the Helpleſsneſs of thoſe I am to leave behind me, becauſe I leave thee to take Care of them; nor frighted with the Approach of Pains, becauſe thou art to ſet Bounds to them; nor with any evil Tidings, or Alarm of Dangers, becauſe thou art to govern them. Yea, that I be not terrify'd, * *though I walk through the Shadow of Death*, becauſe Life and Death are both in thy Hands; nor even in Death it ſelf, becauſe thou wilt moſt graciouſly ſupport me in my Death, and make it the Gate to everlaſting Life, through Jeſus Chriſt my Lord, *Amen.*

* Pſ. 23. 4.

3. *For* Truſt, *againſt Dejection of Spirit and Deſpondency.*

AND ſince I reſt upon thee as my Rock and Stay, and have thy Strength to truſt to, let me not ſink under my Burthen, O Lord! by Dejection and Faintneſs of Spirit: For no Burthen is ſo heavy upon me, but thou canſt and wilt ſupport me under it, and in thy due Time, which is always my beſt Time, deliver me from it.

† 1 Cor. 10. 13. * Heb. 4. 15.

Thou haſt promiſed, O my God! † *not to lay more upon me than thou wilt enable me to bear.* And thou, holy Jeſu! * *art touched with the Senſe of our Infirmities*, and wilt inflict no more than thou knoweſt is proportionable to my Weakneſs. Thou haſt *borne them in thy ſelf*, and wilt tenderly conſider them in thy Members. Thou wilt not continue my Smart 'till I have quite loſt my Patience, nor ſend me Pains and Sorrows without Supports and Succours: And thou doſt ſend, and wilt ſend, no Evil upon me, but what I need, or what is for my Good; and what thou wilt take off, when it has wrought thy gracious Purpoſes, and ſerv'd my Neceſſities.

And therefore, when my Pains or Diſtreſſes are hardeſt upon me, let me not think or ſay, that I cannot endure them: For thou, Lord! knoweſt better what I can endure than I do: And when I come to it, by thy Help I ſhall find my ſelf able to endure more than I thought I could: And if thou hadſt not known me ſtrong enough, thro' thy Grace, to endure them, thou wouldeſt not have put me to endure them: And even now, thou wilt either remove or mitigate the ſame, when I can abide no more.

Inſtead of concluding then, that I can bear them no longer, give me Grace, O Father! to ſet my ſelf reſolutely to bear them the beſt I can, and firmly to believe, that thou mercifully conſider'ſt what I can bear, and wilt ſhew thy Grace is ſtrong where my Fleſh is weak, and wilt be ſure to ſupport me at preſent, and to eaſe and deliver me at laſt, thro' the Merits of my deareſt Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

4. *For* Truſt *againſt Suſpiciouſneſs and finding Fault.*

SInce I wholly commit and truſt my ſelf to thee, O my God! let me conſtantly think well of all that thou do'ſt for me, and ſendeſt upon me; let me not think ill of it, becauſe I cannot think ill of thee; nor fall to tax it, either with Unfitneſs or Unkindneſs, or once ſuſpect any therein, becauſe it is order'd by thee, who canſt not order amiſs, and who, in all theſe Things, haſt not leſs Love and Goodneſs, but only more Wiſdom to allot and order for me, than I have to order for my ſelf: Yea, where Things are hardeſt to be accounted for, make me ſtill think

think well of them, and believe firmly that thou ſeeſt good and kind Reaſons for the ſame, tho' my ſhort-ſighted and ſhallow Underſtanding can ſee none.

And therefore, O Father! when Things are hardeſt upon me in my Condition, my Reverence and Confidence in thee ſhall be ſtronger than my Miſtruſt of them; and by thy Grace I will anſwer all my own Objections againſt them, by conſidering they are of thy chuſing: And whether any Evils are ſent upon me, or any Comforts are delay'd and with-held from me, I will believe ſtill that all is at it ſhould be, and will turn to good in the End, becauſe all is done by thee, who loveſt me, and haſt promis'd to keep me under thy tender Care at preſent, and to receive me to thy bleſſed Self at laſt, thro' the Merits of my deareſt Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

5. *For* Truſt *for Deliverance out of Sickneſs or Afflictions.*

LORD! I truſt to thee, who ſendeſt all theſe Sorrows upon me, to take them off again. I truſt to thee to take them off, becauſe thou * *takeſt no Delight* in the Pain of thy Servants; yea, becauſe thou art of great Pity, and art † *touched with a Senſe of our Sufferings*; becauſe * *our Fathers truſted in thee, and were holpen*; becauſe I my ſelf have [always hitherto] truſted in thee, and thou haſt ſtill deliver'd me; and becauſe thou haſt promis'd * *in the Day of Trouble*, to *deliver thoſe that call upon thee, that they may glorify thee.*

* Lam. 3. 33. † Heb. 4. 15. * Pſ. 22. 4. * Pſ. 50. 15.

And now, O my God! let thy Word be verify'd unto thy Servant, and † *let me not be aſhamed*, or *diſappointed of my Hope.* I truſt and depend on thee; do not thou fail or forſake me. Leave me not under my Troubles, but relieve and ‖ *comfort* me, *according to the Days wherein thou haſt afflicted me*; and turn my Mourning into Joy, that they who love thee may ſee it, and learn thereby to praiſe thy Mercy, and to put their Truſt in the ſame, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, *Amen.*

† Pſ. 119. 116. ‖ Pſ. 90. 15.

Prayers of Sick or Dying Perſons, for truſting God with their Friends or Kindred.

1.

LORD! if thou ſeeſt fit to call me Home to thy ſelf by this Sickneſs, when I am taken from my Wife and Children, and from thoſe who under thee depend on me, give them Grace, I earneſtly intreat thee to betake themſelves to thee.

I commit them to thee, O God of Mercy and Truth, for they are thine; and * *with thee the Fatherleſs find Mercy:* Yea, † *thou art the Father of the Fatherleſs, and the Judge of the Widows*, and wilt ſhew thy ſelf ‖ *mighty to plead their Cauſe:* And my Heart is at Eaſe to have them lodg'd in thy Care, where they are infinitely ſafer, and will be infinitely happier and better provided for, than ever they could be in mine, or in any others without thine. I freely commit them to it, O bleſſed Lord! having my ſelf always found the Bleſſing of being under it, and of truſting to it: And I beg no greater Bleſſing for them, than that they may ever have thy good Providence for their Inheritance in this World, and thy Peace for their Portion in the World to come, for Jeſus Chriſt's Sake, *Amen.*

* Hoſ. 14. 3. † Pſ. 68. 5. ‖ Prov. 23. 10, 11.

2. [When

2.

This Prayer may be uſed by the Widows and Orphans themſelves, omitting the Words within the Hooks [ ], and putting *we* for *they*, *ours* for *theirs*, *us* for *them*, *our* for *their*, *are* for *am*, &c. * *Now thou haſt taken away our*, &c. naming the Relative. † *They*, when the Widows, &c. uſe this Prayer.

[When I am gone] O my dear God! they are thrown upon thee, who art the Huſband of the Widow, and the Father of the Fatherleſs: And, Lord! as thou art their Father, provide againſt all their Wants, and protect them from all Wrongs: Supply to them, by thy kind Providence, what they want in outward Helps: And altho' they have none to counſel them, where they are unſkilful and unexperienc'd; nor to right them, where they are injur'd; nor to furniſh and ſupply them, where they are unprovided; yet will thy Spirit be the beſt Guide, and thy Care, and thy Bleſſing, will abundantly make up all.

[* At my Departure] O Father! they are bereft of their earthly Stay: But thou art better than Friend or Huſband, or Father or Mother; yea, than all other Supports put together: O! then, do not thou leave them, but when † [I] am gone, ſtay thou ſtill with them; and be thou to them whatſoever I would be, and more than I could be, if I were ſtill employ'd by thee to take Care of them.

And enable them ever-more to place their Love and Delight in thee, and to fix their Truſt and Confidence in thy Mercy. O! that thy Will and Honour may always be their Care, that ſo their Needs and Welfare may always be thine: And keep them from polluting themſelves with any Things, which may forfeit thy Fatherly Care and Providence, and cry louder againſt them than their deſtitute Circumſtances do for them. Train them up, good Lord! ſtedfaſtly in thy Fear, and preſerve them from all the Evils and Temptations of this World, and bring them ſafe, at laſt, to the Joys and Bleſſedneſs of that to come, for Jeſus Chriſt's Sake, *Amen*.

3. *Another Prayer for the Widows and Orphans, &c. for truſting God with themſelves.*

When this Prayer is uſed by one alone, put *I* for *we*, *me* for *us*, *am* for *are*, *my* for *our*, &c.

O Bleſſed Lord! the more we are bereav'd of our Supports, the more do thou ſtrengthen our Faith and Confidence in thy ſelf. Make us know, that we can never be deſtitute, whilſt we have thee to take Care of us; and that no earthly Proviſion is or can be ſo good to us, as being intitled to thy good Providence.

For it is thy Goodneſs, O dear God! that ſupplies and ſupports us by any earthly Friends; they are only Means of thy Providence, and Inſtruments whereby thou takeſt Care of us: And thy good Providence, which ſends us Comforts or Supplies by them, when it removes them, can and will find out other Ways, and do the ſame without them: So that we are never without Friends and faithful Helpers, whilſt we have thee to ſtand by us.

* Here they may name the Relative. † Or *He* or *She*.

And thou, holy Father, ſtill remaineſt, and thy Mercy is ſtill the ſame; altho' * this moſt dear and deſir'd Means of conveying the bleſſed Effects thereof upon us is withdrawn: Yea, thou art nearer to us, and more concern'd to help and provide for us, now † they are gone. O! then, that we may look up unto thee more than unto them, and reſt our Hearts more on thy ſtaying with us, than on theirs; and that being taken off from earthly Dependancies, we may now depend more entirely upon thy Promiſes, and place our chiefeſt rity and Comfort in thy Love, thro' Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, *Amen*.

Our Father, &c.

IV. *Prayers for Faith in God's Promiſes under Sickneſs.*

1.

O Almighty Lord! who relieveſt our Weakneſs by the Belief and Hope of thy Promiſes, under all my Wearineſs I take Comfort, and amidſt all my Temptations I reſt my Soul upon thy Word.

For under the Load and Guilt of my Sins, I truſt to the Blood of Jeſus, and to thy ſure Promiſes of Forgiveneſs upon our true Repentance; and under the Senſe of their Strength, and of my own Weakneſs, I truſt to the Promiſes of thy Spirit and Grace; and amidſt all the Decays and Miſeries of this mortal Body, I truſt to thy ſure Promiſes of Immortality.

I truſt to thy Promiſes, O Father! to be with me in all my Sickneſſes and Sorrows, to temper my Afflictions to my Infirmities, and to give the Strength in Proportion to my Needs, to eaſe and rid me of my Pains, or to ſupport me under them whilſt I live, and to turn them all to my Advantage in the End, and to receive me to thy ſelf when I die, for my deareſt Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's Sake, *Amen.*

2.

AND, Lord, let not the Adverſary ſhake my Faith of theſe gracious Promiſes, nor let my own Weakneſs ever betray me once to doubt of them: For thou * *art true*, and canſt not deceive us: Thou art *the faithful God who keepeſt Covenant and Mercy for ever.* Thy † *Promiſes are all* Yea *and* Amen: And ‖ *thy Word is tryed*, and is a *ſure Buckler to all who truſt to it.* Even when we think thee far off thou art near at Hand to us, and remembereſt our Sorrows and thine own Promiſes when we fancy thou haſt forgot them.

* Deut. 7. 9.
† 2 Cor. 1. 20.
‖ 2 Sam. 20. 31.

O! then, that I may truſt to thy Word, which ſhall ſurely be verify'd in its Time, and keep ſtedfaſtly in the Expectation, that all theſe Mercies ſhall be made good unto thy Servant, and patient in waiting, 'till thou graciouſly and plentifully fulfilleſt the ſame, for Jeſus Chriſt's Sake, *Amen.*

Our Father, &c.

V. *Prayers for Reſignation to the Will of God under Sickneſs.*

1.

O Almighty and moſt merciful God! my Sorrows are great, and my Fleſh is weak and ſore weary'd; but I am willing to bear them, becauſe they are of thy ſending. Since thou thinkeſt them fit for me, O my God! I will think them ſo too, and will find no Fault therewith, nor think another State were better for me. I humbly yield to thy Wiſdom, and prefer thy Will before mine own. I am content to bear what thou pleaſeſt, and to be eaſed of my Burthen when thou pleaſeſt: And deſire not only ſilently to ſuffer thy Will, but in my Will and Heart to be truly reconcil'd and conſenting to it, and to ſee thy Love and my own Benefit in my Chaſtiſement, which is ſent for my Good, and will work Good for me in the End, through Jeſus Chriſt my Lord, *Amen.*

AND therefore in all that doth or ſhall befal me in this Sickneſs, thy Will, O bleſſed Lord! be done: Thy Will be done, becauſe it is thine; and becauſe thou art my Father, and nothing can come to me from thee, but what is very agreeable with a Father's Tenderneſs and Affection.

Thy Will be done, becauſe thou knoweſt beſt what to chuſe for me, and becauſe I am well aſſur'd, that to refer all my Matters to thy Choice, is the beſt Care I can take for my ſelf: For in thy Choice thou haſt not leſs Kindneſs, but only more Knowledge, Care, and Providence, than I can have in chuſing for my ſelf.

For as for me, O my God! I know that I am ignorant, and while I live in this World ſhall be ignorant what Things thereof, or what States and Conditions therein, are moſt deſirable for my ſelf, or for my Friends. I am fooliſh in my Wiſhes, too oft oppoſing that which is moſt ſafe for me, and which is fit, or, it may be, needful to do me good; and as often coveting that which is full of Danger, and like to do me hurt; and therefore I renounce my own Will, which is blind and fooliſh, and which, if I could have it, would too often be to my Sorrow and Prejudice.

And inſtead of that, I refer my ſelf wholly to be diſpoſed of by thine, which never errs, and is always for my real Welfare and Advantage: And my Deſire is, not that my fooliſh Wiſhes, but that thy unerring Wiſdom may at all Times preſcribe me and mine our Portion. I truſt to thine All-ſeeing Eye, to direct what is beſt; and to thy fatherly Love and Care, to allot it for us: And where I do not ſee how any Orderings of thine ſhould work for mine, or for my Family's, or Friend's Good, yet, Lord, I will believe that thou do'ſt, and that all is both wiſely and kindly appointed for us, becauſe it is thy doing, who * *bringeſt Light out of Darkneſs*, and Comforts out of Croſſes, and makeſt † *all Things work together for Good to thoſe that love thee*, through Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, *Amen*.

* 2 Cor. 4. 6.
† Pſ. 112. 4. Rom. 8. 28.

2.

SEND then, O Father! what thou pleaſeſt upon me, for thou will ſend nothing but what is moſt fit for me. I heartily ſubmit my ſelf to thy Pleaſure, for it is always a good Pleaſure: I wait thy Time, for it is always the beſt Time: I know not what Things to deſire in this Caſe for my ſelf, nor when to deſire them; but my Safety is that I am in thy Hands, and that there I deſire to be, and to have thy Love and Wiſdom chuſe for me; and that I am willing to receive my Mercies and Comforts from thee, not when I fancy, but when thou ſeeſt they will moſt ſerve and glorify thee, and benefit me, through Jeſus Chriſt my Lord, *Amen*.

4.

UNder my Weakneſs, O merciful God! I pour out my Complaints before thee; and when I am moſt preſs'd by my Pains and Sorrows, I am more earneſt and importunate in my Deſires of Eaſe: and thou, who knoweſt our Frame, and pitieſt our Infirmities, allow me to be ſo: But amidſt all theſe Cravings and Importunities to have my own Will, O gracious Father! I deſire, above all Things, ſtill to be entirely reſign'd to thine.

For when my Heart deſires Eaſe or Deliverance, it is with Submiſſion: When I aſk the ſame, according to my Deſire, I leave thee, O my dear God! to order for me, and to anſwer me according to thy moſt wiſe and good Pleaſure. Yea, where my Pains and Sorrows are moſt preſſing, and I am moſt earneſt and importunate in aſking and deſiring; yet even there would I by no means preſcribe to thy Wiſdom, nor ſeem to doubt of thy Love.

For I truſt aſſuredly, O Father! to thy indulgent Care and ſure Promiſes, of tempering my Troubles to my Weakneſs, and of giving me all needful Supports under them, and of turning all to my Comfort and Advantage in thy due Time: And I leave thee ſtill to do me Good, by ſuch Ways, not as I fancy, but as thou ſeeſt beſt for me, and moſt fit to make me ſure of thine everlaſting Mercy, thro' Jeſus Chriſt my bleſſed Lord and Saviour, *Amen.*

Our Father, &c.

VI. *Prayers for Thankfulneſs under Sickneſs.*

O Almighty and moſt merciful God! tho' I am compaſs'd about with Weakneſſes and Sorrows, yet I have no Cauſe at all to complain of thee, but have ſtill enough to thank thee for, and to ſpeak well of thy Name: And by thy Grace I will not over-look the endearing Mercies which I have, out of Diſcontentedneſs for others which I have not; nor quarrel with thoſe which are ſtill left me, becauſe others are taken away: For the leaſt of thoſe I have, O Lord! is abundantly better than I deſerve: And inſtead of being ungratefully angry for thoſe which I have now loſt, I moſt humbly and heartily thank thee, that I was allow'd to have them and enjoy them at all, and that I loſt them no ſooner.

Yea, and even as for my Sorrows themſelves, O my dear God! I do not only own thy Juſtice, but reverence thy Wiſdom, and acknowledge thy Goodneſs to me therein. I receive my Chaſtiſements as thy Favours, and as Tokens of thy Love, and Means of my own Happineſs, which come to do me Good againſt my Will, and to lead me thro' the Valley of Tears, to the happy Regions of everlaſting Reſt and Bliſs: And tho' *Affliction* it ſelf † *is not joyous*, yet the Senſe of thy Love and of my Benefit is joyous, and to be receiv'd not with Complaints, but with Thankſgivings. † Heb. 12. 11.

Lord! * *my Spirit is willing, but my Fleſh is weak:* But let thy Grace be the Support of my Weakneſs, and the Finiſher of my Willingneſs; and let the Senſe of thy Love, and the Hopes of thy Promiſes, drown the Senſe of my Sorrows, and fill my Heart and Tongue with Thanks and Praiſe to thee, thro' Jeſus Chriſt my Lord, *Amen.* * Matt. 26. 41.

2.

I Bleſs thee, O Father! for all the manifold and great Mercies vouchſaf'd to me under my Sickneſs: For my Affliction is infinitely leſs than I have deſerv'd; and thou doſt not ſend it upon me 'till I need it; and when thou ſendeſt it, it is all to do me good.

And in doing me good this Way, O Lord, thou do'ſt in great Mercy pity my Weakneſs, and provide for it: For 'tis thy Mercy, that lays not too much upon me: 'Tis thy *Mercy*, that I am brought

* Lam. 3. 22. down by degrees, and am * *not conſumed ſuddenly*: 'Tis thy Mercy
† Pſ. 41. 3. that † *makes my Bed in my Sickneſs*, that conſidereth my Weakneſs, and ſupporteth me, and conſidereth my Pains and ſhorteneth them, and always, in due Time, gives me Eaſe or Intermiſſion from them: 'Tis thy Mercy, O dear God! that ordereth Comforts for me continually, to ſweeten my Diſtreſſes to me; and that makes thee ſtill to be moſt near unto me, at thoſe Times when I ſtand moſt in Need of thee.

So that altho' I am ſick, O my God! yet I am not forſaken: For, bleſſed be thy Name, my Griefs are not beyond Meaſure, and my Burthen is not without Help, nor my Sufferings without Hope and Comfort, wherewith in thine abundant Mercy thou daily temperest them, and ſuſtaineſt me, thro' Jeſus Chriſt my Lord, *Amen.*

3.

I Bleſs thee, O moſt gracious Lord! for ſending this Sickneſs upon me, which thou ſendeſt to ſhew thy Love and Care of me, and to do me Good: For if my Body were not ſick, thou ſeeſt my Soul would be ſick: Yea, alas! it has been [very] ſick, and this Sickneſs of my Body comes to cure it.

For in thus correcting me when I had gone aſtray, thou art putting
* Job 36. 10. † *to open my Ears to Diſcipline*, when Mercies would not open them, and to reclaim and ſet me in the Way of Pardon: So that this Dealing ſhews, that thou haſt not rejected me as an Outcaſt or Alien;
*Heb. 12. 7. but ſtill lookeſt upon me with Thoughts of Mercy, and * *treateſt me as a Son.*

And bleſſed be thy Mercy, O Father of Mercies, which, by theſe Pains and Sorrows of my Body, haſt given my Spirit Reſt from the wearifom Importunities and Solicitations of Luſt and Envy: Bleſſed be thou, who haſt thereby dull'd the Edge of my covetous Deſires, and laid aſleep my worldly Cares, and brought down my ambitious and aſpiring Thoughts, and humbled Self-conceit, by ſhewing me that I am but Sin and Folly, Duſt and Miſery. Bleſſed be thou, who
‖ Luke 10. 41, 42. haſt thereby call'd me off from *incumbering* my ſelf ‖ *with many Things*, which now I ſee cannot profit me, to mind *the one Thing neceſſary*; and from minding worldly Vanities, to ſpend my Thoughts upon thy Laws and Promiſes; and from placing my Confidence in my ſelf, to place it only and wholly in thee.

And ſince my Sickneſs doth thus ſhew me thy Love, and cure my Spirit, and farther my Felicity, it ſhall pleaſe me, O God! when it pains me: And I will confeſs, to the Glory of thy Truth and Goodneſs,
* Pſ. 119. 75. *that* * *thou out of very Faithfulneſs haſt cauſed me to be troubled*, even becauſe I need it, and becauſe, by thy Grace, I ſhall receive much Benefit by it, thro' my bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

4.

I Bleſs thee, O Lord! for all the innumerable Mercies which I have receiv'd from thee moſt bountifully and ſeaſonably, in all States and Conditions of my Life, and thro' all the Days and Years of it: And for that I have long receiv'd Good at thy Hands, before I am brought now to receive Evil. I owe thee infinite Thanks for a Life of Health, before this Confinement to my Bed of Sickneſs; and for the long and ſweet Reliſh I have had of worldly Comforts, before my Diſeaſe render'd them unſavoury.

And

And my preſent Pains and Sorrows, O my God! do not make me forget thy paſt or preſent Mercies, nor go about to leſſen them; nor ſhall they, by thy Grace, ever make me out of Humour with thee, or unthankful for them: Yea, inſtead of giving thee leſs Thanks for them, by reaſon of this Change of my Condition, I will give thee more, becauſe my preſent Want of them has taught me better how to prize and value them. And I do *bleſs*, and I will * *bleſs the Lord that gave*, and *bleſs* him ſtill after *he has taken away*. I bleſs thee, for that I ſtill enjoy much Good; and cannot in the leaſt blame thee, that I have ſome Evil; but thank thee abundantly that I have no more: And above all, that under all my preſent Miſery I am comforted with the Senſe of thy Love, and with the bleſſed Hopes of everlaſting Peace and Joy, thro' Jeſus Chriſt my Lord, *Amen.*

* Job 1. 21.

VII. *Prayers for Patience under Sickneſs.*

A general Prayer for Patience.

1.

O Merciful Lord! now I am call'd to the State of Sickneſs, which is a Trial of Patience, give me Grace to ſhew Patience under the ſame, that is not to be weary'd, and cannot be reprov'd.

Enable me, O Father! to ſhew a quiet and compos'd Patience, that is, without Tumult of troubled Thoughts and diſcontented Paſſions: A ſubmiſſive and reſign'd Patience, that is, without Reluctance to thy Will, or rebellious Murmurings: A Patience of Hope, that doth not ſink under my Burthens, nor is driven by the Smart of my Pains, to miſtruſt thy Love, or Care, or gracious Promiſes; and a thankful Patience, that continues ſenſible of my Comforts and Supports, as well as of my Sickneſſes, and that owns all my preſent Sufferings to be far below my Deſerts, and all my paſt and preſent Mercies to be infinitely above them.

And make me perfect, O my God! in this Patience. Let me tarry thy Leiſure, and not be haſty: Let me wait on thee, and not grow weary; but bear all, whilſt I have any Thing to bear, in comfortable Hopes of thy Strength to ſupport my preſent Weakneſs, and of thy Mercy to eaſe and deliver me at laſt, either by a more healthful Life, or by an happy Death, thro' the Mediation of Jeſus Chriſt my Lord, *Amen.*

2. *For Patience without Reluctance or Diſquietneſs.*

LORD! I humble my ſelf under thy mighty Hand, and ſubmit to thy Viſitation: I ſubmit my ſelf willingly, and will not ſtrive or make Reſiſtance: I kiſs the Rod, inſtead of quarrelling with it, and *accept* of it quietly, as of the *Puniſhment of mine Iniquities*; yea, † thankfully, as of the Reſtorer of mine Innocence.

† Lev. 26. 41.

And in this Patience, O holy Father, do thou ſtill continue and preſerve my Spirit compos'd and quiet, and eaſy to my ſelf: Since it is thy Will thus to afflict me, bow my Will to thine, and make me willing to bear it: And, bearing it willingly, let it not anger or diſcon-

tent

tent me. Yea, O my God! I truſt to thee, to lay no more upon me than I can bear: O! let that truſt keep me without Fears and Diſtractions under my Burthens: I bear only what I moſt juſtly deſerve; O! let that ſtop me from complaining; nay, I bear infinitely leſs than I have deſerv'd, and ſtill enjoy abundance of Mercies after I have deſerv'd to loſe all: O! then let me not fall to accuſe thee for thine Inflictions, but rather to accuſe my ſelf for my evil Deſerts, and to thank thee for my moſt undeſerv'd Comforts.

Set a Watch upon my Tongue therefore, O righteous Lord! and ſuffer it not to vent itſelf in any fretful or froward Speeches; nor to make my Sufferings ſeem bigger, or my Comforts and Supports ſeem fewer, or thy moſt tender and undeſerv'd Mercies to me in my Diſtreſs ſeem leſs than they really are! But if the painful Agitation of my Spirits muſt iſſue out in Cries, Lord! let my Cries be not at all to accuſe, but only to juſtify thy Viſitations, and to expreſs my own Sorrows, and implore thy Mercy, and ſeek Help from thy Grace, thro' our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

3. *For Patience without Dejection of Spirit, and without Haſtineſs for Eaſe.*

AND help me, O Almighty God! to bear my Load without being caſt down: For whatever my Burthen be, I have thee for my Support, and therefore ſhould not faint or ſink under it. Thy ſure Promiſes are my Confidence, and thy Power is my Defence: O! then let not any Greatneſs of my Tryals, or Senſe of my own Weakneſs, make me afraid.

And give me long Patience in bearing and waiting, O my God! if my Relief from thee doth not come ſuddenly: And let me not fooliſhly preſcribe to thee by what Means or Medicines thou ſhalt eaſe me under my Maladies, or deliver me from them, or at what Time thou ſhalt do it; for 'tis more than enough for me, if I may be allow'd to have theſe Mercies at all, tho' by any Means, or at any Time; and it is always beſt for me, if I may be allow'd to have them in thy Way, and at thy Time: Thou knoweſt beſt how to ſuccour and ſave me, and when it will moſt ſenſibly affect me, and ſerve thee.

Oh! then, that I may fix no Times of Eaſe to my ſelf, but expect them from thee; that I may tarry thy Leiſure, and not think thee long; that I may patiently abide, if thou delay'ſt, and not miſtruſt thee; yea, patiently abide always, and not grow weary; but ſtill think with my ſelf, *yet a little while*, and he will ſhew forth his Mercies, and fulfil his Promiſes; and I ſhall find the Eaſe and Deliverance which my weary'd Fleſh deſires, in the Exchange of my Sickneſs, either for the Comforts of Health, or for the Reſt and Joys of Paradiſe, thro' my deareſt Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

4. *For Patience with Friends and Attendants.*

I.

AND together with this Patience towards thee, give me Patience, O merciful Lord! towards all thoſe who friendly or charitably miniſter to me, and attend about me.

Keep me from being humourſome, and ſhewing Croſsneſs to their good Counſels; or from being cauſleſsly angry and exceptious against their kind Services: And if any evil Accidents or Indiſcretions happen

let me not fall unquietly to aggravate them, or burst out into any passionate or opprobrious Words thereupon.

But enable me always, O Father! to shew my self pleas'd and oblig'd with the least Kindness which they do for me, or about me; and to interpret all Mis-chances favourably, and to pass over Things with Ease and Gentleness, which are not done for me to my Desire: And on all Occasions, to make it my Study to give them no more Trouble than need's to help me, nor any Cause to repent of their officious Care, or to grudge at what they do for me; which, as I receive with Thankfulness, so I humbly beseech thee in thy Goodness, most mercifully to repay them and theirs, for Jesus Christ's Sake, *Amen.*

2.

AND, Lord! let me ever bethink my self, that my own Pains and Weakness will keep me troublesome to my self; and that whilst I am so, I am in no good Disposition to be pleas'd with others, altho' what they do for me be really fit to please, were I in a Temper to be pleas'd with it as I ought to be: And that 'tis very hard, even for a discreet and kind Care, to do all Things acceptably to a pained and sickly Body: And therefore, that I ought to take all well, and not to quarrel with what they do for me, which is always well meant and done kindly; yea, and it may be wisely too, tho' it happens not to hit with my diseas'd Fancy.

Oh! then, holy Father, that I may consider upon every Occasion of Offence with them, that at the best I am very troublesome to them; and that all they do for me is out of Kindness, which should be kindly taken: That much of it is pure Charity, which in this Estate I cannot recompense to them, by taking their Troubles upon me, as they do mine upon them: And that it is a small Thing to return Good-will and hearty Thanks, where I have nothing better to re-pay: And to be pleas'd with their Love and Kindness, tho' I am not eas'd by their Performance: And to study to please them with my kind Acceptance, who have no other Aim, than to oblige and ease me by their friendly and charitable Offices; and when they can do no more for me themselves, to seek to thee for the rest, and recommend me by their Prayers to thy Help and Mercy, thro' Jesus Christ our Lord, *Amen.*

5. *For Patience with one's self, and with the Heaviness and Brokenness of one's own Spirit under Sickness.*

1.

O Most Gracious God! when I am most burthen'd with my heavy Load of Pains and Weaknesses, give me Grace, I humbly entreat thee, to gather up what Thoughts and Powers I have left, and to employ them all to bear it patiently; and when I am a little more at Ease, let me be sure to praise thee for the Ease I find, and to improve my Ease, and return thee Thanks, in a Tribute of godly Prayers, and of holy Thoughts and Meditations.

Make me look upon my Prayers, O Lord! as my surest Support, and as my best Employment: And enable me always to be glad of any Helps in them, and of any Ease or Leisure for them, and to be sincerely careful then to put them up to the best I can.

But when I do this the best I can, let me not fear that it will offend thee or endanger me, because in this Pain and Sickness I can do it no better.

better: For my bodily Indiſpoſitions, and my troubled Fancy and broken Thoughts, O my God! are Part of my Diſeaſe, wherewith thou tryeſt my Patience: And as thou expecteſt from me, that I ſhould bear with them as with an Affliction of thy ſending, ſo thou wilt graciouſly bear with them too, for our bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's Sake, *Amen.*

2.

FOR thou, O merciful God, conſidereſt our State, and makeſt all juſt and reaſonable Allowances for the Weakneſs of it: And therefore thou wilt not exact of me to ſeek to thee with the Vigour and Strength of healthy Faculties, or with ſuch uninterrupted Continuance and Attendance as requires the ſame, after thou haſt taken my Health and Strength away.

But thou doſt and wilt accept, O gracious Lord! of a feeble Prayer from a faint and feeble Spirit; and of a ſhort one, from miſtaken broken Thoughts, which is ſoon ſpent and weary'd, and cannot attend to any Thing long: Nay, thou graciouſly acceпteſt even of a Sigh or a Groan, of a devout Wiſh, or of a ſudden Breathing and ſhort Act of holy Love, or of humble Reſignation, of Faith, or of Patience, when the Decays and Drowſineſs of a Spirit almoſt ſpent and ready to faint will ſuffer us to put up nothing elſe.

Oh! then, that I may bear with my ſelf, and with the Feebleneſs and Faintneſs of my own Spirit, in my religious Services under my Sickneſs, and when I am moſt languid and lifeleſs in any ſpiritual Acts, make me remember, that 'tis thy bleſſed Will to ſend this State of Weakneſs upon me; and that all the while I am bearing thy Will patiently, I am pleaſing thee; and that every Moment's Reſignation of my Will thereto is an holy Offering. Let me conſider that I recommend my ſelf to thee by the Patience of Hope, and by meek Suffering, when I have no Strength left to do it by Labour and Action: Nay, that in the Heighth of my Diſability, even my Weakneſs and bodily Indiſpoſitions are vocal for me, and move thy Pity, which in thy due Time will give me Eaſe and Deliverance from them; and graciouſly allow for my Faintneſs, and accept of my poor Services under the ſame, thro' the Merits of our moſt bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

6. *A Prayer for the Helps to Patience.*

O Bleſſed Lord! under all my Grief and Miſery help me, I humbly and earneſtly beſeech thee, to all thoſe good Diſpoſitions, and wiſe Thoughts and Conſiderations, which may make it eaſy to me.

Keep me humble, O God! and I ſhall quietly ſtoop to my Burthen, and not complain. Teach me to deny my ſelf and my own Deſires, and I ſhall contentedly bear my Croſs. Let me have Hope in thee as an Anchor of Reſt, and keep me from doubting of thy Love, and from miſtruſting thy Grace and ſure Promiſes, and I ſhall bear up under my Load, yea, bear up with Comfort, and, in thy due Time, ſee an happy End thereof. Give me Peace in my own Mind, and I ſhall be the ſtronger to endure the Troubles of this World; and thy Comforts in my Soul ſhall ſupport and defend me againſt all the Storms and Tumults that are rais'd in my Body.

And, Lord! let me not ſtand to reckon up my Sorrows after they are paſt, and to renew them to my ſelf, by calling them over again in a painful

a painful Remembrance: Eſpecially, let me not aggravate them to my ſelf by envious Reflections and diſcontented Compariſons with the eaſier State of others; nor let me anticipate them by frightful Imaginations before they come, and when, by thy Grace, they may very likely never come; or any other ways create Sorrows to my ſelf, where really thou doſt not ſend them: But keep me from all ſuch Reflection on them, as ſerves not to reform me, but only to afflict me; and as tends not to enable me to bear my Pains, but only to give Strength and Quickneſs to them, and Feebleneſs and Trouble to my ſelf.

And grant, O holy Father! that, forgetting ſtill what is paſt, I may every Moment ſet my ſelf with all my Might, to bear what lies upon me at preſent: And that under the ſame, my Thoughts may all buſy themſelves in juſtifying thy Goodneſs, and arraigning mine own Wickedneſs; and in caſting about how I may bear my Affliction patiently and devoutly, and learn Obedience thereby, and how I may be comforted under it at preſent, and turn it to my everlaſting Eaſe and Joy in the End, thro' Jeſus Chriſt my Lord, *Amen.*

7. *Prayers containing Motives to Patience.*

1.

LORD! make me patient under all I ſuffer, becauſe it is thy Doing and my Deſerving. Make me look upon my Afflictions as Tokens of thy Love and Care of me, which are not ſent upon me 'till they are needful for my Good and for thy Glory, and which, tho' they are troubleſome, are yet exceeding wholſome: For they come to keep my Soul from being corrupted, and loſt by Eaſe and Pleaſures, and to cure me of my Errors and earthly Affections, and of my Forgetfulneſs of better Things; and to raiſe my Heart to thee, on whom I ſhould always fix, and from whom it ſhould never ſtray.

And keep me ſenſible, O Almighty God! that Impatience doth only double my Diſeaſe; that it makes me troubleſome to others, but moſt of all unto my ſelf; and that it provokes thy Wrath inſtead of diverting it, and makes more Severity neceſſary to break my Spirit, when leſs will not ſuffice to bend it to thy Yoke.

Whereas humble Submiſſion to thy Will, O Lord! is the readieſt Way to have mine own; and my bearing thy Rod with Faith and Patience, and hearkening to the Voice thereof, is the readieſt Way I can take of haſtening on my own Deliverance: For when there is no Hindrance thereto from other wiſe Ends of thy Providence, thou art wont to grow weary of uſing the Rod, after it has ſhew'd us our Errors; and art inclin'd to ſpare us, when we ſubmit our ſelves: Not ſmiting us for any Pleaſure and Delight thou takeſt in the Pains of thy Servants, but to bring down our Spirits, and to purge away our Sins, that we may be fit and duly qualify'd for thy Love, and for our own everlaſting Happineſs, thro' the Merits of our dear Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

2.

AND tho' my Pain and Sickneſs is hard to be borne, O gracious God! yet keep me ever mindful, that there is Need of much Heat * *in the Furnace* to fine *the Gold*, and to purge away the Droſs. That I need to bear ſome Hardſhips to prevent worſe; and cannot be born from my Sins and from thy Wrath, without ſome Violence:

* Eccleſ. 2. 5.

Yea, Lord, that it is a Favour to me, and very deſirable, to be viſited with theſe ſhort Pains, which thy Grace and my Patience will turn at laſt into durable Joys; rather than to be let alone in my Sins, to lye down without Eaſe or Remedy in everlaſting Torments.

And whilſt I am bearing my hard Lot, make me know, O Father! that all thy Promiſes of Grace and Help in Time of Need are ſure and ſteadfaſt: That thou tenderly conſidereſt my Weakneſs, both in ſending of my Sorrows, and in proportioning of my Succours: That thou heareſt all my Groans, and pitieſt them, and wilt find a Cure, or put an End to them, in thy due Time: And that thou art moſt ready to accept of my humble Repentance to appeaſe thy Wrath, making ſuch Allowances for my Frailty and Forgetfulneſs, as our Needs do require, and as thine infinite Mercy and Goodneſs, and thy Goſpel-Promiſes do bid us comfortably Hope for, thro' the Merits and Mediation of our only Saviour and Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

3.

AND whatever my Hardſhips and Sorrows be, O God of Patience and of all Conſolations! make me conſider that this World is the Place of Sorrow and Trouble, whereof all muſt expect to bear their Share. That we need theſe Embitterments of Life to reconcile us to the Thoughts of Death, and to awaken our Preparation for it: That Patience is one of the principal Virtues which we have to learn and exercise whilſt we live; and that if the Exerciſe of it is hard, it will anſwerably be exceeding happy, and moſt highly rewarded.

And let me remember moreover, O Lord! that the more Tryal we have here of our own Patience, the more Proof we have withal of thy Grace and Faithfulneſs, and the greater is our Hope of a more abundant Joy and bleſſed Recompence; and that a little Waiting and Endurance uſually lets us ſee how good and gracious thou art, in removing what lyes hard upon us: However, that the Reſt and Comforts of the next World will abundantly ſatisfy and make Amends for all.

Yea, and even here, O Lord! let me conſider, that Patience under my Burthens makes them lighter, and my Condition better; giving me preſent Eaſe in this Life, as well as more abundant Hopes in the Life to come: That 'tis beſt for thy Will to take Place of mine, and to chuſe for me, both whether, and when, and how, I ſhall be eaſed of them: And that if I ſtruggle againſt thy Will, I cannot reſiſt it; but by bearing patiently, I do not only ſubmit to Neceſſity, but ſhew an Act of Obedience and Duty, which will pleaſe thee, and, in the End, will far more profit me than my Pains do at preſent afflict me, thro' my bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

4.

AND grant me Grace, O Lord! always to bear in Mind, that I am here but as † *a Stranger*, and that theſe Decays will carry me Home. That whilſt I am here * *in the* Body, *I am abſent from the Lord*, and ſtill as I am leaving the Body, I am haſtening to him; and that my poor Soul is now a clogg'd and a cloſe Priſoner in the Fleſh; and theſe Pains and Weakneſſes are come to ſet it free.

†1 Pet. 2. 11.

*2 Cor. 5. 6, 8.

And let me remember, O Father! that theſe Sorrows, which I endure in my Paſſage to Reſt and Peace, are common to Men: Nay, they are the Lot of good Men, who are often exerciſed with a greater Mea-

Meaſure thereof, becauſe here is all the Place * *of their evil Things.* They are not only incident to us, but profitable for us; and the beſt have Need of them: For even the bleſſed Jeſus himſelf, † *though he were a Son, yet learned he Obedience by the Things which he ſuffered:* He bore the Croſs before he wore the Crown; and *we* are firſt ‖ *to ſuffer,* that *we may alſo reign with him.*

* Luke 16. 25.

† Heb. 5. 8.

‖ 2 Tim. 2. 12.

And I willingly ſubmit to follow where my bleſſed Lord has led the Way, and to take Pain and Sorrow in my Paſſage to everlaſting Life and Joy, as he has done before me: Only, O my God! be thou with me, as thou waſt with him; and let me have thee for my Support and Comfort under all my Sorrows whilſt I live, and for my bleſſed Portion when I die, thro' Jeſus Chriſt my Lord, *Amen.*

VIII. *Prayers for ſpiritual Improvements by Sickneſs.*

1.

O Moſt gracious and merciful God! I receive this Sickneſs as thy Monitor, to put me upon conſidering and amending the Errors of my Life, and on making Preparations for my Death.

And let no flattering Hopes of Life, O Lord! delay or ſlacken my Repentance, or keep me from ſetting my Soul in Order; but give me Grace to make Uſe thereof, as if I were ſure it would be, what, for aught I know, it may be, a Sickneſs unto Death: And therefore let me now begin to repent of all my Sins with that Exactneſs, as he ſhould do who thinks this is like to be the laſt Time: And to order all my Actions with that Uprightneſs and holy Care, as befits him who is going to give an Account of them; and to be ſo perfect in putting on all the Dreſſes of a religious Spirit, as he who expects to have no Place afterwards for filling up any Omiſſions.

And on my Sick-bed, holy Father! let holy Prayers be my Employment and Delight; and make me look on ſhewing Patience, and exerciſing Faith, and perfecting Repentance, to be my Buſineſs, for thoſe remaining Moments which I have ſtill to ſpend on Earth. O! let me have as little to do with Vanity, and as much Intercourſe with thee my God, and exerciſe of all heavenly Thoughts and Virtues, as I can; that being uſed to that bleſſed Employment of beatify'd Spirits, I may be fit for their Society, and prepar'd everlaſtingly to enjoy thee in Glory, thro' Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, *Amen.*

2.

AND, Lord! do thou, whoſe Glory it is to bring Good out of Evil, and Light out of Darkneſs, turn my Sickneſs, which comes as the Puniſhment of my Sins, into the Means of my Obedience. Make it the Inſtrument of thy Grace to bring me to my ſelf, and to call me off from Sin and Folly, which have been the Parents of all our Pain and Miſery: Let it bring Innocence and Watchfulneſs to my Spirit, and Peace and Comfort therein; and then my Afflictions ſhall paſs for Favours, and I will give thee Thanks and Praiſe for my Corrections.

When it waſtes and brings down my Spirits, O Father! cauſe it alſo to tame and bring down my Paſſions, and all violent Motions. In my low Eſtate make me meek and lowly; and let the Senſe of my Pains and Weakneſs cure me of all Self-confidence, and carry me out wholly to depend on thee. Under the Terrors of thy Power,

poſſeſs me with holy Awe and Fear; and whilſt my Pains make me forgetful of other Things, let me not remember the Wrongs I have receiv'd, nor be high in Reſentments of them.

Let the Dulneſs alſo of my Senſes, O God! mortify all carnal Appetites; and the Unſavourineſs of all worldly Vanities, cure me of all inordinate Fondneſs for them. O! make my Love of earthly Things, and all my ſinful Luſts and Self-eſteem to die before me, and let my Sickneſs kill them, and ſave my Soul alive.

And grant, O Lord! that the Trouble which I find there is in wanting thy Mercies, may keep me duly ſenſible of them, and thankful for them, whilſt I enjoy them: And let the feeling of theſe Sorrows in my ſelf, touch me with Pity and Compaſſion for the Sufferings of others, whenſoever I ſee them exercis'd therewith.

And make me ever think, O holy Father! that I get more in being thus made better and wiſer by my Afflictions, than in being deliver'd from them: And count nothing ſo good for me, as to be brought thus to know my ſelf, and to know and ſerve thee, and to be put in the ſure Way of obtaining thine everlaſting Mercy, thro' my moſt bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

3.

*2 Cor. 4. 16. AND if as * *my outward Man decays, my inward Man be* thus *renewed*, I will bleſs thy Name, O merciful God! for the Kindneſs of theſe hard Providences, and acknowledge to thy Praiſe, that † Pſ. 119. 75. † *thou in very Faithfulneſs haſt cauſed me to be troubled:* For thou giveſt me better Things than thou takeſt away. The bringing down my Body is for the Enrichment of my Soul, which is my better Part; and this ſmiting and wounding of my Fleſh, is for the healing and binding up my Spirit, which is the trueſt Way to do me Good.

O! then, that inſtead of dreading thy Viſitation as my Scourge, I may receive it as my Medicine: That I may not repine at its making me weak in Body, but rather rejoice that it makes me ſtrong in Spirit; and give thee Thanks for thy Kindneſs and my Comfort in thy Corrections, which are to make me good, that thou may'ſt make me happy, and give me everlaſting Reſt and Bliſs with thee, thro' Jeſus Chriſt my Lord, *Amen.*

IX. *Prayers for the bodily Needs and Deſires of ſick Perſons.*

1. *For Eaſe, when Sickneſs grows very painful and troubleſome.*

1.

LORD! look upon mine Adverſity and Miſery, which call aloud to thee for Eaſe. For [* *I am withered like Graſs, and my Bones will ſcarce cleave to my Skin.* † *My Heart panteth, and my Strength faileth me, and mine Eyes are grown dim.* And] *there is no Soundneſs in my Fleſh becauſe of thine Anger, nor Reſt in my Bones becauſe of my Sin.* [Yea, * *my Bones are burnt as an Hearth,* and] *I* † *go mourning all the* Day

These Expreſſions within the Hooks [ ], the ſick Perſon muſt uſe or omit, as he finds they do, or do not, ſuit with his own Caſe.

* Pſ. 102. 4, 5. † Pſ. 38. 3, 10. * Pſ. 102. 3. † Pſ. 38. 6.

day long, and ‖ wearisome Nights are appointed to me, and I am full of tossing to and fro unto the Dawning of the Day. ‖ Job 7. 3, 4.

This thou knowest, O my God! for * *my Groaning is not hid from thee. O!* † *be not wrath very sore, nor remember Iniquity for ever.* ‖ *Cast me not off*, when I need most to seek thee, *nor forsake me when my Strength faileth me*: But hear me, and ease me, O Lord! for thou delightest in Mercy. Hear me, for I cry unto thee, yea, I cry unto thee all the Day. Hear me * *speedily, for I am brought very low*; and make no long tarrying; for † *mine Eyes long sore for thy Word, saying, when wilt thou comfort me?* And tho' my Flesh and my Heart fail me, yet let not thy Mercy and thy Word fail me: For I still resign and trust my self to them; and in my greatest Weakness and Extremity, thou, O Father! art my Strength and my Portion for ever, thro' Jesus Christ my Lord, *Amen.*

* Ps. 38. 9. † Isa. 64. 9. ‖ Ps. 71. 9. * Ps. 79. 8. † Ps. 119. 82.

2.

O Most gracious God! my Pains are extreme, and too heavy for me, have Pity upon me, and lighten them. * *Correct me in measure,* and consider that I am but a feeble and frail Creature. In † *thine Anger remember Mercy*; for I humbly submit my self, and return to thee. And O! give me that Tractableness and Ingenuity of Spirit, that will be check'd with a Word, and easily call'd off from Evil, and will not need any long or sharp Methods of Correction to reclaim me.

* Jer. 30. 11. † Hab. 3. 2.

I have waited for thy Relief, O Father! give me the Comforts of it: Yea, * *Mine Eyes long sore for thy Word, and are even wasted away with looking for thy saving Health*; let them see it, and be satisfy'd therewith. O! shew me thy Mercy, and that soon, for my Need thereof is great: And think upon me as concerning thy Word, for I trust to it, to lay no more upon me than I can bear, and to send me seasonable Help and Ease at present, and everlasting Rest with thee in the End, thro' Jesus Christ my Lord, *Amen.*

* Ps. 119. 82. 123.

1. *A short Prayer on Receipt of Ease, or Abatement of Pain or Sickness.*

BLessed be thy Mercy, O my God! which pitieth me in my Misery. * *As a Father pitieth his Children*, when they cry out in the Extremity of their Pain, so hast thou pitied me. † *Thou hast chastened me sore, but thou hast not given me over unto Death.* ‖ *Thine Anger is turn'd away, and thou hast eased and comforted me.*

* Ps. 103. 13. † Ps. 118. 18. ‖ Is. 12. 1.

Lord! my Soul shall love thee, and sing of thy Mercy: And in my Distress I will always trust thee, and not be afraid: For thou art our Strength whilst we suffer, and our most merciful Deliverer, when we are able to bear no more, for our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ's Sake, *Amen.*

2. *A Prayer for Strength under the same.*

GIVE me Strength, O Lord! to strive with my Disease, and to bear the Weakness of Nature: And strengthen my Spirit to withstand all its Temptations, as well as my Body, to bear its Diseases. O! enable me to resist the Devil, and to suppress all Stirrings of Sin and Folly: To beat back all Motions of corrupt Passion, and not to lose the due Government of my self thro' Excess of Pain; but to

to ſhew my ſelf mighty thro' thee to bear all patiently, and to fortify my Weakneſs by a firm Faith and unſhaken Truſt in thy Grace and ſure Promiſes.

Lord, if I have no Strength but my own, every Weight will bear me down: But if thou wilt ſupport me, nothing will be too heavy for me, becauſe nothing is too hard for thee: But * *thy Strength will be made perfect in my Weakneſs*; and thy Grace is ſure to overcome my Corruptions, and thy Comforts to give me Eaſe, thro' my moſt bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

* 2 Cor. 12. 9.

3. *A Prayer for Deliverance from them.*

DEliver me, O my God! for I ſeek unto thee to help me; yea, I ſeek unto thee early, and continue ſeeking all the Day long: Thou delighteſt in Mercy, deliver me for thy Mercie's Sake: Thou haſt † promiſed *to be with us*, and *help us in Trouble.* * *Deliver me for thy Righteouſneſs.* Thou art glorious in Might to help our Weakneſſes, † *Deliver me in thy Strength:* Thou haſt formerly been my Succour, O! be ſo ſtill: And ‖ *our Fathers hoped in thee*, and were deliver'd; let not my Hope in thee periſh, or be put to Shame, more than theirs was. Save me, O Almighty Lord! and make Haſte to my Help; *And* * *Men ſhall know that it is thy Hand, and that thou haſt done it*, and learn thereby both to give thee Praiſe, and to make thee their Strength and Confidence, thro' Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, *Amen.*

† Heb. 13. 5, 6.
* Pſ. 31. 1.
† Pſ. 54. 1.
‖ Pſ. 22. 4.
* Pſ. 109. 26.

4. *Prayers for longer Reſpite and Recovery from Sickneſs.*

I.

O Almighty Lord! in whoſe Hands are the Iſſues of Life and Death, look in Mercy upon theſe Decays of Nature which my Diſeaſe hath made, and repair them, and † *ſpare me a little, that I may recover my* Health and *Strength* again.

† Pſ. 39. 13.

I do not deſire Health, O my God! to conſume it in Idleneſs: Nor out of Fondneſs for the gay Pleaſures and Pomps of this World, that I may be ſtrong to purſue them: For I believe and know them all to be Vanity and Vexation of Spirit. I lift up my Heart above them, and do by no Means deſire to have this Earth for my Home, or to take up with them for my Portion: For I love thee and thy Ways, O dear Lord! above them and their Delights; and will harbour no Love of them, but what is ready to ſubmit them all to thee, when thou art pleas'd to take them away; and which will never ſin againſt thy Laws to ſecure them to my ſelf, nor uſe and enjoy them as the Treaſures of my Home, but only as the Helps of my Pilgrimage.

But I deſire it, if it may ſeem fit to thee, O God! that I may be fitter for thy Work, and more able to labour in thy Service: And that I may be more perfect in my Obedience, before I am call'd to give up my Accompts. [And becauſe I am ſtill willing, if it may pleaſe thee, to be an Inſtrument of thy Care and good Providence towards thoſe who, by Nature or Friendſhip, are committed unto me.] And the Gift thereof I ſhall thankfully aſcribe unto thee, and praiſe thy Power and Mercy for the Benefits of my Recovery, thro' my bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

This Clauſe within the Hooks [ ] may be uſed or omitted, as beſt ſuits with the Petitioner's own Caſe.

2.

I know, O Lord! that thou canſt ſoon reſtore me when thou pleaſeſt, and that if † *thou do but ſay the Word I ſhall be whole:* And

† Luk. 7. 7.

believe that thou wilt restore me, if it is best for thy Glory, and for ny Good, and for the wise Ends of thy Providence in this World: And therefore, tho' I do heartily desire it, yet I humbly submit the ame to thee; for I am no where so safe as in thy Choice: And there- ore I leave thee to determine still, whether thou shalt be honour'd, nd my poor Soul benefitted, by my Life or by my Death; whether y me in a State of Health, or in a State of Sickness.

But when thou hast chosen and fix'd my Condition for me, then, ord, I beg of thee, and I beg it earnestly, that I may receive it wil- ngly and thankfully; and that I may have Grace wisely and faith- lly to discharge all those Duties which thou requirest from us un- er the same: And that I may always find, both my Tryal temper'd my Weakness, and my self still comforted and supported under it y thy Grace, thro' Jesus Christ our Lord, *Amen.*

5. *Prayers on taking Physick.*

1.

O Gracious Lord, [direct the Counsels of those who prescribe to me, and] prosper the Medicines which are to give me Ease or rength: But let not my Confidence in them take off any Thing of y Eye or Dependance upon thee; † *For Man lives not by Bread*, nor † Mat. 4. covers by Physick alone, *but by every Word out of the Mouth of God*, 4. give a Blessing unto both: And if thou biddest them, the Things or cidents which I do not think of, or set least by, shall recover me.

O! therefore, as their Part is the Care, so let thine, O God! be the essing, and mine the Comfort: And as I shall love them as thy In- aments, so I shall own thee for the Author of my Mercies, and to ee shall I give Thanks, and pay my Vows and Services, thro' my ar Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, *Amen.*

2.

LORD! let not my Desires of Health ever make me yield to seek Remedy from Charms or suspected Means, or apply my self to ealers with familiar Spirits: Let me not resort to thy utter Enemy, ho sets up this Way against thee; nor fall again to seek to him, ter I have solemnly renounc'd him in my Baptism; nor fondly tter my self with Hopes of receiving Good from the grand Author d Plotter of all Evil, who then only seems to cure when he ceases kill, and doth not cease to torment a Body, but when he hopes ereby to ensnare or destroy a Soul: But give me Patience to wait for fe and Health in thy Ways, that I may always owe the same to ee, and wholly devote them to thy Service, thro' Jesus Christ my ord, *Amen.*

6. *Prayers on Want of Sleep.*

1.

O Righteous Lord! * *thou holdest mine Eyes waking*, and in the * Ps. 77. Night Season I take no Rest. I seek sweet Sleep to ease my 4. ins, and to recruit my Spirits: I seek it earnestly, but I cannot find ; and if I seem to have it fast, * *it* suddenly *breaks from me.* * Dan. 2. But, O merciful God, let it not always flee away; but let my wea- 1. 'd Eyes at length lay hold of it, and make † *my Sleep sweet unto me.* † Jer. 31. 26.

Con-

Conſider my Wearineſs, which calls aloud for Reſt; and my Weakneſs, which greatly needs Refreſhment: And give my labouring Spirits Eaſe, that reſtleſs Agitations, or inceſſant Pains, may not always keep me awake.

Or if my Spirits muſt not be allur'd by Eaſe into ſound Sleep, or at leaſt into ſoft Slumbers, let them however be borne down into it by the Weight of my Sorrows and their own Wearineſs, that I may a little forget my Troubles, and recover Strength to bear any new Returns thereof, 'till thy bleſſed Time ſhall come of ſending me Deliverance from the ſame, either by the Bleſſing of Health, or the infinitely greater Bleſſing of Heaven, thro' Jeſus Chriſt my Lord, *Amen.*

2.

AND whilſt thou keepeſt mine Eyes awake, O Lord! keep my Heart watchful; and make me ſeek both to divert my Sorrows and to eaſe and comfort my ſelf, by employing my Thoughts well.

† Pſ. 63. 3. * Pſ. 77. 6. O! that I may fall † *to remember thee on my Bed, and meditate on thy Ways* and Promiſes *in the Night Watches*: That I may * *commune with mine own Heart, and diligently ſearch out my* own *Spirit.* That I may remember thy tender Mercies and gracious Dealings towards others, and call to Mind the bleſſed End of Patience, and how careful thou art ſometimes to give us Eaſe, whilſt thou denieſt us Sleep; at others, to ſend us Sleep too, when we are not fit any longer to ſubſiſt without it. Yea, that in thy due Time thou wilt bring us to that bleſſed State where they ſleep away no happy Minutes, but wake continually to enjoy the ſame, as Angels do, and where their Eyes never take Sleep, nor ever need or deſire it.

And let theſe Thoughts comfort me, 'till thy Grace and Mercy ſee fit to give Sleep to my Eyes, and Deliverance from my Sorrows, thro' my deareſt Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

7. *A Prayer of Friends for the Sick under Exceſs of Sleep, and when they apprehend Danger by it.*

O Merciful God, let not this deep Sleep which is fall'n upon thy Servant, prove the Sleep of Death: Make it the Sleep of * Or her. recovering Perſon, to relieve and revive * him, not to carry him off; and awake him out of it in thy due Time, to offer thee Praiſe, and to labour ſtill among us in doing thee Honour and Service.

But if thou haſt order'd thereby to take him to thy ſelf, Lord, remember and accept of all his former Prayers and Repentance, Faith and Patience. Look not upon his Sins but to pardon them, nor on his Weakneſſes but to pity them; and when he awakes in the next World, let him find himſelf ſurrounded with Light and Bliſs inſtead of his Sick-bed Sorrows, and awake to eternal Life with thee in Glory.

Lord, hear us, for this thy weak Servant in Diſtreſs: Hear our Prayers for him, who ſeems not able now to offer up any Prayers to thee for himſelf; and accept both him and us to the bleſſed Enjoyment of thy Love, and Hopes of thy Mercies, thro' Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, *Amen.*

8. *A Prayer of Friends for the Sick, when they are light-headed, or apprehend Danger thereof.*

LORD, in this Extremity of Pain and Sickneſs, keep thy Servant * Or her. in * his Senſes, and let him not want the Uſe of Reaſon when he ſtands moſt in Need of its Succours.

Le

Let not his Diſeaſe tranſport him into vain or violent Ravings: And much leſs let the Enemy abuſe his Fancy, when he himſelf has loſt all good Uſe thereof, and poſſeſs it with any frightful or ungodly Thoughts and Illuſions.

But whatever he ſays or doth amiſs or indecent, under ſuch Diſturbance and Alienation of Mind, impute not the ſame to him as his Sins, O Lord! whilſt his Reaſon can neither underſtand nor refuſe them; and whilſt that which takes away the Uſe of his Reaſon from him, is only his Diſeaſe, which is of thy ſending; but impute them to the buſy working of the Adverſary upon an ungovern'd Imagination: And give thy Servant his Senſes again, that he [† may diſclaim all the Evil which he ſaid or did whilſt he knew it not]; and that he may watch againſt the Enemy, and may ſee his Wants, and earneſtly implore thy Grace and Mercy for the Supply thereof, thro' Jeſus Chriſt our Lord and Saviour, *Amen.*

† This Clauſe within the Hooks may be left out when he has ſaid nothing amiſs under the Want of his Senſes.

X. PRAYERS for certain Kinds of Sickneſs.

I. *For Women with Child.*

1. *Scriptures for Women with Child.*

1. Before their Travail.

UNTO the Woman God ſaid, I will greatly multiply thy Sorrow and thy Conception; in Sorrow ſhalt thou bring forth Children, Gen. 3. 16.

For the Woman being deceived was firſt *in the Tranſgreſſion.*

Notwithſtanding ſhe ſhall be ſaved in Child-bearing, if ſhe continue in Faith, and Charity, and Holineſs with Sobriety, 1 Tim. 2. 14, 15.

And when ſhe is in Travail ſhe hath Sorrow, becauſe her Hour is come: but as ſoon as ſhe is deliver'd, ſhe remembereth no more the Anguiſh, for Joy that a Man is born into the World, Joh. 16. 21.

2. In Travail.

LORD, my Heart is ſore pained within me, and the Terrors of Death are fall'n upon me.

Fearfulneſs and Trembling are come upon me, and Horror hath overwhelmed me, Pſal. 55. 4, 5.

But *what Time I am afraid, I put my Truſt in thee,* Pſalm 56. 3.

Lord, I beſeech thee, deliver my Soul, Pſalm 116. 4.

O! *Be not thou far from me,* nor ſeem as if thou heardeſt not.

Shew ſome Token upon me for good, and make haſte to help me, O Lord! Pſal. 38. 21, 22. and 88. 17.

After Delivery ſhe may expreſs her Devotion in one of the Hymns in the *Office for Churching of Women,* or in this following:

Love the Lord, becauſe he hath heard my Voice and my Supplications.

Becauſe he hath inclined his Ear unto me, therefore will I call upon him as long as I live.

The Sorrows of Death compaſſed me, and the Pains of Hell got hold upon me; I found Trouble and Sorrow.

Then called I upon the Name of the Lord, Pſ. 116. 1, 2, 3, 4.

And *in the Day when I cried, he anſwered me, and ſtrengthened me with Strength in my Soul,* Pſ. 138. 3.

When I ſought him he heard me, and delivered me from all my Fears, Pſal. 34. 4.

O! *Sing unto the Lord all ye Saints of his, and give Thanks at the Remembrance of his Holineſs,* Pſal. 30. 4.

Ye that fear the Lord, praiſe him: For he hath not deſpiſed nor abhorred the Affliction of the Afflicted; neither hath he hid his Face from me, but when I cried unto him he heard me.

And *my Praiſe ſhall be of him in the great Congregation; I will pay my Vows before them that fear him,* Pſal. 22. 23, 24, 25.

Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt.

As it was in the Beginning, is now, and ever ſhall be, World without End, *Amen.*

II. *Prayers for Women with Child.*

1. *A Prayer for a Breeding Woman, and againſt Miſcarriage, to be uſed at any Time before Travail.*

O Almighty Lord! who in thy Mercy haſt given me an hopeful Conception, carry it on, I humbly intreat thee, to an happy Deliverance in thy due Time.

O! let not my Child fare the worſe for mine Offences, nor deal with it according to my Deſerts, but according to thy own tender Mercies. Give it its due Shapes and full Growth, and preſerve me from all Frights or evil Accidents which may cauſe me to miſ-carry; and in great Love and Pity both to it and me, bring it into the World at its full Maturity.

And bleſs it in Mind, O God! as well as in Body: Endow it with an Underſtanding capable to know thee, and with an Heart well-diſpos'd and ſtrongly bent to fear thee: Sanctify it from the Womb, and receive and reckon it for thy Child as ſoon as it is mine, lent to me for my Comfort, but ever reſerv'd and employ'd by thee for thy Service and Glory.

And, Lord! if it may pleaſe thee, make it eaſy to me in the Breeding, and in the Bearing and Bringing-forth alſo, when the Time ſhall come. And grant that in both I may always bear my Burthen with Patience, and look up to thee with Faith, and receive thy Mercies with all Humility and Thankfulneſs, thro' Jeſus Chriſt my Lord, *Amen.*

2. *A Prayer when the Time of Travail draws near.*

GIVE me Grace, O merciful God! to look for the Pangs and Throws of Travail, which now draw near unto me, with holy Fear and humble Confidence in thee.

Let me not come to meet them, O Almighty Father! in a ſtupid or careleſs Security, as one inſenſible how much the Smart and Peril of this State do need thy Help and Mercy: For nothing is fitter to ſhew us our Weakneſs, nor calls more for the Succours of thy Strngth: And therefore I diſclaim all Confidence in my ſelf, or other human Means

and

and humbly ſeek to thee; and give my ſelf and my poor Babe up for loſt, unleſs thou art pleas'd to ſtand by me.

But when I ſee how much I need thee, let me not miſtruſt thee, O my God! for thou art prone to ſhew Pity, and my Pangs will be ſtrong to move it; and the Preſervation of my ſweet Babe, which has done nothing againſt thee, will call aloud to thy Mercy to deliver me. Thou art ready to hear us, and to help us, O Lord! becauſe of thy Promiſe; and my Truſt is, that thy Power and Goodneſs will not be wanting to ſupport and deliver me in this Caſe, becauſe I ſee thou daily doſt extend the ſame to ſupport and deliver others; [and becauſe thou haſt ſeveral Times heretofore done the ſame to my ſelf.]

And therefore, O Father! I chearfully commit my ſelf into thy Hands; and look to find Mercy from thee, as one who abſolutely needs thee, and humbly truſts to thee: For mine Eyes are unto thee, O God! and to thee alone, to give me convenient Courage to bear them, and to give me Patience to wait on thee, and a ſafe Deliverance at thy due Time, for our Lord Jeſus Chriſt's Sake, *Amen.*

III. *Prayers in Time of Travail; one or other whereof may ſtill be recited by her ſelf, or read to her by her Friends, as often as ſhe pleaſes.*

1.

LORD! now my Sorrows have got hold upon me, let thy Strength come in to ſupport me. O! let not my Burthens come faſter upon me than thy Succours do; but give me Patience to bear my Pains, and quietly to wait thy Time of eaſing them. Give me Faith to rely upon thy Mercy and Promiſes, and to believe that they will be ſhewn towards me, and fulfill'd upon me in their Seaſon. Give me Comfort under my Pangs, and after them: And as thou haſt enabled me to conceive a Child, and to bear it hitherto in my Womb; ſo now, to crown thoſe Bleſſings, give me Strength to bring it forth at its full Time; and, if it may pleaſe thee, neither let my Pains be too ſharp nor too long, before I am happily deliver'd of the ſame, for my dear-eſt Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's Sake, *Amen.*

2.

O Almighty God! do thou direct the Counſels and Endeavours of thoſe who charitably miniſter about me: Guide them to Ways that are moſt for mine and my Child's Safety and Eaſe, and of quickeſt Diſpatch. O! let thy Counſel and thy Hand go along with theirs, for they can do nothing without thee: Let me now be thy Care, for thou art my Confidence.

And ſave and deliver me, for now is the Hour of my extream Need, and of thy ſhewing Pity and Mercy on me, thro' the Merits and Mediation of my deareſt Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

3.

LORD! I receive theſe Pangs as the Sorrows which thou haſt juſtly laid upon our Sex for being firſt in Diſobedience. I * *accept them* Lev. 26.
as the Puniſhment of mine Iniquity; O! let that appeaſe and pacify thee. 41.
I reſiſt not, but ſubmit my ſelf to them meekly: O! then ſmite not me too ſore, nor lay too much upon me; but proportion both their De-

grees and Continuance, not according to my Sins, but according to my Weakneſs, and as may beſt ſuit with thy tender Mercies, thro' Jeſus Chriſt my Lord, *Amen.*

4.

SUpport me, O dear God! for I am weak: Support me, for I am one that fears thee: Support thou me, for I truſt my ſelf unto thee, and wait on thee, and long ſore for thy Mercy and my ſafe Delivery, for Jeſus Chriſt's Sake, *Amen.*

5.

MAKE haſte to help me, O Lord! and deliver me ſpeedily, for my Spirit waxeth faint. This ſpeedy Eaſe my Fleſh earneſtly deſires, if thou ſeeſt it fit for me; but yet I humbly ſubmit the ſame to thee: For be it quicker or ſlower, thy Time I acknowledge is always beſt: O! then deliver me when thou pleaſeſt, and give me Patience to wait for my Delivery; and delay it no longer, O my dear God! than ſuits beſt with my Weakneſs and with thy Goodneſs, for my bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's Sake, *Amen.*

Short Ejaculations which She may uſe in Time of her Travail.

LORD, * *my Groans are not hid from thee,* let not thy Mercy be hid from me. * Pſ. 38. 9.

Thy Terrors come about me, and threaten me on every Side: but † *what Time I am afraid, I will ſtill put my Truſt in thee.* † Pſ. 56. 3.

Conſider, O my God! that I am made of Fleſh, very ſenſible of Pains, and ſhort in Patience: O! lay not too much upon me.

Help me, Lord! for thou art my Hope.

Make haſte to my Help, for my Spirit waxeth faint.

O Jeſus, who waſt thy Self born of a Woman, help this tender Babe ſtruggling for Birth, *Amen.*

IV. *Prayers after Delivery.*

The *Collect* in the *Office of Churching of Women,* which may be ſaid by ſome Friend there preſent.

O *Almighty God! we give thee humble Thanks for that thou haſt vouchſafed to deliver this Woman thy Servant, from the great Pain and Peril of Child-birth. Grant, we beſeech thee, moſt merciful Father, that ſhe, thro' thy Help, may both faithfully live and walk according to thy Will in this Life preſent, and alſo may be Partaker of everlaſting Glory in the Life to come, thro' Jeſus Chriſt our Lord,* Amen.

Other Prayers which may be read to her, for her devoutly to offer up to God, her Friends heartily concurring and ſaying *Amen* with her.

1. *A Thankſgiving for ſafe Deliverance.*

O Father of Mercies! what Thanks can I worthily give unto thee for thine unſpeakable Goodneſs to my helpleſs Babe and me, and for the wonderous Things which thou haſt now done for my Soul?

For the Pangs and Terrors of Death got hold of me, and the Mouth of the Pit was opened, and ready to ſhut it ſelf upon me; but thou haſt graciouſly aſſwaged thoſe Pains, and wrought Deliverance, and turned my Sorrows into Joys.

Lord! I will ever adore and magnify thy Mercy, which hath dealt ſo lovingly with me; and praiſe thy Truth and Faithfulneſs, which have not ſuffer'd thy Promiſes or my Hopes to fail. I will never forget how mindful thou haſt been of me in my low Eſtate, and how thou haſt been a preſent Help in the Time of my greateſt Need.

For I have felt thy Power, O my God! in my greateſt Weakneſs, and have been enabled thereby above my Strength. I have taſted thy Goodneſs in the midſt of all my piercing Pangs and Sorrows; for thou didſt comfort and ſupport me under them, and didſt meaſure them out to me, according as I could bear them; and in tender Pity didſt ſend Eaſe, yea, haſt turned thoſe Sorrows into Joys, when I could bear them no more.

And O! that all thy Saints may praiſe thee, for the Glories of thy Power and Mercy: That they may be encourag'd to fear and truſt thee, for the Wonders which thou haſt wrought for me: And that I may never grow weary of waiting on thee, remembring how gracious thou art ſtill in the End to me; nor deſpair of thy moſt ſeaſonable Help and merciful Deliverance in my greateſt Streights and Difficulties, thro' my bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

2. *A Prayer for Grace and Aſſiſtance under the remaining Sorrows and Trials of Child-Bed.*

PErfect, good Lord! that Deliverance, both to my Child and me, which thou haſt moſt graciouſly begun, and let us not be loſt after the Wonders which thou haſt already done for us, for want of thy doing a little more.

Continue my Patience, O Father! and my humble Dependance and comfortable Hope in thee, under my farther Pains and Accidents of my Child-bed: Support my Spirit under them, and, if thou pleaſeſt, bring me ſafely thro' the ſame, and raiſe me up again in thy due time. Thy Mercy and Power are ſtill the ſame, and will be the ſame for ever: O! let them ſtill be ſhewn for my Recovery, as they have already been for my Delivery: Let them be ſhewn upon me, that I may ſtill more and more praiſe thee; and becauſe I place my Safety in thy Love and Care, and put my Hope and Truſt in thee.

But if in thy paternal Providence, whereto I willingly commit my ſelf, thou haſt determin'd otherways concerning me, thy bleſſed Will, O my God! be done. Diſpoſe of me either to Life or Death, as thou pleaſeſt; only in both to thy Mercy: And whether living or dying, let me ſtill pleaſe thee, and be thou my Portion. O! perfect my Repentance, and purge away all my Sins: And give me Patience whilſt I live, and Peace when I die, and after that the Happineſs to ſee thy Face in a bleſſed Eternity, which thou haſt prepar'd and promiſ'd to all that truly fear thee, thro' Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, *Amen.*

3. *A Prayer for her Child.*

PReſerve my tender Child, O Father! and let its own Weakneſs and my Cries commend it to thy bleſſed Care. Preſerve it to be regenerated and born again by Baptiſm, and thereby made thine own Child by Adoption; which is infinitely a greater Bleſſing both to it and me, than thy making of it mine.

Keep

Keep it also afterwards in Health and Safety: And as it encreases in Years and Stature, let it encrease withal in Wisdom, and in thy Fear. I beg not for it Wealth or Greatness, but Wisdom to know and serve thee: For, O Lord! I do not desire Life, either for my self or it, but that we may live to thee, and grow daily in Love and Thankfulness for all thy Mercies, and in Faith, and Patience, and all holy Obedience, which may fit us both for ever to enjoy thee, thro' Jesus Christ our only Saviour and Redeemer, *Amen.*

Afterwards, when she comes to be Churched, *besides the* accustomed Offering *to the Minister, she may add a Gift of Alms to the Poor, as a proper and acceptable Tribute of Thanks and Praise; Alms being as fit to attend and recommend our Thanksgivings, as they are to inforce our Prayers.*

* Rubrick at the End of the Office for *Churching of Women.*

And let her not forget the **Churches Admonition, to compleat her* giving Thanks *by* Receiving the Holy Sacrament, *if there be a Communion that Day, or so soon as there shall be one.*

II. Devotions on *the Loss of Eye-sight*, to be read to them by some Friends, for them to meditate upon, or to join in.

Scriptures.

1.

WHO *hath made the Seeing and the Blind? Have not I the Lord?* Exod. 4. 11.

And *the Lord openeth the Eye of the Blind,* Psalm 146. 8.

He hath anointed me to preach the Gospel to the Poor, and recovering of Sight to the Blind, Luke 4. 18.

Lord! *I grope for the Wall, and stumble at Noon-day as in the Night.*

I wait for Light, but behold Obscurity; for Brightness, but I walk in Darkness, Is. 59. 9, 10.

Lord, I beseech thee, that I may recover my Sight.

Receive thy Sight, thy Faith hath saved thee, Luke 18. 41, 42.

But if I must not receive it in my Body, however *open the Eyes of*
†Ep. 1. 18. † my Soul, *that I may behold wondrous Things out of thy Law,* Psalm 119. 11.

2.

The Light of the Eyes, indeed, *rejoyceth the Heart,* Prov. 15. 30.

For *truly the Light is sweet, and a pleasant Thing it is for the Eyes to behold the Sun,* Eccles. 11. 7.

But *the Eye is not satisfy'd with seeing,* Eccles. 1. 8.

For as *Hell and Destruction are never full, so the Eyes of Man are never satisfy'd,* Prov. 27. 20.

And *the Lust of the Eyes is not of the Father, but of the World,* 1 Joh. 2. 16.

So that we need to *make a Covenant with our Eyes,* Job 31. 1.

And *if thine Eye offend thee, pluck it out and cast it from thee: It is better for thee to enter into Life without Eyes, rather than having Eyes to be cast into Hell-fire,* Matt. 18. 9.

Besides

Besides, in seeing much, we see much evil; and it may be *thou shalt be mad for the Sight of thine Eyes which thou shalt see*, Deut. 28. 34.

And *just* Lot, *in seeing, vexed his righteous Soul from Day to Day, with the unlawful Deeds of the Wicked*, 2 Pet. 2. 7, 8.

3.

Moreover, tho' the Body be dark, yet *the Eyes of our Understanding may be enlightened*, Eph. 1. 18.

For *the Spirit of Man is the Candle of the Lord, searching all the inward Parts of the Belly*, Prov. 20. 27.

And *we walk by Faith, and not by Sight*, 2 Cor. 5. 7.

And tho' 'tis pleasant to see the Sun, yet 'tis pleasanter to see those *Things which the Angels desire to look into*, 1 Pet. 1. 12.

And to supply our want of bodily Eyes, our Friends and Neighbours *may be to us instead of Eyes*, Num. 10. 31.

For *I was Eyes to the Blind, and Feet to the Lame*, Job 29. 15.

And *cursed be he that maketh the Blind to wander out of the Way*, Deut. 27. 18.

Or *putteth a Stumbling-block before him*, Levit. 19. 14.

Glory be to the Father, *&c.*

PRAYERS.

I. *For Recovery of Sight.*

LORD! pity me, who have my Eyes always closed, and all my Days turned into Night. I cannot see what I eat or what I drink, and † *I grope for the Wall, and stumble* in the Light as in the Dark: For the Light, which maketh all Things manifest about us, and * reviveth and maketh glad both Man and Beast, is no Light to me, but am dark at Noon-day. * Is. 59. 10.

O! support and comfort me in this my Adversity, and restore my Sight to me again, if it may seem fit to thee. Consider, Lord! how greatly it serves for my Comfort and Safety; and restore it to me, for I seek to thee, and thou art prone to pity me, and thou only who hast it canst restore it: Yea, do thou restore it, O my God! that I may again behold the marvellous Greatness, and the rich and various Beauty of thy Creatures; and devoutly admire and praise the Glories of thy Wisdom, Power, and Goodness, which they set forth daily before our Eyes. And above all, that I may return to read thy Holy Word, to instruct and comfort me, and to make me perfect in the Way of my Duty, and of obtaining thine everlasting Mercy, thro' Jesus Christ my Lord, *Amen.*

II. *For Patience under the Want of it.*

1.

AND in this State of bodily Blindness, O righteous Lord! I do not in the least complain of thee for laying it upon me: For thou hast continu'd the Use of my Eyes much longer unto me, than I have been careful to use and employ them for thee: And because I would

would not take Care to govern them virtuously and wisely, nor shut them up or restrain them my self, thou hast shut them up in Darkness.

For they had taken me off, O holy Father! from minding thee, to mind worldly Pomp and Show, and to fix themselves in Clay: They were grown greedy and unsatisfy'd in beholding Vanity. They had often † *made me to offend:* And 'tis better to want Eyes, than to be made to offend by them; and *to enter into Life* being blind, rather than having Eyes without Innocence *to be cast into Hell-fire.*

* Matt. 18. 9.

So that I humbly submit to this Blindness, O my God! and meekly accept of it, both as the Punishment of mine Iniquities, and as a Means to cure and prevent them: And if it be thy Pleasure to have me rest under it, or whilst it is so, thy blessed Will be done: And I will not only submit to thee, but will still thankfully adore and praise thy Name, thro' Jesus Christ my Lord. *Amen.*

2.

AND I will consider, O gracious Lord! that if my Blindness makes my Soul to have less Pleasure in this World, it makes it also to have less Danger from it: For in this World I should see more that is fit to ensnare, than to benefit my Mind; and my Eyes would let in more Tryals than true Enjoyments, and meet with more to inflict than to delight me.

And I will thankfully remember, O Father! that by thy Mercy I was not born blind, but had long enjoy'd the Use of my Eyes before I lost them; yea, and after I had most justly deserv'd to lose them, thou wast graciously pleas'd to lend them to me, 'till I had been conversant in thy Holy Word, to direct and comfort me: And 'till I had seen much of what was to be seen in this World, and 'till more Days would have brought little but the same Sights over again: And by thy Grace I † [had first dispatch'd such Business and Affairs as are of most Importance and Concern to me in this Life, and] was come to have much less Need of my Eyes before they were taken from me, and I was call'd from beholding Vanity, to mind thee, and make sure of the *one Thing necessary*, thro' my blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, *Amen.*

† This within the Hooks, or other Passages, the Persons must use or omit, as suits with their own Case.

3.

YEA, and still thro' thy Mercy, O dear God! I have my Hearing perfect to supply the Want of my Eye-sight: And altho' I have now no Use of my own Eyes, yet I have of others, and can still see any Thing with theirs. [And what I once learn from them, I now remember much better by thy Help than I used to do, whilst I had my own Eyes to trust to, and am in less Need of any Eyes to see it for me over again.]

And therefore instead of repining that I have lost my Eyes, I will adore and thank thy Goodness, O blessed Lord! which has so well provided me for this Loss, and doth now so comfortably make it up to me otherways: But above all, which gives me an Heart that can still look up to thee, and take Comfort in thy Promises, when my Eyes can no longer look upon this World, or delight in its Gayeties: And which supports me in my dark Estate, with the blessed Hope of receiving Eyes at the Resurrection of the Just, which always see clear and never grow dim; and which can bear the Brightness of thy Presence, and shall always feast themselves in beholding thee and all heavenly Glories, thro' Jesus Christ my only Saviour and Redeemer. *Amen.*

3. For

3. For good Uſe of their Blindneſs, and proper Helps under it.

AND whilſt thou takeſt from me the Uſe of my Eyes, O merciful Lord! take from me alſo the Luſt of my Eyes: And let me by no Means doat any more on Riches, or on Beauty, or on the Pomp and Gayety of any earthly Things, ſince now I can no longer feaſt my Eyes therewith; but inſtead of coveting and greedily hearkening after the ſame, make me as a dead Man to them: For Death has already invaded my earthly Tabernacle, and is come up at the Windows: And I have out-liv'd my Eyes, which as they had commonly been the firſt In-lets of Sin, ſo now thy Juſtice has made them the firſt In-lets of Death too.

And ſince my Eyes are kept from looking Abroad, keep my Mind from looking Abroad too: Let my Thoughts buſy themſelves at Home, in ſearching out and ſetting ſtrait mine own Ways, and in meditating on thy Laws and Promiſes. I cannot ſay, as others may, that I am ſtill call'd off from this good Employment of them, by the ſight of outward Objects, or by the Cares of Men of Buſineſs: O then! that I may be more intent therein, as wanting much of other Perſons Hindrances and Excuſes.

And make me remember, O my God! that thus to know and behold thee, is to ſee with Angels Eyes: And that altho' Fleſh and Blood cannot ſee God, yet Faith doth; and that whilſt thou art pleas'd to clear up my Faith, which is the Eye of my Soul, and to make it ſtrong and lively to diſcern what will pleaſe thee, and what will ſave and comfort me in the next World, it matters leſs, tho' I remain dark, to what is apt to enſnare and afflict me in this World.

And whilſt I want my Eyes to inform me at every Turn what paſſes, Lord! quicken my Attention, that I may give the more Heed when I am told of the ſame; and ſtrengthen my Memory, that I may not need ſtill to be told of it again: And now my own Eyes are no longer ſerviceable to me, give me faithful Friends and Servants about me, that I may ſafely truſt to theirs: And let thy Care and good Providence be to me inſtead of my Eyes, and of all other Comforts and Conveniencies which my Blindneſs deprives me of, thro' Jeſus Chriſt my only Lord and Saviour, *Amen.*

Our Father, &c.

III. *Devotions on the Loſs of Hearing.*

Scriptures.

WHO hath made Man's Mouth, or who maketh the Dumb or Deaf? have not I the Lord? Exod. 4. 11.

The hearing Ear, and the ſeeing Eye, the Lord hath made even both of them, Prov. 20. 12.

In that Day the Ears of the Deaf ſhall be unſtopped, Iſa. 35. 5.

And *the Deaf ſhall hear the Words of the Book*, Iſa. 29. 18.

He ſaid, be opened, and ſtraightway his Ears were opened, Mark 7. 34, 35.

But above all, O Lord! *give thy Servant an hearing Heart*, Kings 3. 9.

And that is better, whilſt the Ears of my Body are ſhut, than to *have Ears, and to hear*, Ezek. 12. 2.

Or *Hearing to hear, but not to underſtand*, Acts 28, 26.

And when the Ears of the Body are open, *the Ear is not fill'd with hearing, nor the Eye satisfy'd with seeing.*

And *the Thing which has been* heard or seen, *it is that which shall be* heard or seen again; *and that whith is done, is that which shall be done; and there is no new Thing under the Sun*, Eccles. 1. 8, 9.

Yea, and in hearing much Evil is much Trouble; and *just* Lot, in *hearing, vexed his righteous Soul from Day to Day, with the unlawful Deeds and filthy Conversation of the Wicked*, 2 Pet. 2. 7, 8.

† Deut. 27. 18. *Thou shalt not curse the Deaf, nor put* † *a Stumbling-block before the Blind, but fear the Lord*, Lev. 19. 14.

Our Father, *&c.*

PRAYERS.

I. *For Recovery of Hearing.*

O Righteous Lord! mine Ears have been too much inclin'd and delighted to hear Things which dishonour thee and corrupt me: And where they were less bent upon Evil, yet, however, they were too easy and complying with it; and therefore thou art just in stopping them, because I have mis-us'd them; and I must clear and glorify thee in taking away my Hearing from me, both in deserv'd Punishment of my having provok'd thee, and in careful Prevention of my farther Corruption of my self thereby.

But, Lord! in thy just Displeasure remember Mercy, and open mine Ears again if it may seem good to thee: For I acknowledge my former Errors, and am resolv'd, by thy Grace, to keep them always open to good Words, and averse to Evil. Do thou open them, good Lord! for to thee alone do I look for the same, and I know it is as easy for thee to open them, as it was to shut them; and consider no longer my Sins, which deserve to be punish'd, but mine Affliction which calls to be pity'd.

For by this Deafness, O my God! I am depriv'd very much of the Comforts of Conversation, and of the chief Means of Instruction: For Discourse teacheth Wisdom and Understanding; and * *Faith* in self cometh and groweth up by *Hearing*: And in the midst of Discourse I am, in great Measure, as if all kept Silence; and the World is as if all were dumb to me, because I am deaf to them, and can seldom let in any Voice, that might bring Counsel or Comfort to my Soul or to my Body.

* Rom. 10. 17.

O! therefore, holy Father, do thou once more restore me to the Benefit and Comfort of Company, and give me an Ear that can distinguish Good from Ill, and that will be both fit and glad to hear whatsoever may honour thee, or any ways edify or advantage me, thro' Jesus Christ my Lord, *Amen.*

II. *For Patience under the Want of Hearing.*

1.

AND whilst thou seest fit to continue me under this Deafness, O Almighty Lord! give me Patience contentedly to want the Conversation of others. I know, alas! and do lament, that I am hereby debarr'd from hearing good Words; but I will reckon it some Compensation to me, that it keeps me from hearing Evil too; and in this naughty World there is much more Evil spoke than Good.

For

For if my Ears were open, O God! I ſhould daily hear much more than I deſire to hear, or than I ought to bear ſilently: And ſhould hear Evil more often, than I ſhould find the Heart and Courage to reprove it; or than I ſhould be able to cure, or perhaps to check, or any ways hinder it by my Reproof: And where I can neither prevent nor cure evil Speeches, I will account it as a piece of Favour to me to be deaf to them.

And therefore thy Will be done, O holy Father! I receive my Deafneſs patiently and thankfully, as being ſent by thee, and as daily keeping out much, that would either corrupt, or trouble and afflict me: And am content, whilſt thou pleaſeſt, to be deaf to the Voice of Sinners, 'till thou ſhalt either reſtore that Senſe to me again here on Earth, or take me hence, to hear the heavenly Hallelujahs and charming Voices of Angels and beatify'd Spirits in thy Preſence, for the Sake of my bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

2.

AND bleſſed be thy Mercy, O Lord! that I was not born deaf, but had mine Ears open, 'til Faith was ingender'd in me by Hearing: For I enjoy'd my Senſe of Hearing, 'til I had learnt to know thee and the Way of my own Salvation: Yea, and 'til I had learnt to know much of this World too, enough to teach me that I muſt keep always on my Guard againſt the Snares, and conſtantly expect to meet, and ſtand prepar'd to bear, the Troubles of it.

And grant, O Father! that having liv'd to hear much before, I may now ſet my ſelf to meditate on what I have heard formerly, and to live by Memory, and ſtill have Recourſe to paſt Inſtructions, to guide and comfort me.

And make me conſider, Lord, that if mine Ears were ſtill open'd, ſince † *there is little new under the Sun,* I ſhould daily hear much of the ſame, both Good and Evil, over again: And that I may profit my ſelf abundantly by thy Grace, in fixing thoſe Things upon my Mind which I have heard already; yea, that I may likely profit more, in recollecting and meditating thus upon old Inſtructions, than by having an Ear never fill'd with Hearing, but daily hearkening after new ones: And that without ſuch Reflection on the Knowledge which has already come by Hearing, to make my ſelf Maſter thereof, I ſhall be almoſt as if I wanted it, even whilſt I have it, and ſhall be loſing it daily more or leſs. † Eccleſ. 1. 9.

And beſides this, O gracious God! thou art ſtill pleas'd moſt mercifully to continue to me the Uſe of my Eyes, to ſupply the Want of mine Ears; and I can read whatſoever is fit for me to know, in relation to this Life or the next, tho' I can no longer hear it.

And, Lord, make me ſenſible, that this Way I can converſe with the beſt Company, and in their beſt and moſt ſtudy'd Thoughts and Diſcourſes: And, moreover, that I can come to them when I need, and leave them when I pleaſe: For at any Time, without tedious Waiting or troubleſome Ceremony, I may have their Wiſdom to counſel and comfort me, in any Exigence either of my Soul or Body: And, without upbraiding me with my Dulneſs or Troubleſomneſs, or growing impatient thereat, they ſtand always ready to tell, me as often as I need or deſire, what Way I may be moſt eaſy to my ſelf, or uſeful to my Friends, or acceptable unto thee, thro' Jeſus Chriſt my Lord, *Amen.*

3. *For good Use of Deafness.*

AND whilst I remain deaf to the Conversation of others, O blessed Father! give me Grace to converse more with thee and with my self, in calling thy Laws and mine own Ways to Remembrance.

And altho' the Ears of my Body are shut to others; yet, Lord, let
*1 Kings 3. 9. those of my Spirit be always open to thy Voice. Give me * *an hearing Heart*, that is never deaf to thy Call; and if thy Spirit do but whisper to me, let mine instantly perceive and embrace the same, and carefully and obediently attend to thy Suggestion: And deliver me from having any Portion among them who have lost their Hearing
† Mat. 13. 15. towards thee, tho' they still keep it to the World, and who † *having Ears hear not with them.*

And under my bodily Deafness, O gracious God! preserve me from being jealous and mistrustful of those who are discoursing in my Company, as if they were discoursing against me, or made themselves Sport with mine Infirmity: And whilst their Discourses can do me no Good, let not my own evil Surmises and Suspicions do either my self or them any Hurt; but keep me always easy towards them, and truly penitent and thankful towards thee, thro' Jesus Christ my blessed Lord and Saviour, *Amen.*

Our Father which art in Heaven, &c.

A Thanksgiving on Recovery from Blindness or from Deafness.

BLessed be thy Mercy, O gracious Lord! for restoring to me the
* Or Ears. Use of my [* Eyes.] Thou hast given me them anew, for the Comfort and Convenience of my Life, and for the carrying on of thy Service.

And O! that they may never more be used for Vice or Vanity; nor ever willingly open to let in Ill, much less stay upon it, and delight in it; but keep me always mindful, that to misuse them is the
† Joh. 5. 14. Way to lose them again: That † *being made whole* once, it nearly concerns me to *sin no more*, lest I fall under something *worse*: And that as I have now receiv'd them again from thee, I ought, above all Things, to devote them to thee; and that whilst they are in the Way of pleasing thee, they are surely in the best Way of benefiting and comforting me.

And, Lord, have Pity upon others, who are uncomfortable
* Or deaf. † Or open their Ears. * [Blind] as I was: Hear their Cries, and † [lighten their Darkness] as thou hast done mine. O! that seeing what thou hast now done for me, they may hold fast their Hope and Trust in thee: And that all thy Servants may praise and magnify thy Goodness, which
* Or Hearing to the Deaf. gives [* Sight to the Blind] and raiseth the Poor out of Misery, to be a living Monument of thy Mercy, and to give Thanks and Praise to thee, thro' our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, *Amen.*

Our Father, &c.

IV. *Prayers for a ſick Child.*

1. Out of the Office of Viſitation of the Sick.

O *Almighty God and moſt merciful Father! to whom alone belong the Iſſues of Life and Death, look down from Heaven, we humbly beſeech thee, with the Eyes of Mercy, upon this Child now lying upon the Bed of Sickneſs: Viſit him, O Lord! with thy Salvation: Deliver him in thy good appointed Time from his bodily Pain, and ſave his Soul for thy Mercy's Sake: That if it ſhall be thy good Pleaſure to prolong his Days here on Earth, he may live to thee, and be an Inſtrument of thy Glory, by ſerving thee faithfully, and doing Good in his Generation; or elſe receive him into thoſe heavenly Habitations, where the Souls of them that ſleep in the Lord Jeſus, enjoy perpetual Reſt and Felicity. Grant this, O Lord! for thy Mercy's Sake, in the ſame thy Son our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, who liveth and reigneth with thee and the Holy Ghoſt, ever one God, World without End,* Amen.

2. *Another Prayer for the ſame.*

LORD! pity the Troubles and Weakneſs of this poor Child, and pity our Sorrows who are afflicted with it and for it: Eaſe it of its Pains, and ſtrengthen it when it lyes ſtruggling for Life; and raiſe it up again, if it may pleaſe thee, to grow in Years and Stature, and in Wiſdom and thy Fear, and thereby to comfort us and glorify thee. We believe, O Almighty Father! that thou knoweſt beſt what is beſt both for it and us, and wilt do what is beſt for both, and therefore we leave it to thee, to diſpoſe of as thou pleaſeſt; but whether it be to Life or Death, let it be thine in both, and either preſerve it to be thy true and faithful Servant here on Earth, or take it to the Bleſſedneſs of thy Children in the Kingdom of Heaven, thro' our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

Our Father, &c.

A Thankſgiving for its Recovery.

BLeſſed be thy Name, O Father of Mercies! for that thou haſt heard us concerning this Child, and raiſed him up for thy Service and our Comfort.

And, Lord, fill † his Heart with Grace, as thou haſt done ours with Joy; Let Wiſdom and Goodneſs ſtill grow up with him, and as faſt as he grows capable thereof, make him willing and careful to honour and obey thee. Let not Company corrupt him, nor youthful laſts, as they come on, prevail againſt his Soul: But as now thou art the Preſerver of his Life, be ever henceforward the Keeper of his Innocence; that whenſoever thou ſhall call him again in thy due Time to meet Death, he may have Comfort in the Remembrance of a godly and well-ſpent Life, and ſweetly fall aſleep in thy Peace, thro' the Merits of Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, *Amen.*

† Or her.

Our Father which art, &c

V. *Prayers*

V. *Prayers in Times of common Infection.*

Scriptures.

THE *Lord killeth, and he maketh alive; he bringeth down to the Grave, and he bringeth up,* 1 Sam. 2. 6.

† Lam. 3. 38. And *is there any* † *Evil in the City,* and the *Lord hath not done it,* Amos 3. 6.

But in his Wrath he remembreth Mercy, Hab. 3. 2.

O then! *let us come, and return unto the Lord; for he hath torn, and he will heal us; he hath ſmitten, and he will bind us up,* Hoſ. 6. 1.

And make *thy Dwelling in the ſecret Place of the moſt High, and thou ſhalt abide under the Shadow of the Almighty.*

He ſhall cover thee with his Feathers, and his Truth ſhall be thy Shield and Buckler.

And then, *thou ſhalt not be afraid for the Terror by Night, nor for the Arrow that flieth by Day.*

Nor for the Peſtilence that walketh in Darkneſs; nor for the Deſtruction that waſteth at Noon-day.

A thouſand ſhall fall at thy Side, and ten Thouſand at thy Right-hand: but it ſhall not come nigh thee.

There ſhall no Evil befal thee, nor ſhall any Plague come nigh thy Dwelling.

For he ſhall give his Angels Charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy Ways.

And that, *becauſe thou haſt made the Lord, which is my Refuge, even the moſt High, thy Habitation,* Pſalm 91. 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 10, 11.

Glory be to the Father, *&c.*

PRAYERS.

1.

O Almighty God! juſt art thou in viſiting us of this Place with this infectious Diſeaſe, which takes away not only the Enjoyments of Health, but alſo the ſweeteſt earthly Comforts and Supports of Sickneſs, and deprives us whilſt we live of the Help and Company of our Friends: We juſtify thee and thy Judgments, and confeſs that our Miſeries are ſtill far leſs than our Sins.

But whilſt it comes to chaſtiſe our Wickedneſs, let it cure it too, O Lord! Take from us the Plague of an hard Heart, and make us tremble at thy Word: And purge away all our Sins, for I fear them more, and am more deſirous of their Cure, than of the Cure of any bodily Maladies: And they are truly our Plague, which has infected our whole Nature, and wherewith we daily infect one another: And when they have ſhew'd us our Wickedneſs, let thy Judgments ceaſe from us, and be entreated for this miſerable † Land, for thy dear Son our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's Sake, *Amen.*

† Or Place.

2.

O Righteous Lord! thou haſt ſhewed thy People terrible Things, and * *given them a Drink of deadly Wine.* Thou terrify'ſt us with † *thine Arrows,* which wound ſecretly, and *walk in Darkneſs;* and with a *Deſtruction which waſts at Noon-day.* But

* Pſ. 60. 3.

† Pſ. 91. 6.

5'

But this deadly Infection, tho' it be very ſpreading, can invade none, O God! without thy Commiſſion; nor kill thoſe whom it doth invade, 'til thou biddeſt it: So that our Life and Health is not left at the Mercy of raging Infection, but is ſtill bound up in thy Hand: And they who have thee for their Sanctuary in the moſt contagious Time may dwell in Safety: For † *thou giveſt thy Angels Charge over them*, that no Infection can touch or deſtroy them. † Pſ. 91. 11.

And under thy Wings, O Lord! do I ſeek for Shelter for my ſelf [and for my Family.] We have no Preſervation againſt theſe Dangers but thy good Providence; and the chief Antidotes whereon we rely, are our Prayers to thee, and our Faith in thy Mercy.

Holy Father, I ſeek to thee, let thy Care ſurround me. *I* * *make thee my Habitation*, let me find it a ſafe one: I truſt thee with my ſelf, and with my Friends, to order what is moſt deſireable for us, and beſt agrees with the wiſe Ends of thy good Providence: And tho' I do not abſolutely promiſe my ſelf to be exempt from a common Calamity; yet, Lord, being in thy Hands where I deſire to be, I know that I ſhall be exempt, if 'tis fit I ſhould be ſo; and if not, that thou wilt turn even my falling Sick of it to my Good: So that under thy Wings, O my God! my Hope is always to have a kind and moſt thank-worthy Ordering; and to receive from thee either a Continuance of Health, or a beneficial and thank-worthy Sickneſs; either the Bleſſing of a long Life, or the greater Bleſſing of an happy Death, thro' Jeſus Chriſt my Lord, *Amen.* * Pſ. 91. 9.

Our Father, &c.

VI. *A Prayer to be ſaid by Friends for natural Fools or Madmen.*

SHall not I ſpare them, who cannot diſcern between their right Hand and their left? Jon. 4. 11.
I was found of them that ſought me not, Iſa. 65. 1.
I was Eyes to the Blind, and Feet to the Lame, Job 29. 15.
Bear ye one anothers Burthens, and ſo fulfil the Law of Chriſt, Gal. 6. 2.

O Almighty and moſt merciful Father! Pity this thy poor Creature, who knows not ‖ his own Wants, nor how to aſk for thy Mercies: But as he is not capable of doing Things to pleaſe thee, ſo let nothing which he doth offend thee. He is ſtill an Infant, O God! not arriv'd to the Uſe of Reaſon; O! deal with him as thou do'ſt with them, and as * *ſuch* admit him into *the Kingdom of Heaven.* [† He has been receiv'd for thy Child in Baptiſm, and has done nothing ſince to forfeit the Claims of Mercy and Bliſs made over to him therein, and belonging to that Relation; O! let them be fulfill'd and made good to him in their Time.] ‖ Or her. * *Mark* 10. 14, 15. Matt. 19. 14. † Omit this Clauſe in caſe of Mad-men, who have been mad ſince they came to the Uſe of Reaſon.

And as his Want of Underſtanding unfits him to do any Thing for thee, ſo doth it likewiſe to do any Thing for himſelf; and therefore he needs to have the more done for him by thee, and by the good Inſtruments of thy Providence: And let thy Care, O Lord! ſupply the Want of his. Give thy holy Angels Charge to look to him, as they do to helpleſs Children. Give thy Saints, and thoſe who are any ways concern'd with him, the Heart to be Underſtanding, and * *Eyes, and Feet*, and Hands to him, as to one who is as if he had nothing of theſe of his own, but wants to have them all ſupply'd out of thy Proviſion. And do thou in thy Wiſdom prevent thoſe Evils which he cannot foreſee; * Job 29. 15.

ſee. and put thoſe by, which he wants Underſtanding to remove; eſpecially, O Lord! keep him from doing any Thing that is miſchievous either to others or to himſelf.

* Iſ. 65. 1. O thou! * *who art found of them who ſeek thee not*, ſhew Mercy to this thy Servant, who extremely needs thee, tho' he cannot ſeek to thee: Thou know'ſt his Wants, O Lord! tho' he is inſenſible and ignorant of them; and tho' he cannot ſpeak for himſelf, yet his Wants ſpeak and cry aloud for him: O! hear their Cry which call to thee for Pity; and hear us for him who is not able to aſk for himſelf, and grant him thy ſpecial Care at preſent, and thy Peace at the laſt, thro' the Merits and Mediation of thy dear Son, our only Saviour, Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

Our Father, &c.

VII. *A Prayer for thoſe who attend about the Sick.*

O Bleſſed Lord! who calleſt us to miniſter and attend about this thy pained and afflicted Servant, make us truly compaſſionate † Or her. and tenderly ſenſible of † his Sorrows, and ſtudious how to eaſe them. Keep us gentle and officious towards him, and willing and diligent to miniſter to him, and, above all Things, to make and continue thee his Friend.

O! that it may be our Care friendly to admoniſh him of his Duty, and to call upon him to look up unto thee; to ſtrengthen his Soul and aſſwage his Sorrows by comfortable Words; to read to him, and pray for him, and ſtudy in all Things to make his ſick Bed as profitable to his precious Soul, and as eaſy and tolerable to his pained and weary'd Body as we can.

And let us not ſhew Unwillingneſs, O God! in any Services, nor be provoked by his Impatience, or ill Reception of our well-meant Offices; but let us pity the Diſorders of his Spirit under his Anguiſh, and bear the ſame with that Gentleneſs and continu'd Care, to miniſter Comfort or Relief, which his Sorrows call for, and which we all deſire may be ſhew'd towards us, when we come, as we muſt expect to come, to be try'd with the like Weakneſſes and Troubles our ſelves.

And grant, O Father! that the Sight of his Sickneſs may be a * Eccleſ. 7. 2. Warning to us to prepare for our own. Make our Hearts * *wiſer* and *better*, by converſing *in the Houſe of Mourning*; and let it teach us *the End of all Men*, and the Vanity of all earthly Things, and put us upon Zeal and Diligence in all the Ways of qualifying and dreſſing our Souls for a more bleſſed and everlaſting Life, thro' Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, *Amen.*

Our Father, &c.

VIII. *A Thankſgiving for Recovery from Sickneſs.*

I.

† Pſ. 31. 7. B Leſſed be thy Name, O God of all Power and Mercy, for that † *thou haſt conſider'd my Trouble*, and *known my Soul in my Adverſity*. Thou didſt ſend me all thoſe Helps whereby I was ſupported, and all the Intervals of Eaſe wherewith I was reliev'd under my Sickneſs. And now *thou haſt brought me up* again *from the Grave*, and deliver'd me

me from my Pains and Weakneſs, and *art become my Health and my Salvation.*

Yea, thy Mercy, O bleſſed Lord! has rectify'd my Spirit, and done it Good by my Sorrows, which is more to be valu'd than eaſing my Body of them: For * *before I was troubled I went wrong*, but thy Corrections have taught me to ſee my Folly, and this World's Vanity: And my Pains, which have been my Monitors Day and Night, † *have cauſed me to underſtand Wiſdom ſecretly.*

And for theſe, and all other thy moſt endearing Mercies, ‖ *I will ſing Praiſe to thee*, O Lord my God, and give *thee Thanks for ever.* * *I will not conceal thy Faithfulneſs and thy Salvation*, but *declare* and ſpeak of *them*, that others alſo may praiſe thy Name; [yea, † *in the Preſence of all thy People, that they may give thee Thanks in the great Congregation.*] And O! that I may never forget thy Mercies, nor my own Promiſes of Amendment and holy Obedience; but chearfully and faithfully * *pay thee my Vows*, and perform all the Promiſes and good Purpoſes *which I made whilſt I was in Trouble.*

* Pſ. 119. 67.
† Pſ. 51. 6.
‖ Pſ. 30. 12.
* Pſ. 40. 10
† Pſ. 116 18.

When they had deſir'd the Prayers of the Congregation in their Sickneſs, they muſt not forget to deſire them alſo to return Thanks for them on their Recovery.

And pity the Pains, good Lord! and hear the Cries of thoſe who are feeble and ſore ſmitten, as I was. Help them to Patience, Comfort, and ſure Truſt in thee. Be thou their Phyſician both of Soul and Body; and in thy due Time eaſe them of their Pains, and reſtore them to Health and Strength, as in thine abundant Mercy thou haſt reſtored me; and give us all Hearts therewith thankfully to adore, and faithfully to ſerve thee, thro' Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, *Amen.*

* Pſ. 66. 13, 14.

2.

BUT altho' by thy Grace I am now recover'd, O Almighty Lord! from this Sickneſs; yet I know that at thy Time I muſt expect to be ſick again, and ſhall ſurely die; and I know not how ſoon that Time may come: And I have found how much Need there is under the Terrors of Death, to be conſcious to our ſelves of having led a truly religious and upright Life; and how unfit we are to begin it under the Weakneſſes of that State. O! then that my chief Care may always be to live with ſuch a good Conſcience, as I ſhould be willing to die with; and to do all thoſe Things in the Time of my Health and Strength, which I ſhall ſurely wiſh I had done, when my laſt Weakneſs and Sickneſs comes.

And therefore, O my dear God! I humbly and earneſtly pray thee, that I may never fall to admire or grow fond of any of the Things of this World, by coming again to reliſh and enjoy them. Let me never envy the Wealth of the Covetous, nor the Honours and high Places of the Ambitious, nor the ſenſual Pleaſures of licentious Men: For theſe Things, O Lord! cannot profit me in the Days of Evil: They are vain Things, that paſs off in the Uſing, and leave nothing but Remorſe and Guilt behind them; and the Remembrance of them, at the Approach of Death, inſtead of affording Eaſe and Comfort, will be the greateſt Wound and weakening to my Spirit, and increaſe my Pains and Terrors, inſtead of any Ways aſſwaging them.

Nor ſuffer me, O God! to trifle away this Time of Reſpite in Things of no Benefit, which do thee no Honour, and my poor Soul no Good: For either to hide my Talents, or to miſ-employ them, will enflame the reckoning of my Sins; and that will turn this great Bleſſing, of lengthening out my Days, into a Curſe; and make my latter End worſe than my Beginning was.

But give me Grace, O Father! to redeem thoſe precious Hours, which I have formerly thrown away on Vice or Vanities, by employing all this ſmall Remainder of my Time, in ſeeking thy Glory, and in carefully preparing for my Change, and religiouſly and reverently waiting for it, hoping thereby to have Entrance for ever into † Pſ. 16. 11. * *thy Preſence where is Fulneſs of Joy*, thro' the Merits and Mediation of my bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

Prayers and Devotions on the Apprehenſion or Approach of Death.

Scriptures.

Pſal. 49. *and* Pſal. 90. *to verſe* 13.
Job 14.
1 Theſ. 4. *from v.* 13. *to c.* 5. *v.* 7.
1 Cor. 15.
Pſalm 88.
John 5. *v.* 21. *to v.* 30.
Rev. 21.

I. On the Proſpect of our own Death drawing near.

IT is appointed unto Men once to die, and after this the Judgment, Heb. 9. 27.

For out of the Ground waſt thou taken; Duſt thou art, and unto Duſt ſhalt thou return, Gen. 3. 19.

We are Strangers here, and our Days on the Earth are as a Shadow, and there is none abiding, 1 Chron. 29. 15.

As Pilgrims we ſojourn: And *have here no continuing City, but ſeek one to come,* 1 Pet. 2. 11. Heb. 13. 14.

Yea, *the Days of Man upon Earth are like the Days of an Hireling,* to ſerve *his appointed Time.*

And when his Time is up, *a Servant earneſtly deſireth the* Refreſhment of the *Shade, and the Hireling looketh for the Reward of his Work,* Job 7. 1, 2.

And as for me, *I know that thou wilt bring me to Death, and to the Houſe appointed for all Living,* Job 30. 23.

For *few and evil have my Days been.* And now, *behold, I* ſeem as one who *am going the Way of all the Earth,* Gen. 47. 9. and Joſh. 23. 14.

And as I came forth of my Mother's Womb, ſo naked ſhall I return to go as I came, and ſhall take nothing of my Labour away in my Hand with me, Eccl. 5. 15.

I ſhall *reſt from my Labours,* and nothing but *my Works follow me,* Rev. 14. 13.

And *I muſt work the Works of God, while it is Day; the Night cometh when no Man can work,* John 9. 4.

Bleſſed are thoſe Servants whom the Lord, when he cometh, ſhall find watching, Luke 12. 37.

Behold! I come as a Thief: Bleſſed is he that watcheth and keepeth his Garments, Rev. 16. 15.

Watch therefore, for ye know neither the Day nor the Hour when the Son of Man cometh.

For

For *at Midnight there ſhall be a Cry made, Behold the Bridegroom cometh, go ye out to meet him.*

And they who are ready with their Lamps trimm'd, and Oyl in them, go in with him; but *after that the Door is ſhut*, and to thoſe that knock, *he will ſay I know you not*, Matt. 25. 6, 7, 10, 12, 13.

And *who is that faithful and wiſe Steward, whom his Lord ſhall make Ruler over his Houſhold, to give them their Portion of Meat in due Seaſon?*

Bleſſed is that Servant, whom his Lord, when he cometh, ſhall find ſo doing;

Of a Truth I ſay unto you, that he will make him Ruler over all that he hath, Luke 12. 42, 43, 44.

II. On Willingneſs to die.

O *Death! how bitter is the Remembrance of thee to a Man that liveth at Reſt in his Poſſeſſions, and that hath nothing to vex him, and that hath Proſperity in all Things.*

And how acceptable is it unto the Needy, and to him whoſe Strength faileth, that is now in the laſt Age, and is vexed with all Things; and to him that deſpaireth and hath loſt Patience, Eccleſ. 41. 1, 2.

And wherefore is Light given to him that is in Miſery, and Life unto the bitter in Soul?

Which long for Death, but it comes not, and dig for it more than for hid Treaſures?

Which rejoyce exceedingly, and are glad when they can find the Grave? Job 3. 20, 21, 22.

Beſides, whilſt we are at Home in the Body, we are abſent from the Lord.

And we are confident, and willing rather to be abſent from the Body, and preſent with the Lord.

For *if our earthly Houſe of this Tabernacle be diſſolved, we know that we have a Building of God, an Houſe not made with Hands, eternal in the Heavens.*

And *in this being burthened, we groan earneſtly, deſiring to be cloath'd upon with our Houſe which is from Heaven*, 2 Cor. 5. 1, 2, 4, 6, 8.

For *to me to die is Gain:* And therefore *I have a Deſire to depart, and to be with Chriſt, which is far better*, Phil. 1. 21, 23.

The Day of Death is really better than the Day of ones Birth, Eccl. 7. 1.

For *the Spirit ſhall return to God who gave it.*

The Duſt, indeed, *ſhall return to the Earth as it was*, Eccl. 12. 7.

But *there the wicked ceaſe from troubling, and there the weary be at Reſt, and they hear not the Voice of the Oppreſſor*, Job 3. 17, 18.

Yea, *I will ranſom them from the Power of the Grave*, ſaith the Lord, *I will redeem them from Death: O Death! I will be thy Plague; O Grave! I will be thy Deſtruction*, Hoſ. 13. 14.

For *he ſhall change this vile Body, and faſhion it like unto his own glorious Body*, Phil. 3. 21.

And *this corruptible ſhall put put on Incorruption; and this mortal ſhall put on Immortality*, 1 Cor. 15. 53.

And *the Lord God will wipe away Tears from off all Faces, and there ſhall be no more Sorrow, nor Crying, nor Pain; but Death ſhall be ſwallowed up in Victory*, Iſ. 25. 8. Rev. 21, 4. 1 Cor. 15. 54.

III. Againſt Fear of Death.

FEAR not the Sentence of Death; remember them that have been before thee, and that come after; for this is the Sentence of the Lord over all Fleſh, Eccleſ. 41. 3.

* 2 Sam. 7. 12. It is but a † going to Reſt, *Our Friend Lazarus ſleepeth*, Joh. 11. 11.

And tho' therein I leave dear Friends, yet *I go to my Fathers*, Gen. 15. 15.

And *am gathered to my People*, Gen. 49. 33.

And *the Righteous hath Hope in his Death*, Prov. 14. 32.

For *God hath begotten us again to a lively Hope, through the Reſurrection of Jeſus Chriſt from the Dead*, 1 Pet, 1. 3.

And *by his Death he hath deſtroyed him who had the Power of Death; and delivered them, who all their Life-time were in Bondage, to the Fear of Death*, Heb. 2. 14, 15.

So that now, *whether we live or die, we are the Lord's*, Rom. 14. 8.

For *he died for us, that whether we wake or ſleep, we ſhould live together with him*, 1 Theſ. 5. 10.

The Sting of Death is Sin, 1 Cor. 15. 56.

But *he is exalted to be a Prince and a Saviour, to give Repentance and Forgiveneſs of Sins*, Acts. 5. 31.

And *we have ſuch an high Prieſt, as will have Compaſſion on our Infirmities.* He can *mercifully* conſider, and *be touched with them* in us, having *in all Points, Sin only excepted*, been *tempted, like as we are* himſelf, Heb. 4. 15. and Chap. 2. 17, 18.

And therefore *Thanks be to God, who giveth us the Victory over Death, through our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, 1 Cor. 15. 57.

And *bleſſed are the Dead from henceforth which die in the Lord: Yea, ſaith the Spirit, for they reſt from their Labours, and their Works follow them*, Rev. 14. 13.

IV. Againſt Preſumption.

LET him that thinketh he ſtandeth take heed leſt he fall, 1 Cor. 10. 12.

Thou ſtandeſt by Faith: be not high-minded, but fear, Rom. 11. 20.

Happy is the Man that feareth always: but he that hardeneth his Heart againſt Fear, *ſhall fall into Miſchief*, Prov. 28. 14.

Work out therefore *your own Salvation with Fear and Trembling:*

For it is God that worketh in you of his good Pleaſure, Phil. 2. 12. 13.

Likewiſe, ſince you muſt ſtand before *him, who without Reſpect of Perſons, judgeth according to every Man's Work, paſs the Time of your Sojourning here in Fear*, 1 Pet. 1. 17.

Tho' *I know nothing by my ſelf, yet am I not hereby juſtified*, 1 Cor. 4. 4.

The Heavens are not clean in his Sight, Job 15. 15.

He put no Truſt in his Servants; and his Angels he charged with Folly, Job 4. 18.

When I conſider, I am afraid of him, Job 23. 15.

I truſt in the Mercy of God for ever and ever, Pſal. 52. 8.

But will keep withal *an humble Spirit, that trembleth at his Word*, Iſ. 66. 2.

And *ſerve him with Reverence and godly Fear*, Heb. 12. 28.

V. In

V. In the laſt Agonies.

LORD, *now let thy Servant depart in Peace*, Luke 2. 29.
Say unto my Soul, I am thy Salvation, Pſal. 35. 3.
This Day ſhalt thou be with me in Paradiſe, Luke 23. 43.
Lord Jeſu, receive my Spirit, Acts 7. 59.
Into thine Hand I commit it, for thou haſt redeemed me, O Lord God of Truth, Pſalm 31. 5.
Be with me, and conduct *me through the Valley of the Shadow of Death*, Pſalm 23. 4.
Send thy holy *Angels to carry me into Abraham's Boſom*, Luke 16. 22.
And into *the Inheritance of the Saints in Light*, Col. 1. 12.
I have fought a good Fight, I have finiſhed my Courſe, I have kept the Faith.
Henceforth there is laid up for me a Crown of Righteouſneſs, which the Lord the righteous Judge ſhall give me at that Day, 2 Tim. 4. 7, 8.
For if we believe that Jeſus died and roſe again, even ſo them alſo which ſleep in Jeſus will God bring with him, 1 Theſ. 4. 14.
And *I know whom I have believed, and I am perſwaded that he is able to keep that which I have committed to him againſt that Day*, 1 Tim. 1. 12.

PRAYERS.

I. *Prayers on the Proſpect of one's own Death drawing near.*

1.

GRant, O Lord! that I may end my Life in thy Fear and Favour; and that I may receive my Death, which now threatens me, not as my Curſe, but as my Deliverance. Let me find it a Reſt from my Labours, and an Entrance upon a Life without Trouble and without Sin. And bleſſed be thy Mercy, which, tho' it has ſeen fit and needful to diſcipline me with Sorrows, yet has not made my Sorrows endleſs, but all to be laid down with this mortal Life; and even in my Death has given me Hopes of Joys without End in a better Life, thro' my deareſt Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

2.

O Bleſſed Lord! now I am haſting on to the End of my Life, remember not againſt me the great and manifold Errors thereof; but let them all be wholly done away by thy Mercies, and my bleſſed Saviour's Merits, and my own true Repentance. Let me come to my Change without Guilt, and foreſee its near Approach without Fear or Impatience.

And O! that I may always ſtand ready to give a good Account of my Life unto thee: And that I may fight out the good Fight of Faith with Conſtancy and Perſeverance, and finiſh my Courſe with Joy, and never ſleep in Sin, nor lye down in Miſery and Sorrow.

And ſince my Soul is now ſummon'd *to meet the Bridegroom*, dreſs it, O Lord! *in a wedding Garment*, fit to appear in his Train. Give me

* *Oil*

*Mat. 25. 4, 7, 10. * *Oil in my Lamp*, and Grace to *trim* and light it, and keep it always burning, ſending up a pure and holy Flame, that when *the Door opens*, I may be *ready to enter in with him*: And enable my Soul to ſtrip it ſelf of all fleſhly Affections before it leaves my Body; and to be of like Mind and Diſpoſition with the holy Angels and beatify'd Spirits, before it goes to keep them Company.

And, O my God! let me never forget that this is like to be the laſt Trial which thou wilt afford me of renouncing mine own Will, and reſigning my ſelf up to thine; and of ſhewing forth Devotion of Spirit, and all holy Obedience, and Patience, and Faith, and humble Confidence in thee: And therefore make me watch for all Opportunities of exerciſing the ſame, and do them diligently, as my laſt Labours for Immortality, and for ſecuring thy everlaſting Mercy, thro' Jeſus Chriſt my Lord, *Amen.*

II. *Prayers for Willingneſs to die.*

1.

O Moſt gracious and merciful Father! give me Grace to be always fit for thy Mercy, that I may not be ſlow or unwilling to come to thee, now thou calleſt for me.

Forgive me all my Sins, O God! which are † *the Sting of Death*, that I may look on it as an harmleſs Thing which cannot hurt me; and make me ſenſible, how I am thereby eas'd of all thoſe Weakneſſes and Sorrows which render my Life a Burthen to me.

† Cor. 15. 56.

Help me to conſider it, O Lord! as what comes to give me Reſt from all my Labours; and to take up therewith, as with a Shelter, againſt all Injuries and ill Uſage: To look upon it as a Cure of all my bodily Pains and Sickneſſes, and as a Remedy of all my Sins and Temptations, Sorrows and Misfortunes: For after once I ſhall have got to thee, O bleſſed Father! I ſhall be out of their Reach, and never come under their Power any more.

I know, O gracious God! that Heaven is my Country, and that I have ſtill more Cauſe to rejoyce, and leſs to repine, the nearer I am drawing Home: That this Death is but the Beginning of a better Life, and a moſt deſirable Exchange of Travel and Miſery for Reſt and Joy, and of a few Days for Eternity: And let me not be afraid of that, O my God! which is to ſet me ſafe in thy Kingdom, and to bring me to enjoy thee in everlaſting Bliſs and Glory, thro' Jeſus Chriſt my bleſſed Saviour and Redeemer, *Amen.*

2.

LORD! now thy Meſſengers are come to ſummon me, make me reckon that thy Time is beſt for my Departure, and let me not ſeek about for Excuſes and Pretences of ſtaying longer here: Since this Summons is of thy ſending, let me not receive it with Reluctancy: Since thou ſendeſt it for my Good, let me not be afraid of it as if it would do me Hurt: Since thou calleſt me thereby to come to thee, let me not come unwillingly, or ſeem forc'd away.

Let not my Heart, O God! be ty'd faſt to any earthly Things, and then it will be eaſy to me to be taken from them: Raiſe it above this World, and make it fit and free to truſt thee for the next: And then, O Jeſu! come when thou pleaſeſt, and I ſhall receive thy Call with Joy.

And Grant, O Lord! that I may make no Pretence for my Unwillingneſs, becauſe I ſhall thereby leave ſome good Things unfiniſh'd, which I have

I have in Hand for my Brethrens Needs, or for thy Service: But remember and conſider with my ſelf, that ſo muſt all they who make it their Care at all Times to be deſigning and doing Good: And that 'tis fitteſt for thee to determine wherein or how long thou wilt be ſerved by me, in any Things which my poor Soul is any Ways capable thro' thy Grace to deſign or do for thee: That if it ſeem good in thy Eyes, thy Providence will raiſe up Inſtruments, and ſupply what I am deſigning by other, and it may be far better Ways: And that I have no Reaſon to be ſlow, but much, infinitely much, to be haſty in coming to thee, if from † *bearing the Heat of the Day*, and a Taſk of Labour and Toil in thy Service, thou ſhalt be graciouſly pleas'd to call me to everlaſting Reſt and Joy in thy Preſence, thro' Jeſus Chriſt my Lord, *Amen.* † Mat. 20. 12.

3.

LORD! in this State I am ſore * *burthened, and groan earneſtly*; † *deſiring rather, if thou pleaſeſt, to depart, and be with Chriſt, which is far better* for me. * 2 Cor. 5. 2. † Phil. 1. 23.

But let me not be weary of my Work and Station, O my God! before thy Time, nor haſty in Deſires of Death, whilſt thou ſeeſt fit to try me in the Labours and Patience of Life. Keep me contented to bear my Sorrows whilſt thou pleaſeſt, and to leave it to thee to order when 'tis fitteſt for me to lay them down, and to exchange them for Eaſe and Pleaſures in thy heavenly Kingdom, where * *Death* at laſt *ſhall be ſwallowed up in Victory*, and *this Mortal ſhall put on Immortality*, thro' the Merits of thy Son our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.* * 1 Cor. 15. 54.

III. *Prayers againſt the Fear of Death.*

1.

CLeanſe me, O gracious God! from Guilt and Sin, which are the Sting of Death, and then let nothing elſe make me afraid of it. Let me not dread the Stroke thereof, as a Thing that is hard for me to bear; but conſider, that it is an Hardſhip common to me with every mortal Nature: That if it is hard, it cures all other Sores and Hardſhips, and is it ſelf ſoon over: And that hard and painful as it is, the Weakeſt have born it, and can paſs thro' it: Yea, and that very frequently the Pains of Sickneſs are much worſe than the Pains of Death, and that many ordinarily endure more Sorrow before they come to die, than they feel or ſhow at laſt in Death it ſelf; nay, that when they fall aſleep inſenſibly, ſo they often ſeem to die ſo too.

And whatever Pains it would otherwiſe make to me, O Lord! it will be made eaſy by a clear Conſcience, and a comfortable Hope of thy Mercy: And let it arm my Spirit againſt Fear, to think that I am going thereby to a good Maſter, whom as I have ever found moſt gracious and merciful all my Life, I ſhall now much more find ſo at my Death, thro' the Merits and Mediation of Jeſus Chriſt my Lord, *Amen.*

2.

NOR let my Spirit, O God! be broken with Fear, out of an Apprehenſion of dying under the Load of thy heavy Diſpleaſure: for thou takeſt Delight in pardoning thoſe, whoſe ſincere Deſire and Care

Care has been to pleaſe thee; and in making all fair Abatements and reaſonable Allowances to their Forgetfulneſs and Infirmities.

I am very ſenſible, alas! that I am too defective in my Duty and Service: But make me remember, O bleſſed Lord! that thou canſt and doſt bear with ſome Defects: For the beſt are not free from Faults and Defects enough to humble them; and yet they are ſurely within the Terms of thy Pardon.

Yea, thou wilt bear with many Defects in truly loving and dutiful Minds, and haſt not limited thy Forbearance to narrow and ſcanty Bounds: For among thoſe whom thou ſaveſt, there are many and very diſtant Degrees of Virtue and Obedience; and the greater Meaſures thereof which are attained by ſome, are ſtill wanting in others of them.

And theſe Defects of mine, O God! great and many as they are, are to be judg'd of by a merciful Saviour, who knows our natural Frailties and Infirmities, and is ready to allow all that Pity and Favour to them which can be deſir'd in Reaſon: For he doth not require ſuch Exactneſs of us, as is a Taſk fit, not for Men, but for Angels; but takes up with ſuch, as the natural and pitiable Weakneſs of our State, and of a frail and forgetful Creature in the midſt of a tempting World, can bear.

O then! that I may conſider thy Mercy, to fortify my Mind againſt Fear: And fix my Soul upon the Tenderneſs and Clemency of my Judge and Saviour, which will embolden me to ſtand before him without Horror: And upon the Condeſcenſions of the Goſpel, and the needful Deductions and Forbearance which it promiſes to our Weakneſſes, that in this Hour of my Neceſſity I may be guarded againſt all the Suſpicions of my own Melancholy, or Miſtruſts of thy Mercy, and may be ſtrengthen'd with a comfortable Hope in thee thro' Jeſus Chriſt my Lord, *Amen.*

3.

BUT if after all, my Fears ſhall by Times return upon me, and prove troubleſome to me: Let it however comfort me, O Lord! to think that thou art wont to make better of humble Souls, than they are wont to make of themſelves; and wilt judge me, not according to my Fears, but according to thy Mercies: A truly contrite Heart, O God! is ſafe in thine Eyes, even when it gives it ſelf up for loſt in its own.

And as my Fears will be no Prejudice to my Safety, ſo grant, good Lord! that they may be an Help to my Duty, and may quicken and increaſe my Care and Endeavours to obey thee: Make them the Guard of my Innocence, and a conſtant Spur to thy Service: And then, O holy Father! tho' they trouble and diſcomfit me at preſent, yet they will happily confute themſelves and recompenſe me in the End; and my ſincere Obedience ſhall make ſure thy gracious Acceptance, tho' my ſelf dare not believe it, 'til I come to find and hear it from thee in the other World, thro' the Merits of my only Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

IV. *A Prayer againſt Preſumption.*

LET not my Heart deceive me, O bleſſed Lord! in judging of my ſelf; but keep me from Pride and vain Confidence, in ſetting too little by thy Grace, and thinking too well of mine own Ways.

O! that I may never flatter my ſelf into an evil Security, and an inſenſibleneſs of the great Need I have of thy Mercy. For thou, O Lord! * *reſiſteſt the Proud, but giveſt Grace unto the Humble:* Thou rejecteſt † *the proud Phariſee,* who juſtifies himſelf, and ſees not his own Nakedneſs and Poverty. * Ja. 4. 6. † *Luke* 18. 11, 14.

But the very beſt of us all do abſolutely need Repentance, and have but too many Sins to humble us. We muſt ‖ throw our ſelves upon thy Mercy, and * *cannot ſtand in thy* Judgment, ſhouldſt thou be *rigorous in exacting* what we have done amiſs, nor † *appear before thee when thou art angry.* Thy Juſtice is terrible to the greateſt Saints; yea, and before thee, even the Angels themſelves do cover their Faces.

‖ *Ve etiam laudabili vitæ hominum ſi remota miſericordia diſcutias eam. Aug. Conf. l.* 9. c. 13.

And as we cannot come off clear in thy Judgment, but merely thro' Mercy: So neither can ‖ *we ſtand* in Obedience to qualify us for it, but only *through Faith.* 'Tis thy Help, O Lord! that muſt ſupport and keep us in thy Ways: And if it were not for thy Grace, and our own Caution and holy Jealouſy over our ſelves, we are as liable to fall as others: O! then that I may * *not be high minded,* and place my confidence in my ſelf; *but* learn to *fear,* and ſhew Care and humble dependance upon thee, and with godly Reverence look for thy Promiſes of Grace and Mercy, thro' Jeſus Chriſt my Lord and only Saviour, *Amen.* * Pſ. 130. 3. † Pſ. 76. 7. ‖ Rom. 11. 20. * *Ibid.*

V. *Prayers in the laſt Agonies.*

Ejaculations.

DUST thou art, and to Duſt ſhalt thou return, Gen. 3. 19.

Lord Jeſus! have Mercy upon me.

†O thou *Lamb of God! that takeſt away the Sins of the World.* †Jo. 1.29.

Be merciful to me a Sinner, Luke 18. 13.

Tho' I often offend thee, yet, Lord! thou knoweſt I ſincerely love thee, and hate my ſelf for having diſpleas'd thee: And can any who ſincerely loves thee periſh eternally?

Lord receive me, for I am haſtening apace to thee.

I ſtretch forth my Hands unto thee, my Soul thirſteth after thee as a thirſty land, Pſalm 143. 6.

* *Lord! remember me when thou comeſt into thy Kingdom.* Do with this † Luke frail and weary'd Body what thou pleaſeſt: Only receive my Spirit 23, 42. thy Mercy in Death; and raiſe up *this Corruptible to Incorruption* after death.

And *forſake me not,* O God! *now my Strength faileth me,* Pſ. 71. 9.

Beſides which, the dying Perſons may uſe the Scriptures collected for this Caſe, *p.* 391.

PRAYERS.

I.

LORD! waſh my Soul in thy Blood, that it may be *preſented without Spot* unto thee: And let me die in thy Favour, and reſt in Peace, and riſe again in Glory, *Amen.*

2.

STrengthen me, O my God! in my Agonies: As my Strength fails, let my Pains wear off: But when my Strength fails, let not my Faith fail. Even in Death let me truſt in thee; and the nearer I am drawing to thee, the more do thou manifeſt thy Mercy unto me, thro' Jeſus Chriſt my Lord, *Amen.*

3.

DEliver me, O Lord! from Fear of Death, and from all violent Diſorders of a troubled Fancy, or painful Deluſions of my ghoſtly Enemy: O! let not him be able now to diſturb and terrify me, or any Way to prevail againſt me, but guard thou thy Servant coming unto thee, *Amen.*

4.

* Joh. 10. 29. HAVE me in thy Cuſtody, O holy Father! for * *nothing can take me out of thy Hands:* And give thy holy Angels Charge to ſtand about me, to guard and receive my poor Soul at my Departure, and to conduct and carry it to the bleſſed Receptacles of Reſt and Peace, *Amen.*

5.

† Rev. 22. 20. ‖ Phil. 1. 23. * Pſ. 31. 5. COME, † *Lord Jeſu! Come quickly*; ‖ *I deſire*, and *groan earneſtly, to be diſſolved*, and *to be with thee.* * *Into thy Hands I commend my Spirit*, and lay down my weary'd Fleſh to reſt in Hope of a bleſſed Reſurrection to eternal Peace and Joy at the laſt Day, *Amen.*

6.

LORD! if it be thy gracious Will, make my Pains ſhort, and my Death eaſy, at leaſt not extremely tedious or grievous to me: But if thou haſt otherwiſe order'd, thy bleſſed Will be done: Only give me Patience to bear them, and ſpiritual Comforts under them, and at thine own Time make my Death my Paſſage to a bleſſed and eternal Life, through Jeſus Chriſt my Lord, *Amen.*

Out of the Office for Burial.

AND, O *Lord moſt holy! O God moſt mighty! O holy and merciful Saviour! thou moſt worthy Judge eternal! ſuffer me not at my laſt Hour, for any Pains of Death to fall from thee*, Amen.

And theſe Prayers may be ſaid for the dying Perſon, as Occaſion requires, by his Friends who are about him, only altering the Perſon, *We* for *I*, *him* for *me*, *our* for *my*, &c. as is requiſite upon the Change of Perſons.

Likewiſe they may uſe for him the *Recommendatory Prayer for one at the Point of Departure*, in the Churches Office for *Viſitation of the Sick.*

1.

O *Almighty God! with whom do live the Spirits of juſt Men made perfect after they are deliver'd from their earthly Priſons, we humbly commend the Soul of this thy Servant, our dear Brother, into thy Hands, as into the Hands of a faithful Creator and moſt merciful Saviour, moſt humbly beſeeching*

beseeching thee, that it may be precious in thy Sight. Wash it, we pray thee, in the Blood of that immaculate Lamb that was slain to take away the Sins of the World; that whatsoever Defilement it may have contracted in the Midst of this miserable and naughty World, thro' the Lusts of the Flesh, or the Wiles of Satan, being purg'd and done away, it may be presented pure and without Spot before thee: And teach us who survive, in this and other like daily Spectacles of Mortality, to see how frail and uncertain our own Condition is, and so to number our Days, that we may seriously apply our Hearts to that holy and heavenly Wisdom whilst we live here, which may in the End bring us to Life everlasting, thro' the Merits of Jesus Christ, thine only Son our Lord, Amen.

VI. *A Prayer against sudden Death.*

LORD! they who have led the best Lives, are desirous of some Time to prepare for their Death: But my Life has abounded in Sins and Frailties, which make me stand in much greater Need thereof: Snatch me not away therefore to give up my Accompts, by the Surprize of a sudden Death, but deliver me from an unprepar'd Heart and an unexpected End.

As I sin daily, O God! let me repent daily; and stand always upon my Watch, that I may be ready for thee whensoever thou callest me: But give me Time and Leisure, if it may please thee, to put my Spirit in the best Order I can for leaving this World, and appearing before thee, and taking my Leave of all decently; that so with more Satisfaction to my Friends, and with more Settlement of Mind and Comfort to my self, I may yield it up into the Hands of thy Mercy, thro' Jesus Christ my only Lord and Saviour, *Amen.*

Prayers and Devotions upon the Death of Friends.

Scriptures.

I. When a Friend dies.

'Tis better to go to the House of Mourning, than to go to the House of Feasting: for that is the End of all Men, and the Living will lay it to his Heart.

Sorrow is better than Laughter; for by the Sadness of the Countenance the Heart is made better, Eccl. 7. 2, 3.

But *sorrow not, Brethren, for them which are asleep, even as others which have no Hope.*

For if we believe that Jesus died and rose again, even so them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with him, 1 Thess. 4. 13, 14.

Precious in the Sight of the Lord is the Death of his Saints, Ps. 116.13.

And *blessed are the Dead which die in the Lord, for they rest from their Labours, and their Works follow them,* Rev. 14. 13.

In the Sight of the Unwise they seemed to die, and their Departure is taken for Misery.

But they are in Peace, and their Hope is full of Immortality, Wisd. 2. 3,4.

And here *the Righteous ſhall be had in everlaſting Remembrance*, and *the Memory of the Juſt is bleſſed*, Pſal. 112. 6. and Prov. 10. 7.

Beſides, *when the righteous dies*, it is often *to take him from the Evil to come*, Iſa. 57. 1.

And *now he is dead, wherefore ſhould I faſt and weep? Can I bring him back again? I ſhall go to him, but he ſhall not return to me*, 2 Sam. 12. 23.

Forget it not, for there is no turning again: thou ſhalt not do him Good, but hurt thy ſelf.

And think thou heareſt him ſay, *Remember my Judgment, or the Sentence upon me, for thine alſo ſhall be ſo: Yeſterday for me, and to Day for thee.*

Therefore *take no Heavineſs to Heart*, but *drive it away, and remember the laſt End.*

And when the Dead is at Reſt, let his Remembrance reſt, and be comforted for him when his Spirit is departed from him, Eccleſ. 38. 20, 21, 22, 23.

II. When a Friend is taken away early.

THough the Righteous be prevented with Death, yet ſhall he be in Reſt.

He was taken away ſpeedily, leſt that Wickedneſs ſhould alter his Underſtanding, or Deceit beguile his Soul.

He pleaſed God, and was beloved of him; ſo that living among Sinners he was tranſlated.

Yea, therefore the Lord haſted to take him away from the Wicked.

Moreover, *he being made perfect in a ſhort Time, fulfill'd a long Time.*

For honourable Age is not that which ſtandeth in Length of Time, nor that is meaſured by Number of Years.

But Wiſdom is the grey Hair unto Men, and an unſpotted Life is old Age, Wiſd. 4. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14.

And why art thou againſt the Pleaſure of the moſt High! there is no Inquiſition in the Grave, whether thou haſt lived ten, or an hundred, or a thouſand Years, Eccleſ. 41. 4.

III. When one is Childleſs.

TRUST not thou in the Life of Children, neither reſpect their Multitude: For one that is juſt is better than a thouſand; and better is to die without Children, than to have them that are ungodly, Eccl. 16. 3.

Better it is to have no Children, and to have Virtue.

For the Memorial thereof is immortal, becauſe it is known with God, and with Men.

When it is preſent, Men take Example at it; and when it is gone, they deſire it: It weareth a Crown, and triumpheth for ever, having got the Victory, ſtriving for undefiled Rewards, Wiſd. 4. 1, 2.

PRAYERS.

I. *Prayers when a Friend dies.*

I.

O Almighty Lord! who haſt [now] taken from us our de[† Brother] here departed; at thy Word we are ſent into t Labour of Life, and at the ſame Word we return again into the R

† Or Siſter.

and Sleep of Death: And thy Counſels, O God! are ſecret, and far above out of our Sight: But they are always juſt, and leave no Ground for our Complaints: Yea, they are always wiſe and good, and will appear to have been moſt honourable for thee, and moſt fit and proper for us, in the End.

O then! that † I may humbly and dutifully reverence thy Orderings, when I cannot comprehend them; and bring my Will into a quiet Submiſſion unto thine; and receive my Loſs meekly and without murmuring, becauſe it is of thy ſending.

† Put *We* for *I*, and make ſuch other Changes of Number as are requiſite, when ſeveral put up this Prayer together.

Teach me thereby, O Lord! to ſtand in Awe of thy Juſtice, and to ſhew a devout Senſe of the Deſert of Sin, whoſe * *Wages is Death*, and a decent Sorrow for my own Loſs: But let my Sorrow be without fixing Faults on what thou haſt order'd; and without *refuſing to be comforted*, as † *others who have no Hope*; or growing rebellious or unthankful unto thee, and troubleſome to thoſe about me, becauſe thou haſt call'd my dear Friend away, and depriv'd me of his Company.

* Rom. 6. 23.

† Theſſ. 4. 13.

[Yea, Lord! inſtead hereof, keep me thankful unto thee, that I was allow'd to have and enjoy this Comfort, before I am now call'd to part with it: For I have great Cauſe to bleſs thee, that I enjoy'd him at all [eſpecially ſo long as I did;] and have no Cauſe now to be angry that I can enjoy him no longer: Nay, I ſhould render my ſelf utterly unworthy of any Gift from thee, ſhould I fall to claim thy free Favours as my due, becauſe thou haſt long continu'd them to me, and to think thou do'ſt me Wrong, if at any Time thou holdeſt back thine own, and for wiſe and good Ends ſtoppeſt ſome Stream of thy free Bounty towards me.]

And let this Uncertainty, O God! of the deareſt worldly Comforts, teach me to fix my Heart on Joys which will never fade or periſh: To take more Comfort in thy ſelf, and to look for leſs in all earthly Things. O! be thou my Deſire and my Heart's Delight; and let a good Conſcience be my Treaſure, and Integrity my Joy: And theſe will ſtick to me 'til Death, and follow me beyond it, and give me Reſt in thy Preſence, and Pleaſures for evermore, thro' my deareſt Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

2.

LET not my Grief exceed, O Lord! or be obſtinate againſt Thoughts or Words of Comfort, becauſe I † *cannot bring him* * *back again*, and becauſe it cannot benefit him, but will much hurt me.

† 2 Sam. 12. 23.

* Or *her*, or *it*, when a Child.

And make me conſider, [which, alas! I ought thorowly to have conſider'd ſooner,] that altho' he was a very dear and great, yet he was only a mortal Comfort, whoſe Life would be ſure to fail, tho' his Friendſhip ſhould not: I know my Tenure was only to hold him as thy Gift, and to part with him again at thy Pleaſure: And that as we have the Comfort of enjoying dear Friends or Relations here, ſo we muſt be content too to have the Trouble and Sorrow of parting with them.

And now, Lord! when thou haſt taken him, I know that he is more thine than he is mine, and that thou haſt the beſt Claim to him: And when thou tookeſt him from me, thou tookeſt him to thy ſelf. [* And I truſt thy taking him is to his unſpeakable Joy, tho' it be to my

* The Expreſſions of Hope, *of the happy Eſtate of the deceas'd Perſon*, in this and the following Prayers, muſt be left to the Diſcretion of thoſe who are to uſe them, according as their Friend's Life and Death was.

my Sorrow; and that with thee he is now infinitely better than he was, or could be here: Yea, that thou haſt taken him to that Place, where, by thy Mercy, I alſo hope to come, and whither, in my Order, thou wilt likewiſe take me in thy due Time: So that thy Grace, O dear God! and a little Patience, will bring us together again.]

And O! that thou would'ſt be pleas'd to put an End to all our Sins and Sorrows, and to haſten thy Kingdom, and to accompliſh the Number of thine Elect: And mercifully to grant that all we, and all others, who either have departed, or ſhall depart this Life in thy true Faith and Fear, may have our perfect Conſummation and Bliſs in thy heavenly and eternal Kingdom, thro' Jeſus Chriſt our only Lord and Saviour, *Amen.*

3.

This Prayer is to be uſed on the Death of a pious Friend.

LET not my Grief for my deceas'd Friend exceed, O moſt gracious God! for I hope thou haſt taken him for his own Good: And that thou haſt comforted his Soul by his Exchange, and haſt only ſmitten ours; leaving us to mourn for our Sins and for our Loſs, whilſt he, by thy Mercy, is hereby ſet out of the Reach of Sin and Miſery.

For as he is now remov'd, O Father! from all worldly Satisfactions, ſo is he alſo from all worldly Temptations: And our Comfort is, to hope that he is now at Reſt from Labour, and has ceas'd from Sin and Shame: That he is now eas'd of Pains, and is above Misfortunes, and has found a Cure for all his Sorrows, having Grief and Care for ever baniſh'd from his Heart, and * *all Tears wiped away from his Eyes:* And that he is gone from the *Vale of Miſery* to the Regions of Joy, and from converſing with us, to live with thee and the bleſſed Jeſus, and to be a Companion of Saints and Angels.

* Rev. 21. 4.

Let not Self-love then, O Lord! and the Senſe of my own Loſs, make me repine at that Change which I take to be his Happineſs: Let not that which I hope doth highly pleaſe him, diſpleaſe me; nor let me refuſe Comfort, becauſe I truſt he is taken for ever to be fill'd with it. His Death, I humbly hope, is the Joy of Saints and Angels, and the Envy and Grief of evil Spirits, who ſee him taken up to a State where they cannot tempt, and to an Happineſs which is for ever deny'd to themſelves: O then! that I may not join with his utter Enemies and mine in their Envy, but with thoſe bleſſed Spirits in their Charity, and inſtead of grieving immoderately, or being angry with thee, that I may heartily bleſs thy Name for turning Death thus into a Bleſſing; and, as I truſt, for accompliſhing his Hopes thereby, and making of him happy.

And let thy Providence, O Father! be a Store-houſe of Supplies, to make up to me, and to all his Friends and Dependants, all thoſe Supports and Bleſſings which we receive from thee by his Means: Eſpecially, let his Change put us all upon preparing diligently and carefully for our own: Make it raiſe us up from the Death of Sin to a Life of Righteouſneſs; and take us off from all undue Deſire, or Care of earthly Things, to mind the one Thing neceſſary, which is the great and moſt comfortable Buſineſs of Life, and which alone will ſtand us in Stead, and make us happy after Death, thro' Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, *Amen.*

A Prayer when any Persons feed Impatience, and fix themselves in Grief, by surmising that God is angry at them when he takes away their Friends.

O Blessed Lord! let not me make it a Pretence for my Impatience, that this Loss comes as thy Visitation for my Sins; or grieve obstinately, as fancying that thou takest away my Friend here departed, out of Anger and Displeasure against me.

For thou, O God! hast many other Ends to look at, besides what concerns me, in these Matters: And these Providences touch our Friends themselves directly and principally, and reach us only by the way: And when in meer Love and Kindness unto them thou wouldst call them to thy self, that must unavoidably take them away from us. But if in this Change thou dost shew Displeasure against me for my Sins, Lord, teach me, that it is my Part humbly to submit my self to thee, and not to be angry or impatient under thy Correction of me; but to * *accept* my Loss with Quietness *as the Punishment of mine Iniquities*: And that whilst thou art removing my Blessings, because of my great Unworthiness and Unthankfulness under them, I have the more Need to shew my self thankful for any that are still continu'd to me, and to give up my Will in all Things to thine, to serve and please thee, thro' our dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, *Amen.*

* Lev. 26. 41.

A Prayer when these Losses come close one upon another.

AND altho' these affecting Losses come thick upon me, O Father! and yet I know all this is for a greater Trial of my Patience: And I am sensible that I have enough, and abundantly too much in me, that needs to be punish'd thereby: And that thou hast wise and kind Reasons enough, thus to heap upon me these Sorrows, tho' it were not to punish, but only to improve my Spirit.

And O! that this Succession of my Losses may serve to perfect me in Patience, and to wean me more thorowly from all earthly Supports: And that it may temper my worldly Complacencies, and guard me against all Excess therein; and call me to take Delight and seek Comfort in thee, instead of seeking it in them; and to look more at the Joys of thy Kingdom, where our Comforts shall succeed one another infinitely faster than our Sorrows do here, and where we shall for ever enjoy thee, thro' Jesus Christ our Lord, *Amen.*

For supplying the Want they have of their departed Friend, by other Ways of God's good Providence, they may use the *two Prayers for the Widow and Orphans*, &c. p. 415, 416.

A Prayer for learning by these Losses to sit more loose to the World, and to fix our Hearts more on the Love of God.

THOU hast sent me this † *Thorn in the Flesh*, O blessed Lord! to cure my inordinate Fondness for fleshly Delights, and to keep me from being *too much exalted* with them: For I pleas'd my self too much with worldly Comforts; and to take my Heart off from them, thou hast now embitter'd them to me with these Sorrows.

† 2 Cor. 12. 7.

And O! do thou teach me thereby to delight more in thy self, and less in earthly Things: Enable me to make a good Conscience, and comfortable Sense of thy Love, and Hope of thy Promises, and of heavenly Joys, my most belov'd Pleasures.

And,

And, Lord! let me never call my ſelf unhappy, whilſt I can enjoy thee: But make me account the Loſs of all Things elſe to be made up to me in thy Love, and never repine or complain of other Wants whilſt thou art left me, and I can comfortably look up to thee, as my Boſom Friend and my tender Father, as my Life and my Health, my Reſt and my Joy, thro' Jeſus Chriſt my Lord, *Amen.*

A Prayer when a Friend is taken away in his Prime.

† Here mention the Relation, as *Husband, Wife*, &c.

THOU art pleas'd to cut off my † dear Friend, O moſt righteous Lord! in the midſt of his Days, before he had paſs'd thro' the ſeveral Stages of Life, and accompliſh'd the Number of his Years.

But I will remember, O my God! that it is not the Length of Life but the Goodneſs of it, which thou lookeſt at: And that he has liv'd long enough who has liv'd to be fit for thee, and to diſpoſe his Soul for thy Mercy. The bleſſed Manſions above are infinitely the beſt Place to prolong and enjoy Life in: And therefore if thou, O Father! art graciouſly pleas'd [as I hope thou art] for the Merits of our dear Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, to accept of the Innocence and Obedience of his Life, neither he nor we have any Cauſe to complain of the Shortneſs of it: And if we who are left behind him, may have the Grace firſt to live holily, we will thankfully think, and own to thee, that we have liv'd long enough, whenſoever thou ſeeſt it Time we ſhould die.

And as my dear Friend is taken away in the Prime of his Strength, ſo I muſt conſider, O Lord! that he is taken away withal in the Height of his Toils, and out of the greateſt Hurry of his Buſineſs and Temptations: Thou haſt hereby kept him from trying how ſtrong he could be to bear Sorrows and Vexations, and from lamenting to find his Strength too often turn'd into Weakneſs.

And O! that we who ſurvive him, may at length attain, by thy Grace, to have all our Temptations end in a perpetual Security and Undiſturbedneſs; to have all our Sorrows turn'd into Joys, and our Days of Labour happily exchang'd for Days of Reſt and Peace, for the Merits and Mediation of our bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

III. Prayers when a Friend is taken away by a violent untimely Death.

1. *A Prayer whilſt the Perſon yet liveth, to be ſaid either by himſelf, or by his Friends for him.*

† Put this *thy unworthy Servant* for *me*, and likewiſe *him* for *me*, *his* for *my*, *he* for *I*, &c. when his Friends ſay this Prayer over him.

* *Up to the Accident that ſmote me*, when he falls by an Accident.

† Luk. 23. 40, &c.

* Mat. 20. 6, 9.

O Almighty Lord! thou art pleas'd, by a violent and haſty Stroke, to hurry † thy unworthy Servant out of this World: For thou didſt deliver me * [into the Hands of him that ſmote me; and how unjuſtly ſoever my Death comes from him, yet it is moſt juſt from thee. I fully juſtify thee, and freely forgive him: And O! that he may truly repent thereof in Time, that thou mayſt freely forgive him too.]

But as I am like to be ſnatch'd away thereby from hence in Haſte, O my dear God! give me great Strength of Grace to do much towards finiſhing my Peace with thee in a little Time. If thou art pleas'd to ſhew it, thy Grace can perfect my Repentance in few Hours, yea, few Minutes as well as in many. It wrought it in † *the Thief upon the Croſs*, in his laſt Agonies: And ſome who had tarry'd 'til * *the laſt Hour of the Day*, are made acceptable thereby in thy Service: O let it be mighty towards me in this my Neceſſity, as it was towards them

theirs; and take me not hence 'til it has made me a Penitent fit for ee to accept of.

O! remember not my great and manifold Sin in Wrath, but only to nd Grace ſufficient to cure them, and to ſhew Mercy on me for the me: And as *I am hereby* chaſtened* for their Cauſe, Lord, let it be *at I may not be condemned with the World*: Let all my Puniſhment or ortion of Pains be here, but give me Peace and Favour with thee ereafter. * 1 Cor. 11. 32.

And ſpare me a little, good Lord! ſpare me if it may ſeem good to ee, that I may recover ſome Strength, and dreſs my Lamp, and ſup- y the great Defectiveneſs of my Duty towards thee before I die: ut if thou haſt otherwiſe decreed, and I muſt die ſuddenly, then agnify thy Mercy, O my God! in reſcuing me from the near Ap- oach of eternal Miſery, and let thy Diſpleaſure end in my Death; but ter that receive me, among the meaneſt of thy Servants, to everlaſting ife, thro' the Merits of my bleſſed Saviour and Redeemer Jeſus hriſt, *Amen*.

2. *A Prayer of his Friends after his Death.*

O Bleſſed Father! it has ſeem'd good to thy wiſe Providence, to tear this dear Friend from us by Violence, and to ſend him un- nely to his Grave. [† *I*] own thy Juſtice herein, and deſire to ew Reverence inſtead of Murmuring, becauſe it is thy doing.

† Change the Number, putting *we* for *I*, *&c.* when ſeveral join together in this Prayer.

And my Hope is, O Lord! that thou do'ſt and wilt remember the ous Study and Bent of his former Life in Mercy, and graciouſly ac- pt him as one dying in thy Fear: And whilſt I have this Hope to mfort me, I will not complain of any Violence or Accidents which urry'd him away from us to enjoy thee.

When it has been the Buſineſs of a Man's Life, and his daily Study d Care, O God! to ſerve thee, tho' Death comes on the ſudden, yet will not come too ſoon for him.

And I will conſider alſo, that if thou ſurpriſedſt him with the Sud- nneſs of his Death, thou ſufferedſt him not to be tormented with any ng Fears thereof: And that the ſuddener the Stroke was, the leſs was like to feel it: Or ſhould he have felt it more, yet he might t have felt a painful Diſeaſe leſs, had it been his Executioner: For tho' that would have been more ſlow, it might not have prov'd leſs uel; nor have ſmarted lighter, but only laſted longer: And if my ar and deceas'd Friend's Pain was more violent, O Lord! it was ort, and thro' thy Mercy, I hope, it is the laſt he had to endure.

And far be it from us, O God! to repine, that he was thrown ſtily and headlong into Death; eſpecially having a comfortable ope, that the Effect thereof is, to paſs with leſs Pain and more iſpatch into a better Life, and more eaſily and ſpeedily to take oſſeſſion of Immortality, thro' Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, *Amen*.

V. *Prayers on the Death of Friends who had led ill Lives, and gave no comfortable Proofs of Repentance at their Deaths.*

IN this Caſe, we may put the ſurviving Friends in Mind of the many other Things which they have to take Comfort in, and this, I think, all the Ground we have here of ſpeaking Comfort unto them: But e cannot fetch Conſiderations of Comfort from their deceas'd Friends: or ſuch Sinners as would have nothing to do with the Fear and Ser- ce of God, have no Reaſon of Comfort in themſelves, nor can

afford any good Reaſon of it to their Well-wiſhers: And with relatio to them we muſt not pretend to preach Comfort, I conceive, but Su miſſion.

To help them *meekly and patiently to ſubmit themſelves to God* in the ſad Caſes, the ſurviving Friends may uſe Prayer I. *When a Friend dies*; eſpecially if they leave out the Paragraph within the Hook *p.* 460.

They may alſo uſe this Prayer following *to comfort them.*

AND bleſſed be thy Mercy, O moſt gracious God, which in this ſa Caſe doth not leave me comfortleſs! For if this deceas'd Friend Caſe ſuggeſts Things full of Grief, I have many other Friends wh give me great Cauſe of Joy: And to compenſate my Trouble in Pri for others, by thy Grace I have ſomething to ſatisfy and pleaſe me reflecting on my ſelf.

For I can look with Comfort on my own Soul, and hope, thro' th Merits of my bleſſed Saviour, to find Mercy for it, and take Comfort it, both living and dying. I have thee, O Lord! for my Portion; an nothing can make my Caſe comfortleſs, whilſt I am thine and thou a mine, and whilſt I have thy Power to truſt to, and thy Love to re joyce in: And under all this Sorrow at preſent, I am ſuſtain'd by th bleſſed Hope of being receiv'd at laſt into thy Preſence, where al Remembrance of former Trouble ſhall be quite effac'd by the Abun dance of my preſent Bliſs; where I ſhall have no Sorrow from th Miſ-carriage of Friends, but unſpeakable Satisfaction in their Well being and Well-doing; and where I ſhall ever delight in thee, and b the continual Emanations of thy ſurpaſſing Mercy, thro' Jeſus Chri my Lord and only Saviour, *Amen.*

V. *A Prayer on the Death of a Child.*

O Almighty Father! thou art pleas'd now to turn my Joys int Sorrows, and to take away from me that ſweet Babe, which thou lately gaveſt me for my Delight and Comfort: But I humbly bow my Will to thine, and ſubmit my ſelf to bear it patiently and with out murmuring, becauſe it is thy doing.

Thou haſt ſent this poor Child into the World, O Lord! to ſee an to taſte Life, but haſt not allow'd it to ſtay 'til it could rightly Un derſtand the End and Buſineſs, or reliſh the Comforts and Satisfaction thereof.

But I will conſider, O my God! that thou wilt not require from any Services of Life, whilſt it was not capable to underſtand them And that if it ſtay'd not here to enjoy Pleaſure, ſo neither did it ſta to be pin'd away with Sorrow and Care: It liv'd not long enough t be vers'd in all the Vexations of our State, nor to run thro' that grea Variety of Miſeries and Misfortunes which are incident here to ou Nature: But went off before it had Time to try how much Evil is t be endur'd in this Life; yea, before it was come to aggravate any Afflictions by Imagination, or to anticipate the ſame by Fear, or t reflect in Bitterneſs of Spirit, and lay to Heart what it did endure.

And as it dy'd young, O Lord! ſo I have the Comfort to think an hope that therefore it dy'd innocent: For it is taken back to thee be fore it knew Good or Evil, or had done any Thing to offend thee. H has left the World, e'er it was made the worſe by it, or had con tracted any of the Wickedneſs thereof, to follow it and fright it a thy

thy Judgment. By thy Mercy, O Father! it ſtay'd 'til it was receiv'd for thine own Child by Baptiſm, and was therein aſſur'd by thee of Remiſſion of Sin, and made an Heir of thy Kingdom: And by the ſame Mercy it is now call'd away, e'er it had done any Thing to fall from that Relation, or to forfeit that Bleſſing.

So that in this taking it away from me, thou haſt tranſlated it, O Father of Mercies! from the Miſeries of this World to the Joys of Paradiſe. It is taken from me to be at thy Proviſion, and to be kept for ever ſafe and happy in thoſe bleſſed Manſions which thou haſt provided for thy Children.

And therefore if I have loſt the Comfort of having a Child to train up in thy Service in this World, it is for the far greater Comfort, O my God! of having ſent one to live with thee, and attend for ever about thy Throne in Heaven: And there I my ſelf alſo hope, thro' thy Mercy, to be receiv'd, in thy due Time, not only to ſee and enjoy it, but what is infinitely above all, for ever to ſee and enjoy thee, thro' Jeſus Chriſt my Lord, *Amen.*

VI. *A Prayer when one is made Childleſs, or is like to die without Children.*

O Bleſſed Lord! thou art pleas'd in thy Wiſdom to † [bereave me of my Children] and to leave me no Appearance of Iſſue to ſweeten the Cares of Life, and to keep up my Memory to Poſterity. I am content therewith, O my God! becauſe it pleaſeth thee; and coming from thy Wiſdom and Care of me, I will not only own it to be juſt, but eſteem it to be moſt wiſe and fit for me.

† *Make me Childleſs, if they never had any.*

And if by having no Children I have fewer Delights, I will remember withal, O Father! that I have lighter Cares and fewer Sorrows. I have not the Torment of ſeeing them take ill Ways, nor of fearing continually leſt they ſhould fall to take them; nor ſhall have the Pains and Trouble of parting with them, which commonly is quicker and more affecting than the Pleaſure of having them: And I may now fix my Love and Care more entirely upon thee, having no Cares for them to call me off: And I have leſs Temptation to deſcend to mean or ungodly Shifts, if ever I come to be pinch'd with Perſecution or Adverſity; or to comply with any Things unworthy and miſ-becoming my ſelf, or diſpleaſing unto thee.

And when I can leave no Children to ſupport my Name and Memory, let me have good Deeds, O dear God! and a Life of unblemiſh'd Integrity and Honour, to do the ſame for me. O! that I may be remember'd after I am dead for Acts of true Piety and Charity, which give the trueſt and moſt laſting Fragrancy: However, let me leave behind me the Memory of a truly religious, humble, and virtuous Carriage, for the Imitation of all that knew me.

Eſpecially, O holy Father! let a conſtant Courſe of Obedience and Godlineſs, recommend me, thro' the Blood of thy Son, to thy Approbation: And tho' among Men I am quite forgotten, yet let me be graciouſly remember'd and receiv'd by thee, when thou reckoneſt up and calleſt over the Number of thy Children, for my dear Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's Sake, *Amen.*

Trinuni Deo Gloria.

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FINIS.

OF

Chriſtian Communion,

To be kept on in the UNITY of

CHRIST'S CHURCH,

And among the Profeſſors of

TRUTH and HOLINESS.

AND

Of the OBLIGATIONS both of *faithful Paſtors*, to adminiſter Orthodox and Holy Offices, and of *faithful People*, to communicate in the ſame.

Fitted for perſecuted, or divided, or corrupt States of Churches; when they are either borne down by ſecular Perſecutions, or broken with *Schiſms*, or defil'd with *ſinful Offices* and *Miniſtrations*.

In Three PARTS.

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CHRIST'S CHURCH

CATHOLIC COMMUNION,

TRUTH and HOLINESS.

THE PREFACE.

READER,

THIS a ſad Thing when any Kingdoms are divided about the Payment of their *Allegiance* and *Civil Duties*, which muſt needs bereave vaſt Numbers of the Innocence, and more of the Comforts and Quietneſs of uman Life: But it is ſtill worſe, when this grows into a Divion of Churches and Breach of religious Communions: For, eſides that Religion is the Chief of all Things which can concern s, and whereon we muſt build all our Hopes of Good in another ife; religious Exerciſes and Aſſemblies ſhould be the propereſt ordial to revive our Spirits, and the beſt and ſureſt Refuge for s to flee unto in the greateſt civil Diſtractions. But ſuch Diiſion of Churches and Communions unſettles and diſtracts the earts of good and pious People about this, and makes them at Loſs where to ſerve God, and ſay their Prayers: And this uſt put all, who pretend to Seriouſneſs, or a religious Spirit, n ſhewing Compaſſion; and ſome on endeavouring Relief, and n reaching out ſuch Things as may direct and be of Uſe to em, in a ſafe and conſcionable Guidance of their Steps at ſuch imes.

And this is the Deſign of this Treatiſe: Wherein my Buſineſs not at all to diſpute the particular Titles to any Crowns, or to amine the Claims of the ſeveral Pretenders to them: In that, leave every honeſt Mind to other Ways of informing and ſatising themſelves, and of forming ſuch Judgments thereof, as ruth and Juſtice ſhall happen to require in their particular aſe: But when by thoſe Ways they are come to be reſolv'd erein, I endeavour to ſhew them what Things lye moſt upon onſcience, either their Paſtors, or their own, as to Churchiniſtrations; and what Way they are to take about religious ffices and Communion, on ſuch unhappy Diviſions.

The PREFACE.

These Matters I treat of, not as they are State-Points, like one who seeks only to be a Stickler in civil Differences; or to help those, who on such Breaches, study only to make a Bustle in State Parties: But as they are Matters of Religion, and concern all, who would keep in the Favour of God, and in the right Way to Heaven: For my Design and Study, all along, is to shew, how they who desire nothing more than to save their immortal Souls, may keep free from Guilt, and eternal Danger, in these Particulars: My great Care for them, and for my self, in these Matters, being how we may truly and acceptably serve God more than any temporal Interest, or the Cause of any Persons or Parties in this World. And this I offer to the Conscientious, who prefer Religion before worldly Ends, and Eternity before this Life: And who, in these Differences, are willing and desirous to take the sure Way to future Peace and everlasting Bliss, however the same may expose them here to worldly Difficulties, Uncomfortableness, and Persecutions.

As for the Ways and Practices here spoken of, I have given Warning of their Guilt and Danger with Plainness: And this is necessary in all good Christians, especially in Ministers, who are *Isa. 5. 20. * *not to call Evil Good*, or to give soft Names to ill Things, and to palliate Unrighteousness instead of exposing and exploding it; †Ezek. 13. 18, 20. which were to take Part with Wickedness, and *to* † *sew Pillows* for the bolstering up of Sinners.

I am sensible what Need there is of Charity and Candour at all Times, especially on the bursting out of Differences: And how indispensible Christian Duties these are, not only in Men at Ease, but in Confessors and Sufferers for Righteousness towards their Persecutors. *If I keep not Charity, though I give my Body to be burned*, and suffer Martyrdom, *it profiteth me nothing*, 1 Cor. 13. 13. And when we see Men in apparently wicked and ungodly Ways, or unrighteous Things done, 'tis the Part of this Charity and Candour to shew Favour and Easiness in judging of the Dispositions of Mind wherewith they do them; ascribing them, so far as it can find any reasonable Colour or Pretence thereof, to the most excusable Principles. As to their being mis-led by the plausible Arguings of Deceivers, or to an Error of their Judgments, rather than to their acting all the while against their own Belief and Convictions; and to their being over-awed by Fear of Princes, or of popular Violence; or being forc'd by worldly Wants and Necessities, rather than to their doing the same willingly and of themselves, or out of Malice. As our blessed Lord, *whilst he hung upon the Cross*, most candidly imputes the Wickedness of his Crucifiers to their Ignorance; *Father forgive them, for they know not what they do*, Luke 23. 34. It is also the Part thereof, freely to encourage, and friendly to desire

and endeavour their Return; rejoycing to have them ſee their Folly, rather than to ſee them ſuffer for it; and, without upbraiding them with the Remembrance of former Errors, amicably to welcome and carry on the Change, when, thro' the Bleſſing and Grace of God, they are wrought upon by whatever Methods of Providence, and begin to come to themſelves.

But whilſt it is ſo favourable in judging of the inward Diſpoſitions of the Perſons, 'tis no Part of this Charity and Candour, either to think or to ſpeak favourably of the ungodly or unrighteous Things themſelves, which are ſet up or driven on at ſuch Times. The unlawful Practices themſelves it cenſures with Juſtice, being a Charity that is pure and pious, and that is careful for God, and for the Duties of an holy Religion. In the firſt Place, out of Love to God and Religion, it cannot favour Vices, or foſter and take Part with any Sin: Yea, and out of Love to Men, it cannot ſpeak ſoftly of deſtructive Courſes, or repreſent any ungodly Ways or Things, as leſs diſhonourable and offenſive to God, or as leſs dangerous to Souls, than in the End they will find them. So that they are mightily miſtaken, who think it any Part of true Chriſtian Charity and Candour to befriend ungodly Practices, or to mince and ſoften unlawful and unrighteous Things; which were to conſpire with Sin and Wickedneſs againſt God and Religion, and to betray the Souls of Men, inſtead of befriending them.

I am alſo ſincerely and conſcientiouſly ſtudious of Peace; and to keep Men unreproveable in that, is one Intent, tho' not the only one, of theſe Papers, And before open Breaches are made, the Love of Peace will ſpend it ſelf in Endeavours to prevent them: But if they are made already, as they are to a great Height; when the Eſpouſers of ill Things have proceeded to ſet up *Anti-Biſhops*, which divide Church-Societies, 'till by pouring in Oil, they can be cur'd and clos'd again; one chief Buſineſs left then for the Love of Peace and Union, is to ſee that Peace and Unity be kept with the right Side: And this I have here endeavour'd to aſſiſt the Children of Peace in, the beſt I can. For it would be a fatal Miſtake, indeed, to have the very Love and Deſire of Peace abus'd to the Maintenance of Dividers; and to ſee well-meaning Men, whilſt, at ſuch Times, they are deſignedly labouring to avoid *Schiſms*, to run headlong into them; as they muſt do, if they miſtake their Side wherewith this Peace and Unity is to be kept: and, inſtead of the true Body, take Part with the Seditious, and join themſelves to thoſe Members who are broken off, on ſuch Diviſions.

Beſides, the Peace and Union which we are to ſeek in this World, muſt be ſuch as may give us Peace at the laſt, It is not

being at Peace in ſuch Ways, as will fill our Souls in the End with eternal Horrors: And therefore it is not to be ſought by our Violation of any Parts of Righteouſneſs, nor by our conſenting or giving Way to the Suppreſſion thereof, or letting fall our Zeal for the ſame: So that we muſt not ſeek to compaſs it by Neutrality and Lukewarmneſs for God's holy Commandments, and much leſs by Treachery, in giving up them and the Souls of Men, whoſe eternal Weal depends upon the Obſervance thereof, as the Purchaſe of external Unity with any Society. When worldly Peace can no longer be kept together with Righteouſneſs, it is no Peace for Chriſtians; or for Men, who would prefer the Peace of God, and of their own Conſcience, before any falſe and forc'd Shews of Peace and Unity with any other Perſons.

And theſe Endeavours to direct Men, whoſe Care is to keep Peace and Unity with any Societies, how they may keep them with the right Side, when they are broken into Parties, and in ſuch Things, and by ſuch Compliances, as will not intercept their future Comforts, methinks, ſhould be acceptable to all ſincere Lovers thereof, who would be directed how they may wiſely purſue what they love, and not miſs of their own Deſires, and would fix at laſt on ſuch a Peace and Union, as will not deceive them, or end in Ruin.

In treating of theſe Matters, I endeavour to clear and confirm what I offer thereupon, by the Authority of the ſacred Scriptures, and from the Reaſon and Nature of the Things diſcours'd of: And, moreover, from the Doctrine and Practice of the primitive Church; ſhewing what the holy Apoſtles, and their Succeſſors of the firſt and beſt Ages, would have ſaid to Men in the Caſes and Breaches here propos'd; and how, as I conceive, they would have determin'd their own Practice, had they been try'd therewith, and plac'd in ſuch Circumſtances. This I ſhew from their own Rules, which they gave out to others and acted by themſelves in their own Circumſtances. And it would be a ſtrange and very criminal Innovation, for any now in our Days to ſlight their Ways: For we all know, that our holy Religion doth not begin with us, and that we are not the firſt Chriſtians, but only their Succeſſors, and that too at a great Diſtance. We all profeſs to be their Followers, and ſhould think we have beſt provided for our own Safety, when we have taken the Way to be found in their Company.

In confirming any Points from their Doctrine or Practice, I have given their own Words in the Margin, that the learned Reader, having the very Words and Paſſages I build upon before him, may be the better enabled (and with more Eaſe to himſelf) to judge of the Uſe which I make of them, and of the Infe-

rence

rences which I draw from them. But in the Body of the Book I have only given the Tranſlation, or put the Senſe or Purport of the ſame, that the unlearn'd Reader may not be diſcourag'd or hinder'd by the Intermixtures of an unknown Tongue, but peruſe the whole without Interruption.

Thro' the whole I am ſincerely careful, ſo far as I am able, to ſatisfy conſciencious and truly-religious Minds, what Way they are to take for ſacred Offices and Church-Communion, on ſuch unhappy Diviſions. And ſeeking their Satisfaction in theſe Matters, I have offer'd the beſt I can to reſolve thoſe Points which I thought they were moſt like to be unſatisfy'd in, and to clear up thoſe Things which ſeem'd to me moſt liable to miſ-lead them; and either to anſwer or obviate thoſe Objections which are already made, or, ſo far as I can at preſent foreſee, may probably hereafter ſtart up in their Way, to unſettle them about the ſame. All which, as I have labour'd in with an humble Dependance on God's Grace and Aſſiſtance, ſo I now humbly recommend to his Bleſſing; deſiring nothing more, than that he may graciouſly accept the ſame, and pardon all the Over-ſights and well-meant Failures and Miſtakes which ſhall happen to be found therein, and direct and turn this Work, poor and defective as it is, to the Uſes and Intereſt of Truth and Godlineſs, and to the Edification and Service of his holy Church.

April 8th,
1692.

THE

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3. *AS they relate to the Souls of Men, and are ſet over the Church,* 1. *As Watch-men.* 2. *As Overſeers.* 3. *As Guides or Leaders.* 4. *As Paſtors or Shepherds.* 5. *As Doctors, or ſtanding Teachers of the Church. As Lights of the World, and the Salt of the Earth. Their Obligations to ſuch Exerciſe in the foreſaid Caſes, from all the foreſaid Characters. Different Degrees in this Obligation. A Spirit of Love and Zeal to Chriſt and his Church, which ſtand not upon ſtrict Terms, the Spring and Principle of this Exerciſe. How this clears the Duty of depriv'd Biſhops and Clergy, as to this Exerciſe on ſuch Revolutions. Anſwerable to this Obligation of the Paſtors, to afford ſuch Miniſtrations at ſuch Times, is the Peoples Obligations to adhere to them, and attend on them for Participation thereof.*

PART II.

Of Deprivations by Civil States or Ecclesiastical Synods.

CHAP. I.

Of the Force of State Deprivations in the foresaid Cases.

THE Plea of a Deprivation of State, represented in Bar of their Ministrations in the foresaid Cases: Concerning which, 1. *This is to be* [re]*ss'd only under a suppos'd legal and rightful State.* 2. *Its Deprivation is* [no] *conscionable Discharge from their spiritual Ministrations in the foresaid* [Ca]*ses. This is meant only of pure spiritual Ministrations. Not,* 3. *Of any* [te]*mporal Accessions and Inforcements of those Ministrations; over which the* [St]*ate has Power, because it conferr'd them: As also over some other Powers* [be]*longing to the Church, whilst it kept separate, which it gives up to the* [St]*ate, during its Incorporation with it. These it gives up,* 1. *With a Salvo* [to] *the Interests of Religion and of Souls.* 2. *Only while it continues pro-*[fe]*ssed, not when the State puts true Religion under Persecution.*

CHAP. II.

Of the King's Ecclesiastical Supremacy receiv'd and asserted by our Church.

IT lies not in his being invested with, or having a sovereign Disposal of, [the] *Powers of Orders. But,* 1. *In retaining his civil Power over all* [Per]*sons, whether Lay-Men or Ecclesiasticks. In vertue of this civil Power* [ov]*er the Persons of Ecclesiasticks, he can command them faithfully to discharge* [the]*ir spiritual Functions.* 2. *In the Subordination of Ecclesiastical Courts* [and] *Causes, wherein Ecclesiasticks are content to act subordinately, on the* [sco]*re of their secular Mixtures and Jurisdictions: And in holding all this,* [In] *Opposition and Bar of all other earthly Dependance, especially of all* [for]*eign Jurisdiction and Appeals. This Supremacy excludes not spiritual* [Min]*istrations of depriv'd Clergy in the foresaid Cases. This may be collected* [fro]*m their Adversaries Concessions.*

CHAP. III.

Remarks on the preceding Account of the Force of State Deprivations, and Instances of Deprivations alledg'd to the contrary, consider'd and clear'd up.

THE preceding Account of the Force of State Deprivations, is not, 1. *To* [the]*deny the civil Power, the Cognizance of Bishops and Ministers in civil* [Mat]*ters. Nor any just Power over Ecclesiasticks.* 2. *Nor to set the Church* [abo]*ve the State, as the Papal Usurpations pretend to do. Nor to mistake or* [ov]*erlook the Condition of an incorporate Church. The Deprivation of* Abia[thar] *by* Solomon *consider'd and clear'd. As also the frequent Depositions* [of] *the* Jewish *High Priests by the* Roman *Governours: And of the* Greek [Pa]*triarchs by the* Turks: *And of the* Popish Bishops *by a Commission of* [St]*ate, pursuant to an Act of Parliament in Queen* Mary's *Days.*

CHAP. IV.

Of Deprivations by Synods in the foresaid Cases.

DEprivation of Biſhops moſt fit and proper for Synods. Their Deprivation no Diſcharge from Miniſtrations in the foreſaid Caſes, as ſhewn by Reaſons. And by the Practice of the Church. This is meant, when Synods deprive for the Cauſe of the Truth; not of other mere perſonal Crimes where the Injur'd muſt acquieſce, 'till reliev'd by regular Sentence. What Regard is to be had to the Deciſions of Synods in theſe Caſes.

PART III.

Of *SCHISM.*

CHAP. I.

Of the Nature of *Schiſm*: And of the *Schiſm* of particular Members from their own Church, in throwing off Subjection and Dependence on their own Biſhops.

OF the Union of a Society, which Schiſm *breaks. One Way of uniting Societies, is by uniting them under the ſame Heads. Theſe, in Church Societies, are the Biſhops. Union of particular Members to their own Church, is in keeping ſubject and dependant on their own lawful Biſhops. And their* Schiſm *lies in breaking off from them; eſpecially, in ſetting up oppoſite or Anti-Biſhops againſt them. So, 1. in ſuch Oppoſitions, the Anti-Biſhop and his Adherents make the* Schiſm, *if the former Biſhop was orthodox, and is ſtill rightful Biſhop of the Church. Of* George *the Cappadocian, and* Athanaſius. *2. The Unity of the Church doth not go with the greateſt Numbers. What diſtinguiſheth Meetings in the Unity of the Church from ſchiſmatical Conventicles. Schiſmaticks too oft the more numerous Party. Much leſs doth it go with Places of Aſſemblies. 3. Therefore in preſſing Eccleſiaſtical Unity, Men muſt be preſs'd to keep united to their own orthodox rightful Biſhop, not to any oppoſite Biſhop. The Goſpel Precepts of Love and Peace, &c. all on this Side, and not to be urg'd the other Way. Such a* Schiſm *not to be cur'd by the Receſſions of the ſuffering Biſhops in the foreſaid Caſes.*

CHAP. II.

Of the *Schiſm* of particular Churches from other Siſter-Churches by rejecting fraternal Communion therewith.

UNity of one Body to be kept up among all particular Churches. This is chiefly by the Union and Accord of the reſpective Biſhops and Paſtors thereof. All orthodox Biſhops and Churches keep this up, 1. By receiving each others Members, as if they were their own Members. 2. And in like ſort, by refuſing each others Schiſmaticks, and Excommunicates. And admitting each others Reconciliation and Re-union of Members: Communicatory Letters for thoſe Purpoſes.

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JUST Ground to break off Communion from any Churches, 1. When they put impious or unlawful Things into their ſacred Offices. Reaſons hereof. Faith and Worſhip ſpoke of as the great Ligaments which bind us to any Church. 2. More ſtill, if they admit none to Communion in the good Parts, unleſs they particularly concur in the corrupt ones too. 2. A ſecond Ground is, if they make unrighteous Uſurpations the Condition of their Communion.

CHAP. IV.

Hereſy a juſt Ground to break off Communion.

CHriſt's firſt End, was to publiſh a Religion: Next, to incorporate us into a Church or Society, for the Profeſſion of it. Chriſtian Doctrine the Foundation of Church Society and Unity. So we are not bound to aſſociate or unite with any, longer than they keep to this Doctrine, but are diſcharg'd by their Hereſy. And on the Evidence of the Fact it ſelf before Synodical Sentence. This Liberty, 1. For the People and Clergy, towards their own local Guides and Biſhops. 2. For Clergy and People of one Church, towards thoſe of another. And on Defections from grand and neceſſary Doctrines of Practice as well as of Faith. Chiefly when the miniſterial Defence of either is no longer allow'd in their Communion. Being thus ſet looſe from their own erring Biſhops and Clergy, they are free to unite with others who are Orthodox. And thoſe others are free to receive them. Canonical Rules againſt intermeddling in others Dioceſe, &c. no Hinderance thereto. Rules of Unity not pleadable by ſuch Defectors, for uniting with them. The Guilt of making the Schiſm *lies on the Defectors. Should their Brethren come over, they would not cure, but make the Breach from the Catholick Church wider.*

CHAP. V.

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THEIR Obligations to ſtick to their orthodox rightful Biſhops, and to ſtand off from the Anti-Biſhops *and their Adherents, in the foremention'd Caſes. As retaining their Baptiſm, they may own the Schiſmaticks for Brethren; but as being in a* Schiſm, *they muſt ſtand off from their Communion. A great Senſe of the Obligations to ſhun the Communion of Schiſmaticks and corrupt Teachers in the firſt Times. This was moſt when* Charity *was at the Height. This will bar Communion, 1. with the Electors and Ordainers of ſuch* Anti-Biſhops. 2. *With their Clergy and People, or their Aſſemblies of their Dioceſe. 3. With other Biſhops and Churches who take their Part and communicate with them. 4. With the Biſhops of a Province, who turn over to an* Anti-primate, *or* oppoſite Metropolitan. *Of Provincial Union, and the Rules for Maintenance thereof. 5. When Church Diviſions are made for oppoſite Ways of Worſhip and Tenets, Men will unite with ſuch as are of their own Mind, and hold Communion with thoſe who are for the ſame Way of neceſſary Worſhip and Tenets with themſelves.*

CHAP. VI.

Of Ordinations of Anti-Biſhops, which, tho' always Schiſmatical, are not always Nullities.

OF St. Cyprian's *ſaying the Anti-Biſhop is not* Secundus, *but* Nullus. *That Anti-Biſhops are real Biſhops, and their Ordinations are not* Null *in*

in themſelves ; but were admitted, in the Novatians, *by the Council of* Nice. *In the* Donatiſts, *by the* Roman *and* African *Councils. The ſame ſhown in ſeveral other Caſes. Tho' Men have Orders, yet they cannot exerciſe the ſame in Aſſemblies of the Faithful, without the Communion of the Church. Such Offenders receiv'd, ſometimes to* Clerical, *ſometimes only to* Lay-Communion, *as the Church ſaw Cauſe. The Caſe of the* Anti-Biſhops *ordain'd by the ſchiſmatick* Meletius. Eccleſiaſtical Laws *and* Diſcipline *aſſerted, or abated in ſuch Receptions, as was judg'd moſt expedient for the Church. The* Donatiſts *made* Schiſm *to take away the Powers of Orders, and are oppos'd therein by St.* Auſtin. *How St.* Cyprian *and the* Africans *of his Age, ſeem to have done the ſame, which St.* Baſil *dislik'd in them. Altho' their nulling the miniſterial Acts of* Schiſmaticks, *ſeems to be only in the Way of aſſerting* Diſcipline *and* Canons, *by denying Communion to them in their Churches ; not that they thought them Null in themſelves. How the Admiſſion of Ordination of* Anti-biſhops, *conſiſts with the* Biſhops *being the Principal of Unity, and is not againſt the Nature of the ſpiritual Monarchy. A Difference, as to this, between ſecular and ſpiritual Monarchies: And of local Limitations in conferring Orders.*

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Of the Excuſableneſs of the Peoples receiving miniſterial Offices from Men in *Schiſm*, rather than live without any at all.

THIS wants the Malignity of Schiſm. *The Excuſableneſs thereof ſhewn, 1. From the Nature and Importance of the Things themſelves. Where of the great Importance of publick Worſhip, or of Communion in miniſterial Offices. 2. From the Abatements God himſelf has been willing to make on ſuch Neceſſity in other like Duties. 3. From the Practice of God's People under the greateſt* Schiſms : *This Neceſſity being thought to legitimate it. 1. Among the* ten Tribes, *whoſe Miniſtrations were all in a* Schiſm. 2. *With the ſchiſmatical* Novatians *in the Height of the* Arian *Perſecution. 3. In the ſchiſmatical Extirpation of Epiſcopacy among us in the great Rebellion. 4. Under the* Schiſm *of foreign Churches, where the Proteſtants have no Biſhops. Of the Abatements the Church has made, where it had great Reaſon, in the Point of ſhunning the Communion of Schiſmaticks, and excommunicate Perſons, eſpecially before they were ſentenc'd by the Church. The ſame equitably applicable to this Caſe. How both a due Senſe of the Criminalneſs of* Schiſm, *and Exerciſe of publick Worſhip is provided for by this Means.*

CHAP. VIII.

Of Communicating in like Neceſſity, where there are ſome Prayers ſinful in the Matter of them.

TO concur or go along in any unrighteous Petition or Thankſgiving, is moſt unrighteous and prophane. Of mix'd Prayers, where the Mixtures are idolatrous, &c. *Or where ſome immoral Petitions are added to a Service not exceptionable on any other Accounts. Of bearing ſuch immoral Mixtures, whilſt they do not particularly concur therein, but expreſs Diſſent from the ſame ; and reſorting ſtill to the Aſſemblies where they are us'd, with Care of keeping Peace and Union. Of bearing the ſame for the Neceſſity of having ſome miniſterial Offices in Want of other Opportunities. Mere Preſence at ſuch immoral Additions, no interpretative Profeſſion of Concurrence therein. Chiefly if Diſſent be ſhewn by ſome external Sign. Of theſe Conceſſions of Favour and Eaſe. All highly concern'd to take the right Way in the Points here debated. Unſafe, ſhould they take the Wrong, to truſt to the Plea of Miſtake and Ignorance. Of Zeal againſt Popery alledg'd therein. The Concluſion.*

OF

Chriſtian Communion, &c.

PART I.

Of the Duty of Paſtors to exerciſe their ſpiritual Powers, and to afford the People orthodox and holy Miniſtrations.

CHAP. I.

Of the Differences here treated of, and of the Schiſm conſequent thereon.

REVOLUTIONS of States and Kingdoms, when they have put them into the Poſſeſſion of new Maſters, are wont to bring on *new Oaths of Allegiance*, for Security of the *new Poſſeſſors*; and alſo to bring on *Alterations* of *publick Prayers* and *Liturgies*, ſo far, at leaſt, as concerns the Cauſe and Intereſt of the governing Perſons; that *Religious*, as well as *Civil Offices* and *Miniſtrations*, may eſpouſe and ſerve their Cauſe who have got the Power into their Hands.

These Impoſitions of ſuch *new Oaths*, and of ſuch *Alterations* and *Ordering of the publick Worſhip*, purſuant to the Deſign thereof, are uſually follow'd with *Acts of State*, for *Deprivation of thoſe Biſhops and Clergy*, who *refuſe* and *ſtand off from the ſame*; and for *ſubſtituting oppoſite or Anti-Biſhops*, and other *Clergy*, that will conform thereto, into their Places: And when theſe are executed accordingly, eſpecially in much diſputed Caſes, it may be an afflictive Sight to many good and Chriſtian Minds, in juſt Acknowledgment to the extraordinary and, perhaps, generally-celebrated Merits of ſome, and in due Compaſſion to the hard Meaſure of all the Sufferers. But it will be much more impreſſive and lamentable, on the Score of that terrible *Rent* and *Schiſm* thereby like to enſue in ſuch Churches, which is ſo generally and deſervedly dreaded and bewail'd by all ſincere Promoters of *Unity*, and unfeign'd Lovers of *Peace*, and of the *Proſperity* of the *Church*.

This Breach being thus made on *one Side*, *the Sufferers will be preſs'd to ſubmit, in regard to the Deprivation of the State:* And moreover, ſuppoſing themſelves injur'd, they will be put in Mind of the juſtly-magnify'd Excellency, and of the Deſirableneſs and Neceſſity of Unity; and will be call'd upon, as *good Paſtors*, who prefer the *Flock* before themſelves, to give up private Claims to publick Peace, and perſonal

Quarrels

Quarrels and Pretences to the Advantage and Edification of the Church. And this Preference of Peace to private Intereſts, they muſt own to be the Duty of all good Paſtors, and, as becomes ſuch, profeſs to ſet theſe Things above all worldly Profits and Conſiderations; being ready, when call'd thereto, * *To lay down even their Lives for the Sheep*, after the Example of the *Great Shepherd*: And 'tis not improbable, but that at ſuch Times, they may wiſh withall, that their Admoniſhers had been as ready to follow this Advice, as they are to give it; and had, like good and conſcionable Chriſtians, reflected ſeaſonably and ſeriouſly themſelves upon theſe Duties of Peace and Unity, before they had acted ſo much againſt them, in ruſhing head-long, as they may alledge, into that Breach, which, in the End, the Generality ſee ſo great Cauſe to lament, but which the Sufferers have no Power to remedy: Or, that in juſt and neceſſary Remorſe for what they have done, they would penitently return whence they are fall'n, and ſeeing their Error, ſo unhappily over-look'd before, by coming into the old Paths, re-unite themſelves to their Brethren again.

* Joh. 10. 11.

But on the other Hand, they will be ready to put their Brethren and Accuſers in Mind, that neither a *State Deprivation*, nor a *Synodical Deprivation*, had there been one, can diſcharge a Biſhop from ſtanding up, *to keep off Damage and Danger to Religion*, and *to the Souls of Men*, or from *preventing their being nurſed up in immoral Practices and Devotions*; and that true and faithful Paſtors are not ſo ſtraitly bound to keep up external Unity and Peace, as to keep up neceſſary Truth and Righteouſneſs, and holy and unpolluted Worſhip in the Church. Their Charge is, firſt, to provide againſt all Things that endanger or deſtroy the Souls of Men, and damnify Religion; and when that is done, then to look how they may provide againſt all *Schiſm*, or Breach of external *Unity*, with their Compaſtors or Brethren; but never ſeek to ſalve and ſecure this, by letting thoſe alone.

Beſides, as to *Peace* and *Union*, inſtead of carrying themſelves off from *Truth* and *Righteouſneſs* at ſuch Times, or any good People off from them, they will alledge, that they oblige all, who will make Conſcience thereof, and obſerve them as they ought, to ſtick to them. For the *Unity* which Chriſt requires, is, to keep united upon the Profeſſion of true Doctrine and holy Worſhip; not of any damnable Errors and Corruptions thereof; and under our own lawful and canonical Biſhops and Paſtors, not under any oppoſite or Anti-Biſhops and Paſtors, *Schiſmatically* ſet up againſt them, and violently intruding into their Places.

The Determination of this Debate, at all ſuch Times, and on all ſuch Emergencies, is both of higheſt Account, and of moſt general Concernment: And the Deſign of theſe Papers is, to ſet down thoſe Things, whereon, in my Judgment, the clearing of it muſt depend; and by the Help whereof ſincere Chriſtians, in ſuch Diviſions, may be enabled to reſolve, both what is the Duty of the ſuffering Biſhops and Clergy in thoſe Caſes, and alſo what is the People's Duty; and with which of the concern'd Parties, Men, who deſire nothing ſo much as to pleaſe God, and to keep a good Conſcience, ought to unite and join themſelves.

As to the depriv'd Biſhops and Clergy, at ſuch Times, the Queſtion is, Whether, *notwithſtanding their Deprivation, they are bound ſtill to go on in the Exerciſe of their Miniſtry?* Or, ſitting down under it, and letting fall their ſpiritual Miniſtration, they ſhould *content themſelves to keep united to the Anti-Biſhops, and to their Adherents, as Lay Communicants.*

If

If it be their Duty ſtill to inſiſt on their ſpiritual Powers, and, as they can, and at their Perils, to exerciſe their reſpective Miniſtrations; thoſe Churches are unavoidably left in a State of *flagrant Schiſm*: for the oppoſite, or Anti-Biſhops, are ſet up againſt them in their reſpective Churches, as *new Heads*; and if the old Ones are not only ſtill in Place, and Biſhops of their Flocks, but ſtand ſtill bound to ſtick thereto, and to act as *Heads* of thoſe Churches, each Church will ſtand divided between two *Heads*; which drawing oppoſite Parties and Members after them, muſt unavoidably make two Bodies, and rend one into two Churches. And beſides, one having the Protection and Countenance of the State, and the other wanting it, they muſt act by divided and ſeparate Miniſtrations. *One*, in the Way of an *incorporate Church*, encourag'd by legal Places and Preferments, and fortify'd by ſecular Laws and Privileges; but the *Other*, in the Way of a *deſtitute* or *perſecuted Church*, ſtript of the publick Churches, and of ſecular Benefices, and of all temporal Aids and Methods directing and fortifying the Spiritual Juriſdiction in the *Eccleſiaſtical Courts*, and left merely to its Spiritual Powers. When the State deprives them, they muſt take up with what is independently and originally their own, and not expect from it the Benefits and Aſſiſtances of any ſecular Mixtures, which were derived to them by Incorporation.

As to this Point of *Schiſm*, ſeveral good Minds may think, That tho', by ſetting up oppoſite or Anti-Biſhops againſt them, in their reſpective Sees, others have already made it; yet may it be in the Power of theſe injur'd Sufferers, by their Receding and Submiſſion thereto, to remedy and put an End to it. And 'tis like, many ſerious and hearty Lovers of Peace, and of thoſe Churches, may at ſuch Times be apt to wiſh, that, for the ſake of *Unity*, they would do ſo.

Indeed, where they may be free to do as they pleaſe, that is, when no Part of Faith or good Practice is like to ſuffer by it, nor the Safety and Welfare of thoſe Souls committed to them is hazarded thereby, much may be ſaid to good Paſtors, not to inſiſt too much on their perſonal Rights and Privileges, but to forego and give them up, for the Peace and Tranquility of the Church. Their Spiritual Powers are committed to them, not as to * *Lords of God's Heritage*, therewith to ſeek and ſerve themſelves; but as to † *Stewards* that look after for another; or as ‖ *Shepherds*, thereby to ſerve and benefit their *Flock*. Their Powers are all a * *Miniſtry*, to promote Religion and ſerve the Church, by parting with any Thing of their own for its Good, as their *great Maſter* did; not to pleaſe or aggrandize their own Perſons, being † *given them for Edification*, or wherewith to build up the Church, *not for Deſtruction*, or the pulling of it down: Accordingly the paſtoral Spirit is a generous publick Spirit; nothing is more oppoſite thereto, than narrow private Aims, and ſeeking of themſelves; nor more requir'd thereby, than Neglect or Denial of themſelves, for the Safety and Profit of their *Flocks*, and Care or Solicitude for others. It lies, as the bleſſed Apoſtle ſaith, in ‖ *Naturally caring for the Churches*: In * *ſeeking not their own Things, but the Things which are Jeſus Chriſt's*: In † *not ſeeking their own Profit, but the Profit of many, that they may be ſaved*: In ‖ *making themſelves Servants to all*, when thereby they could profit the State of Religion and their Flocks, tho' it were by incumbering and prejudicing themſelves; *becoming all Things to all Men, that by all means they may ſave ſome.*

* 1 Pet. 5. 2, 3.
† Tit. 1. 7. 1 Pet. 4. 10.
‖ Eph. 4 11. Jer. 3. 15.
* Matt. 20. 26, 27, 28.
† 2 Cor. 10. 8.
‖ Phil. 2. 20. * v. 2.
† 1 Cor. 10. 33.
‖ 1 Cor. 9. 19, 20, 21, 22, 23.

And therefore, when it has only been a Cauſe of their own Perſons, perſonal Claims, but not of Religion, or of the Intereſt of the Church, good and holy Biſhops have thought it became the paſtoral Spirit,

Spirit, rather to recede, and sit down under the Yoke, and for their Sakes a fatal Schism should be kept on in the Church? * this Schism be for my Sake, send me away, or I will depart, that I may please, and do what the People would have me, that the Flock may not be torn by the Presbyters over it, may be kept in Peace: Was what St. Paul, manus, St. Paul's † Fellow-Labourer, recommended to the Heathen Cities in the Church of Corinth; and press'd for the Example of Moses, who was ‖ content to be blotted out of the Book of Life, to save the Israelites; and of those Kings who even among Heathens, devoted themselves to Death for the Preservation of their own Countries. And they did, and thus they will do, says he, who order their Lives and conversations according to that Rule of God, which leaves nothing to be repented of. We ought to endure any Pain, rather than that the Church of Christ should be divided. Yea, 'tis not only as glorious, but more glorious, in my Judgment, to suffer Martyrdom for keeping out Schism in the Church, than for not Sacrificing to Idols, (a) saith Dionysius of Alexandria to Novatus, on the Division made at Rome. (b) If I am any Cause of your Division, I am not better than the Prophet Jonah; take me into the Sea, so that thereby the Tempest of those Troubles may cease from you. Whatever you see needful to that End, I chuse to suffer. If I am blameless, (c) and have been no Cause of these Troubles; yet for Unanimity and Peace-sake, I am content to be thrust out of the Throne, and to be expell'd the City, says Gregory Nazianzen, in his Speech in the Synod, on the Contest of Maximus Cynicus for his See of Constantinople. And we are ready to leave this Prelacy to whom you will, provided only the Church may continue one, (d) said St. Chrysostom, when others, as he complains, had unlawfully ascended the Episcopal Throne, and thereupon a Separation was made from him.

* Clem. Ro. Ep. 1. ad Cor. c. 53, 54, 55. ed. Ox. p. 113, 114.
† Phil. 4. 3.
‖ Exod. 32. 33.

But in Cases where the injur'd Sufferers are still bound to use their Powers, and to stand up for Religion's Sake, and the Church's this Way of curing a Schism, by their receding, has no Place. And therefore this Obligation to exercise their Ministries I have first to debate upon, in the Case of such depriv'd Bishops and Ministers as they stand bound in Duty, at such Times, to exercise their Ministry in, tho' never so desirous of Peace and Unity, they cannot cure the Schism which others have made, by letting their Ministration cease. And, besides its directly meeting that Pretence, and fully answering it, I think it plainest to be apprehended, and more powerful to work on the Minds of those who are to be directed and resolved in this Dispute.

(a) Ap. *Euseb.* Eccl. Hist. l. 6. c. 45.
(b) Εἰ δέ τι ὑμῖν ἐγὼ τῆς διαστάσεως αἴτιος, &c. *Greg. Presbyt. Vita Greg. Naz.* præfix. Op. *Nazianz.* & *Nazianz.* de Vita sua Carm. p. 29.
(c) Καὶ περὶ Κυνικοῦ τοσαῦτα ἀγωνίσασθαι, &c. *Greg. Naz.* Carm. p. 29.
(d) *Homil.* 21. in Ep. ad Eph. Sub. fin.

CHAP. II.

the immoral Ways introduc'd by a wrong Payment of Allegiance.

THE Biſhops and Clergy, who are depriv'd by the State when they cannot comply with the foreſaid Changes and Impoſitions on ch Revolutions, notwithſtanding the Deprivation of State, *ſtill retain ir Epiſcopal and Sacerdotal Powers:* That is, they are as true Biſhops d Prieſts as they were before: They are ſtill endow'd with the wers of Orders, and their Uſe thereof would be as valid, tho' not to ſecular Claims and Privileges, which are the Gift of Princes, yet to the real Effects of the Covenant of Grace, or to purely ſpiritual rpoſes, as they would have been had they not been ſo depriv'd.

For theſe Powers are not deriv'd from the State, nor from any ſecu- Authority. They are call'd the *Powers* and *Keys*, not of any King- m of this World, *but of the Kingdom of Heaven*, Mat. 16. 19. *Jeſus riſt* was a *ſpiritual King*, diſclaiming all ſecular Authority or Power the Sword, and * declaring *his Kingdom was not of this World*, nor be upheld by *his Servants fighting with the Sword:* And he inſti- ed all Church-Powers; yea, theſe he inſtituted before the Church me to be incorporated with the State, and made no new Inſtitution Alteration therein afterwards. And when ſecular Powers turn'd riſtians, they became the Members of an empower'd Church, and re let in by Miniſters, and privileg'd to claim Miniſtrations from wers antecedently receiv'd from Chriſt; and not at all needing to receiv'd from them, nor capable of being conferr'd by them, as ving never been conferr'd on them. * Joh. 18. 36.

Nor are theſe Powers to be held only during the Will and Pleaſure the State; for then they could not be retain'd againſt its Mind: d ſo not in a State of Perſecution, when the ſecular Power ſets it f to root out the Church, and all Church-Powers and Miniſtrations. hereas theſe Powers were given to the Church bearing Chriſt's Croſs, l labouring under Perſecutions; and to continue in it always, even the End of the World, under whatever Circumſtances, as well when ularly oppreſs'd as when protected: Accordingly, theſe ſpiritual wers were held on by the Apoſtles, when the ſecular Rulers declar'd inſt their Apoſtolical Authority, and † *forbid them to preach any e in the Name of Jeſus*; and by the Biſhops and Clergy in all the ceeding Perſecutions: For all Perſecutions of the Church were ſecutions of all Church Adminiſtrations, and of Biſhops and Prieſts more eſpecial Manner, who were chief Actors, and at the Head reof: Yea, eſpecial Edicts and Proſecutions were made againſt m, for being veſted with theſe Authorities; as the *Title of St.* Cy- n's *Proſcription*, was for being * *Epiſcopus Chriſtianorum*, or a riſtian Biſhop: Which Authorities there would no longer have be- g'd to them, could a perſecuting Power have depriv'd or bereav'd m thereof. † Acts 4. 18, 22. *Cyp. Ep. 66. p. 166. Ed. Ox.

And this retaining their ſpiritual Powers will be allow'd by their verſaries, who † acknowledge, That the Deprivation of State is no radation to diveſt them of their Character, or ſpiritual Powers con- 'd in Orders; but only a debarring them of the Exerciſe thereof in their

† *Vindication of the Unreaſonableneſs of the new Separation*, p. 9, 11. And *a Vindication of their Ma- Authority to fill the Sees of the depriv'd Biſhops*, p. 18, 19, 20.

their Dominions, and in Way of an incorporate Church under State Encouragements: So that if they do exerciſe their Miniſtry, there will be no Want of ſpiritual Powers to render their Acts Nullities, or of no Effect and Validity before Chriſt; but only Want of ſecular Benefices, and Enforcements to them; and of Submiſſion, as they alledge, to the ſecular Power, or of ſecular Obedience.

And having ſtill their Epiſcopal and Miniſterial Powers, 'tis next to be conſider'd, whether *they ſtand bound to exerciſe and make Uſe thereof?*

'Tis not to be brought into this Queſtion, what is to be done herein on *worldly Arguments*, as they ſtand depriv'd of their Livelihoods and Way of Maintenance, how hard ſoever this may fall, either upon themſelves or their Families: Which, however it may abate or excuſe, eſpecially to compaſſionate Natures, yet is no Juſtification of Things that are otherwiſe unjuſtifiable on Principles of Religion and Conſcience. But what is to be done on conſcionable Arguments, that are to rule their Determinations as Chriſtians, eſpecially as Divines, or that they may faithfully diſcharge their Duty? What is to be done by ſpiritually-minded and mortify'd Men, who are rais'd above this World, and prefer God and Religion before themſelves?

Nor is the Diſpute, whether the Miniſterial Powers be ſuch a Burden, that Men muſt be always preſſing and obtruding the Exerciſe thereof, without *any Regard to the Wants of the Place*, or *the Needs of the Church*. * *Neceſſity is laid upon me, and Woe be to me if I preach not the Goſpel*, was ſpoke in the Want of true Preachers, when † *the Harveſt was great, but the Labourers were few.* It ſpoke a Neceſſity introduc'd, not merely by the Power of Orders, but alſo by the Circumſtances of Times and Perſons, when the Exerciſe thereof was neceſſary in Want of Preachers for the Uſe of the Church: But in Plenty of true Preachers, there would not have been the ſame Neceſſity; nor would they have been bound to this Exerciſe, in Place where there was no Need of their Gifts, but the ſame were exercis'd by others. In this Surpluſage of Supplies for Church-Uſes and Neceſſities, † *the Spirits of the Prophets are ſubject to the Prophets*, and their Powers muſt either be exercis'd, or forborn and ſuſpended, as makes moſt for *Order*, and *Edification*, and the *Peace of the Church.*

* 1 Cor. 9. 16.
† Luke 10. 2.
* 1 Cor. 14. 32, 33.

But this exerciſe the depriv'd Biſhops and Clergy are bound to in Duty and Conſcience at ſuch Times, *If there is a need of their Miniſtrations then, to provide for Religion and the Souls of Men*; or *to prevent Men from being nurs'd up in deſtructive Ways*, as *immoral Practices* and *immoral Worſhip and Devotions* muſt be confeſs'd to be.

To clear this, it may not be amiſs to conſider,

Firſt, *What Immoralities come in by a wrong Payment of Allegiance, to corrupt Religion, and to endanger Souls.*

Secondly, *What Proviſion good and faithful Paſtors ought to make againſt ſuch Dangers and Corruptions, by the Exerciſe of their Miniſtry.*

Firſt, I ſhall briefly conſider, *What Immoralities come in by a wrong Payment of Allegiance, to corrupt Religion and to endanger Souls.*

Whether this is actually the Caſe of any Kingdom, and the Allegiance requir'd of them by their *new Governours* be directed and paid wrong, I do not here diſcuſs: That makes another Diſpute, viz. *About the Right to the Crown conteſted betwixt the two Competitors in thoſe Countries*, and the *Lawfulneſs* or *Unlawfulneſs of the new Oaths of Allegiance* conſequent thereupon, which is exacted on ſuch Changes: And this, it is no Part of the Deſign of theſe Papers to argue or meddle with.

But

But when this really is the Caſe in any Revolution, as in this World, God knows, it is too often; or among thoſe Subjects, who believe this is their Caſe, and that their Allegiance is call'd for to the wrong againſt the right Perſon: Such as theſe are the Immoralities that will every where corrupt Religion and endanger Souls, whilſt ſuch wrong Payment laſts, and which ſhould be thought to do ſo among them, *viz.* Then all that Time, whilſt they are violently transferring their Allegiance from him to whom it ſtill remains rightfully due, would Men in the general Practice of thoſe Nations, be wickedly diſobeying, and forceably reſiſting God's Authority, or the Father of the fifth Commandment, which extends to civil as well as natural Parents; then would they all that while be moſt openly and horribly breaking thro' all former Oaths of Allegiance: Then would all who have promis'd, and pay their Allegiance, to drive out their ejected Prince out of any Part of his Right, or to keep him out thereof, be actors of bare-fac'd Iniquity, and heinouſly unrighteous, coveting and invading their Neighbours Goods: And all Force uſed againſt him, or any other Perſons, for their adhering to his Cauſe, would, in God's Account, be Oppreſſion and unjuſt Violence; all Spoils and Seiſures of their Goods, would be Thefts and Robberies; and all ſhedding of their Blood, all Cries and Clamours for it, or rejoycing in it, would be horrible Murder; which, not only they who acted, but they who wiſh'd or pray'd for, or gave Thanks for, when accompliſh'd, would be guilty of: All which are moſt dangerous and deſtructive Ways, and amount to a general Breach of God's Commandments, and to an open Waſte of moral Honeſty and Juſtice. And all theſe would be the Dangers to Mens Souls in any Kingdom, were the Tranſlation of Allegiance ſuch an unrighteous Perverſion, really and in it ſelf: Or, they would be met with like paſtoral Proviſions, as if they were ſo dangerous, ſhould the depriv'd Paſtors believe and apprehend it to be ſuch: For it would have the ſame Effect to awaken their Care and Miniſtration, if it appear'd ſo to them, and brought all theſe Dangers on the People, in their Apprehenſion.

Beſides, it may happen, that in the Opinion of the much greater part of the Swearers themſelves, this Allegiance ſhall be transferr'd and paid to the King *regnant*, and profeſs'd by them to be ſo, only as to the King *in Fact*, leaving the other ſtill to be King *de jure*, or to retain the *legal Right*. Now, if any ejected Prince is any where admitted to have the *legal Right*, by turning their Allegiance to his Competitor againſt him, the Subjects of thoſe Countries would fall into all the ſame fore-mention'd Practices: If he remains their *rightful King*, is *Diobedience* and *Rebellion*, or *reſiſting of God's Ordinance, to take up Arms againſt him*; or to abet, aid, and pray for the Proſperity and Succeſs of thoſe who take up Arms againſt him. 'Tis a literal down-right Breach of all Oaths formerly made to ſuch *rightful King*, *to bear Allegiance to him*, and *to defend him therewith, againſt all Attempts made againſt his Perſon or Crown*: 'Tis to be Self-condemn'd of the higheſt Injuſtice, by forcing or keeping him out of that which they own to be his *Right*. 'Tis to be guilty of Murders and Robberies, in all the Blood-ſhed and Spoils, which, in the Courſe of their new Allegiance, they have abetted or pray'd for, or attempted to take on him, or on his Adherents, for his Cauſe: For all Allegiance due and requir'd by God to be paid to *rightful Kings*; and to thoſe who have, and ſtand upon their *Right*, whether they be in, or out of the actual Adminiſtration of their reſpective Realms; And this to thoſe

who have the *legal Right*, which is not ſet aſide by providential Poſſeſſion. All which they who pleaſe may ſee prov'd, in a Treatiſe entitled, *The Duty of Allegiance ſettled upon its true Grounds, according to Scripture, Reaſon*, &c. So that there would be a like Waſte of moral Honeſty and juſt Practice at ſuch Times, and like Danger to the Souls of Subjects, to call for the preventive or medicinal Help of their Miniſtrations, by their ſwearing Brethren's own Principles; or ſhould it prove, that the ejected Prince has the *legal Right*, according to their Apprehenſions, and authoris'd Writings, in this Caſe.

And this Immorality and Diſhoneſty would endanger Men's Souls at ſuch Times, not only as appearing in Practice, but alſo as appearing in Worſhip and Devotions: For all theſe unrighteous, diſhoneſt, and immoral Things, ſhould they be found ſuch, are not only daily acted by Subjects of ſuch Realms, in the Courſe of Practice; but uſe alſo to be daily offer'd and recommended to God, in their ſolemn Worſhip and Devotions.

For the daily Prayers for ſuch Governments uſe to be the ſame as for any other preceding and confeſſedly moſt rightful Governments; *viz.* For *the Proſperity and Continuance of their Adminiſtrations*, for *their overcoming all their Enemies* and *Oppoſers*, and for *God's confounding all their Devices againſt them*, &c. When there is a State of declar'd War and Oppoſition between them and their Competitor himſelf, call'd by the ſwearing Brethren, the King *de jure*. There uſe moreover to be particular Acknowledgments and Thankſgivings inſerted, for the Subjects being *deliver'd of their former King*, and for having their *preſent Governours to reign over them* in his Place: And particular Prayers for the *Proſperity of their Arms both by Sea and Land*; when thoſe Arms are employ'd particularly againſt him, and againſt thoſe, who, as the publick Acts at ſuch Times uſe to ſay, *rebelliouſly adhere to him*; and when they are to drive him out of ſuch Parts of the Dominions as he ſtill holds from them; or to keep him out of other Parts thereof, if he ſhall make any Attempt to recover the ſame out of their Hands: And beſides, that theſe Things uſe to be daily recommended to God, as Part of the publick Offices: They are farther, on Occaſion, made the profeſt Aim of other Solemnities of Religion, and ſolemn and appropriate Times are appointed on purpoſe for them, and devoted to them: As ſet Days of *Faſting* and *Humiliation*, for engaging God to give Succeſs to theſe Arms and Expeditions; and ſet Days of *Thankſgiving* for returning ſolemn Thanks to God, for any Victory or Succeſs he has afforded in that Cauſe, after they have receiv'd the ſame.

Now theſe, in behalf of a *legal rightful King*, and where they are not made in any other Pretender's Wrong, are juſt and pious Prayers: But if in any Time or Kingdom they ſhould be made by Subjects, for an unjuſt Poſſeſſor of another's Crown, againſt their *lawful King*; they would be Prayers put up for all the fore-ſaid Iniquities and Immoralities of Perjury and Rebellion, of Oppreſſion, Injuſtice, and all Sorts of unrighteous Violence: Or, if made againſt one, own'd to be King *de jure*, or the *lawful* King; they would ſtill be ſo unavoidably, according to thoſe Perſon's Principles; and would be ſo held and accounted by them, if they, who profeſs to go, and act upon ſuch Principles, would be true to them.

And the bringing ſuch heinous Immoralities and Iniquities into God's own Houſe and Worſhip, I think would plainly be moſt highly affronting and offenſive to the great and dreadful God, and as dangerous to the Souls of Men, as can well be imagin'd: For theſe Iniquities and

and Immoralities, give high Provocation to God, when he meets them in any Place, or ſees them committed by thoſe, who ſtill retain that Reverence for him, as to believe that he forbids them, and is angry at them: But to bring them as an Offering into his own Houſe, and to recommend them in Prayers and religious Solemnities, is to make him a Party therein, or pleas'd therewith; and to the Heinouſneſs of thoſe Ways, as they are Acts of high Diſobedience, adds, moreover, an horrid and more immediate Blaſphemy of God himſelf. Such an immoral Worſhip is a Charge of his being an *immoral God:* Which *Plutarch*, a wiſe and piouſly diſpos'd *Heathen*, thought a more intolerable Reproach, than to deny his Being, and ſay, *There is no God.* Thus, as he obſerves, any good and virtuous Perſon would reſent it in his own Caſe: For, *I* (*a*) ſaith he, *had rather have ſaid, and ſhould think he wrong'd me leſs, who ſhould ſay, there never was nor is ſuch a Man as* Plutarch; *than have another affirm, yes, there is ſuch a Perſon: But he is a Man of no Steadineſs, mutable, angry, greedy of Revenge for every ſlight Cauſe, that will fall out with you for Trifles, and if you are wanting in any Ceremony, would be ready to gnaw your Fleſh, or flay your Son, or turn in Cattle to devour your Corn.* And anſwerably, the fixing theſe, or any ſuch like immoral and blaſphemous Characters on God, he thinks is *not leſs impious* than *Atheiſm* it ſelf is.

And ſhould theſe fore-ſaid Ways prove Immoralities, both in Practice and in publick Prayers and Devotions, thoſe few depriv'd Biſhops and Clergy in any Kingdom, who ſuffer for ſtanding out againſt the ſame, when the moſt run into them, cannot but ſee Men generally nurs'd up therein.

For, as to the *Practice of thoſe Immoralities*, carnal Reaſons, and the Courſe of the Times, and the Terror of the preſent Powers, will make them go down with moſt Men: And their ſpiritual Guides will nurſe and train them up therein, if once they themſelves are generally got in to go along therewith, and to do the ſame. Nay, when a general Perſecution is rais'd to drive on the unwilling, and to force them to comply for external Intereſts; they will then ſtand ready to carry on the ſame, with regard to Conſcience. If any ſtart or ſtand off, when conſulted, they direct and perſwade them to come in, as they ſee they themſelves have done, and tell them it will be no Matter of Guilt, or of ſpiritual Danger to them: And when once they are got in, they ſpeak, and preach Peace to them, that they may feel no Remorſe for ſo doing, nor harbour any Thoughts of Returning: And to take off all apparent Inconſiſtence from the Commands of God, and the Duties of Religion, about Oaths, and Obedience to Governours, and common Juſtice, and not coveting or invading other Men's Goods or Rights, and the like, that are ready to fly in their Faces, and bear hardeſt on what they have done, they ſtart doctrinal *Salvo*'s for all theſe Precepts, to cover their own Ways, from falling under the ſame, and to prove there is no Sin therein, notwithſtanding all the ſeemingly plain and literal Oppoſition, which thoſe Precepts and Duties bear to them.

And then, as to theſe ſame immoralities in publick Worſhip and Devotions, if theſe Ways ſhould really prove Immoralities, at ſuch Times they are plainly nurs'd up in them, becauſe they are Part of the *daily Prayers*, and, on Occaſion, are the ſet *Faſts* and *Thankſgivings*, in

(*a*) Ἐγωγ' ἂν ἂν ἑλοίμαι μᾶλλον τὰς ἀνθρώπους λέγειν περὶ ἐμοῦ, μήτε γεγονέναι τὸ παράπαν, ἢ εἶναι πλάταρχον, &c. Plut. *de Superſtitione* Or. Tom. 2. p. 170.

in all the publick Churches and Aſſemblies. The authoriz'd and eſtabliſh'd Guides and Paſtors every where then obſerve and uſe them, (ſuch States not authorizing and eſtabliſhing, but depriving the Refuſers thereof) and put them into the People's Mouths, if they will follow and ſay after their Leaders: And this is to be train'd and nurs'd up in ſuch Devotions, in ſuch Sort as People are train'd up in any Devotions by their Guides; that is, by being conven'd and call'd to them, and, in the publick Miniſtration, lead therein; the Paſtors Part, as to this, lying in leading, as the Peoples doth in following them.

So that the People, in ſuch Caſes, are generally train'd and nurs'd up in theſe Practices and Devotions; which, if, for Want of legal Right or juſt Title in their new Governor, and for the Continuance of the ſame in his Competitor, they prove unrighteous and immoral ones; they would be nurs'd up in immoral Practices and Devotions: And And what Obligation that would lay on the ſuffering and depriv'd Biſhops and Clergy of thoſe Countries, for paſtoral Miniſtrations, will appear, by conſidering,

Secondly, *What Proviſion good and faithful Paſtors ought to make againſt ſuch Dangers and Corruptions, by the Exerciſe of their Miniſtry*, which ſhall be treated of in the enſuing Chapters.

CHAP. III.

Of the Caſes wherein faithful Biſhops and Miniſters are bound to ſtick to their paſtoral Powers and Miniſtrations.

NOW, if under ſuch Revolutions, for Want of ſuch Right and Title in the new Governor, and for Continuance of the ſame in his Competitor, all the fore-ſaid Practices and Devotions are unrighteous and immoral in themſelves; this Exerciſe of their Miniſtrations, for Proviſion and ſpiritual Supply of all conſcionable Adherers to Truth, and to Morality in Practice and Devotions, is to be expected of them, from the *Reality and Obligation of Things*. If they think them to be ſo, and they are ſuch in their Judgments, 'tis to be expected from *Men of their Apprehenſions*, and for them to act ſo, is but to be true to their own Convictions. If their Brethren own the ejected Prince to have legal Right ſtill, or to be King *de jure, they ought to expect no other from them*, ſince that alone makes all the fore-ſaid Immoralities; and they can do no leſs, if they will act according to that Principle which is own'd and profeſs'd by themſelves. The only Ground whereon, in Truth, they could be exempted from this Exerciſe, and therefore on which alone it can with Reaſon be deſir'd or expected from them, is the *Tranſlation of the legal Right*, which would remove theſe Immoralities. So that they can only blame them for this Exerciſe, who believe the Tranſlation of this legal Right; nor can they make it appear, that they blame them with Juſtice, but by clearing this Point, and making Proof thereof.

Their

Their Obligations to exerciſe their Powers and Miniſtrations at ſuch Times, are to provide againſt the Wants and Dangers of the Souls of Men, and againſt the Corruptions of Religion: And that which will be ready at the ſame Time to be alledg'd againſt it, will be the *Inhibition and Deprivation of the new State*, and the Appearance of *rending the Church thereby*, which is then become united under other Paſtors put into their Place, or of *making a Schiſm:* And therefore, to give a clear Proſpect, and for making a truer Judgment of the Obligations which they ſtand under to this Exerciſe on ſuch Revolutions, I think it may be of Uſe to conſider,

Firſt, *In what Caſes the good and faithful Biſhops and Miniſters of Chriſt, are bound to ſtick to their ſpiritual Powers and paſtoral Miniſtrations, and what Obligations they have to do ſo.*

Secondly, *Of what Force a Deprivation of Eſtate, or the Preſervation of external Communion and Peace in the Church, ought to be, in debarring them thereof.*

Firſt, I ſhall conſider, *in what Caſes the good and faithful Biſhops and Miniſters of Chriſt, are bound to ſtick to their ſpiritual Powers and paſtoral Miniſtrations, and what Obligations they have to do ſo.*

I ſhall, Firſt, ſpeak to *the Caſes wherein they are bound to ſtick to their ſpiritual Powers and paſtoral Miniſtrations, and are to go on acting as Biſhops and Paſtors.*

Now, this they are bound to, *when there is Need of it in the Cauſe of Religion, and for the Safety of the Souls of Men.* For theſe miniſterial Powers are ſacred Truſts; and the very End why they are intruſted with the Biſhops and Paſtors, is, That thereby they may take Care of Religion and the People's Souls, and provide for the Needs thereof: So that they are always to be truſtily exercis'd when theſe ſtand in Need of them; or whenever the Souls of Men will be endanger'd, and Religion damnify'd, by the Paſtors omitting ſuch Exerciſe and Miniſtration in the Places where they are concern'd.

I ſay, they are bound then *to provide ſuch Miniſtrations.* For the Part of Biſhops and Paſtors is not, like that of mere Lay-Chriſtians, to communicate as they can, in what is provided for them by others: But, as Paſtors, they are to make Proviſions. The Work of Miniſters and Paſtors lyes *in feeding of the Churches: This feeding of Churches, is feeding them with religious Offices and Miniſtrations.* Theſe the People are to partake in; but the Paſtors are to provide and adminiſter them: And this, as Religion and the Souls of Men ſtand in Need thereof: And they always need a Proviſion of ſuch *Miniſtrations*, both of the *Word*, of *Prayers*, and *Sacraments*, as may edify but not pervert, and purge but not pollute thoſe, that ſeek to communicate therein. Therefore it lies upon them, I conceive, to provide and ſupply the Churches,

Firſt, *With an holy or ſinleſs and unpolluted Worſhip, and ſuch as may recommend the Worſhippers to God, and is fit to be accepted.*

There is nothing *that the Souls of Men may ſeem to need more than ſuch an holy Worſhip:* For the Worſhip of God, is that, whereby in an ſpecial Manner, they are to ſerve and pleaſe him; whereby they muſt ſeek to expiate and atone him after any Offences which they have committed againſt him; whereby they can gain his Favour and Aid; it not only being the great Means of their procuring, but alſo an eſtabliſh'd Way of his conveying and deriving down to the Souls

of

of his Servants, thoſe ſpiritual Graces and Bleſſings, which they need and long for. The Miniſtrations of Worſhip are the *Miniſtrations of the Spirit*, to miniſter and afford Grace to thoſe who duly ſeek it; and ſo will be own'd of higheſt Neceſſity to all who ſee what Need they have of the divine Grace and Bounty: And ſince the Worſhip of God is to ſtand them in ſo much Stead, they have Need enough to have it pure and pleaſing, that the Medicine be not turn'd into Poyſon; that it do not affront and provoke God, inſtead of gaining and appeaſing him; and ſtop Bleſſings, inſtead of bringing them down.

There is nothing alſo that *Religion lyes more in:* The Worſhip of God is the moſt direct and immediate Act, and the moſt expreſs and open Profeſſion of Religion: It is a Service both ſolemnly and profeſſedly perform'd in the Preſence, and immediately to the Perſon of God; and being ſo directly and immediately concern'd with it in Perſon, he is more nicely tender of any Prophanation or Wrong to him therein. 'Tis particularly in Matters of his *Worſhip*, that he declares himſelf a *jealous God* in the ſecond Commandment. When Sin and Wickedneſs is ſent up to him there, his own Perſon is immediately ſtruck at: Inſtead of being ſerv'd and honour'd, he is aſpers'd and blaſphem'd by it: For ſuch an unholy Worſhip aſperſes and ſlanders him as if he were an unholy God. 'Tis a Profeſſion to ſerve and gain him by wicked Ways, which repreſents him as taking Pleaſure in ill Things, and being ready to patronize them; fixing upon him our own Violences, and making him appear as bad as we our ſelves are. And this is a moſt horrible Prophanation, and blaſphemouſly foul Aſperſion thrown upon the pureſt of all Beings. It is a turning Piety into Prophaneneſs, and our very Prayers into Libels and Reproaches. So that if Men would have their Worſhip truly religious, or ſuch as may truly repreſent and honour God, not diſgrace and be-lie him, they muſt take Care, above all Things, to preſerve it free from all prophane Matter and ſinful Mixtures. As the Worſhip is of an holy God, ſo muſt what is offer'd to him, be an holy Worſhip. * *Holineſs becomes his Houſe*, and more eſpecially his Service. His Servants muſt put up holy Prayers, and not have their Prayers turn'd into Sin, or their Sins preſented to God therein, which would turn Prayers into an Abomination.

* Pſ. 93. 5. & Pſ. 26. 6.

And this is true of all Sorts of Sins, either *Idolatry* and *Superſtition*, or *Immoralities:* The Needs of Religion and of the Church require that Worſhip and Devotions be kept free from both, and that neither of them mix and incorporate therewith. Immoral Prayers as well as idolatrous ones, are a blaſphemous Libel upon God, and an utter Prophanation and Proſtitution of Worſhip and Devotion; they turn Prayer into an Abomination, and call down a Curſe inſtead of a Bleſſing. And thus it was in the heathen Devotions, which were not only *idolatrous*, as being paid to falſe Gods; but too often *immoral* and *impure*, as being paid to vicious and diſhoneſt Deities. *Mercury*, by their Account, was addicted to Theft; *Venus* to Whoredom; *Bacchus* to Revelling and Drunkenneſs; as others were to other Immoralities. And ſetting up ſuch immoral Deities, no Wonder they ſhould be † found paying them immoral Services; and, together with their *idolatrous Sacrifices*, offering up alſo immoral Services, as Uncleanneſs, Drunkenneſs, and Revellings in their Temples. And theſe Immoralities, in *Laſciviouſneſs and Exceſs of Wine*, as well as the Miſ-applications of Worſhip therein, were the moſt odious Prophanation and blaſphemous Reproach of God, and made them *abominable Idolatries*, as St. Peter ſays, 1 *Pet.* 4. 3.

† See Dr. *Hamond's* Annot. in 1 Cor. 5. 10. Note 1.

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Theſe Immoralities, whilſt they find a Place only in Practice, if erſiſted in, ſtop the Acceptance of Devotions: And ſo God told the ews by his Prophet *Amos*, that 'till he ſaw a Courſe of *Judgment nd Righteouſneſs, he ſhould hate and deſpiſe their Feaſt-Days, and not nell in their ſolemn Aſſemblies, nor accept their Burnt-Offerings or Peace-fferings, nor hear their Hymns and Songs of Praiſe*, Amos 5. 21, 22, 3, 24. And the ſame he declares to them by *Iſaiah*, Iſ. 1. 11, to 18. and by *Jeremiah*, Jer. 6. 6, 20. And if they have ſuch fatal ffects, when preſented to him only in Practice, what will they have, hen preſented to him in ſolemn Worſhip and Prayers, which makes e Prophanation thereof ſo much more ſtaring and audacious, and e Provocation abundantly more heinous?

Now theſe ſinleſs Prayers, free from Immorality as well as from dolatry, which Religion and the Souls of Men ſtand in ſuch Need of, muſt be the Care of Paſtors to provide and ſupply them with. As *Miniſters of Prayers*, they muſt ſee that ſuch be adminiſter'd to them: ea, as God himſelf is *jealous of his Honour* in theſe Services; ſo muſt ey, as his *Subſtitutes* and *Repreſentatives*, *be jealous for him*, to main-in and preſerve Purity therein: And that to invite honeſt and ſincere empers to reſort to Prayers and divine Service; as well as to pre-nt their contracting Guilt, and prophaning God inſtead of pleaſing m, when they are met there: For wicked and unrighteous Prayers tremely diſturb righteous Petitioners, and drive away truly pious d devout Minds, making them μὴ δελέυειν Θεῶ, as it is in the *Septuagint*, the Pollutions of the Sacrifices by *Ely*'s Sons, that is, *To forbear the rvice of God, and to abhor the Offering of the Lord*, 1 Sam. 2. 17, 24.

I do not ſay there is the ſame Need of affording the People of God is pure Worſhip, *free from the Company of immoral Practiſers*. The ongregation of Worſhippers, or Church of God in this World, is ke to be a *Mixture of Perſons*; or as a *Field*, wherein *Tares will grow ixt with the Wheat*, 'till at the general *Harveſt they come to be ſeparated d weeded out by the Angels*, as our Lord * ſays. Immorality, whilſt ly in Practice, tho' it diſhonours God, and hinders the Effect of rayers as to the Practiſers themſelves, yet doth not affect Commu-on, ot ſtain the Devotion of others, and intercept the Bleſſing from oſe good Practiſers, who joyn with them in publick Offices: And is is the Error of thoſe among our Diſſenters, who have inſiſted on e Plea of *mixt Communions*, meaning thereby a *Mixture of Perſons*, of good and bad Practiſers in God's Worſhip and Service, which ey pretend ſhould be made up of *Saints*, or of *pure* and *regenerate uls*. Church-Governors, I grant, in ſuch Sort, as may be moſt me-cinal to the Offenders themſelves, and to preſerve Religion from e Stain, and the ſound Members from the Infection of ſuch Com-nions, are to remove ſuch, (eſpecially when the Immoralities are oſs and notorious) from Communion by Church-Cenſures, ſo far may be profitably and prudently done in Courſe of Diſcipline, d as Times, and Circumſtances, and the State of a Church in this rrupt and mixt World, will bear. But this will be no abſolute oviſion againſt them; and after all, the Church here will have a ixture of Perſons, or good and bad to meet together in divine fices, and 'tis not for any to break Communion with it there-on.

* Mat. 13. 29, 30

But tho' they are not univerſally to keep out immoral Practiſers, t they are to keep out immoral Prayers from publick Miniſtrations:

For theſe are offer'd to all that come, tho' only fit to poyſon, not to nouriſh them: And are put up to God in the Name of the Congregation; and ſo are a publick, viſible, and profeſs'd Diſhonour to him: So that they who have the Care of publick Worſhip, muſt take Care to purge them out of it.

It will be incumbent on them to ſupply the Church,

Secondly, *With the Miniſtration of all that Truth which is neceſſary to be believ'd or practis'd.* The *Word*, or *preaching of theſe Truths*, is to bear up Religion, and to ſave the Souls of Men: And the *Miniſtry of this Word* is committed unto them.

This Miniſtration muſt be of *all neceſſary Truth.* What our Lord intruſted with the Apoſtles, and, in them, with the Biſhops and Paſtors of the Church *to the End of the World*, is, *to teach them to obſerve all Things whatſoever I have commanded:* Where *all Things* muſt needs take in all that are neceſſary, *Mat.* 28. 20. And St. *Paul*, in diſcharge of his *Cure of Souls*, pleads himſelf *pure of the Blood of all Men*, as having *declar'd to them the whole Counſel of God*, which their *Blood* might any Way depend upon, and having *kept back nothing that was profitable to them*, Acts 20. 26, 27. For in theſe Points, if the People periſh thro' the *Watch-man's being dumb*, or for *Want of his giving Warning*, the People die indeed, and *are taken away in their Iniquity, but their Blood will God require at the Watch-Man's Hand*, Ezek. 33. 6, 8. As for inferior Truths, which are not commonly neceſſary for Chriſtians to know, and to be inſtructed in, but in their Nature are more indifferent, they may be forborn for Peace, as Need requires, and to prevent great Stirs and Diviſions in the Church: But Truths of Neceſſity and Importance muſt not be neglected, or given up on ſuch Pretences.

And it muſt be a Miniſtration of all that is neceſſary, *whether in Faith or Practice.* That which makes either to be a neceſſary Part of their Miniſtration, is, becauſe they are neceſſary Parts of Religion, and neceſſary to the Souls of Men: And this makes an equal Neceſſity of miniſtring both. For Obedience is as neceſſary and indiſpenſible a Branch of the Goſpel, as Faith and practical Opinions are as much ſet by as Propoſitions about Faith; and as much Diſhonour may accrue to God, and as much Danger to the Souls of Men, by practical as by ſpeculative Hereſies: Nay, many Times more, ſince Matters of Morality and Practice are more naturally imprinted on all Mens Hearts, and are more eaſy and obvious to all Underſtandings. They lye open to the unlearned as well as to learned Men: Yea, the Ignorant and Unlearned oft-times continue to ſee them, when the Learned overlook them: A little Skill, with a ſufficient Degree of Honeſty, qualifying Men to diſcern theſe Matters; and there not being ſo much Need of Learning in thoſe who would deſcry, as there is in thoſe who would pervert and miſtake them: And this makes the Miſtakes of Men, in theſe Points, both more dangerous to themſelves, and more diſhonourable to Religion: For being ſo generally known, or eaſy of Knowledge, there is not like Room in them for Extenuation and Excuſe, of Error and Ignorance, as there is in Speculations of Faith, that are of harder Examination, and lye farther off; which renders Practical Hereſies oft-times more *dangerous:* And on the ſame Account, the Diſhonour to God and Religion thereby is more univerſally noted, being more manifeſtly apparent, and more ſenſibly diſguſting to the Generality of Beholders; which makes them alſo

more

more *diſgraceful* and *ſcandalous*: And therefore they ſtand particularly bound to miniſter the Word, and give Warning in theſe Points; both as what would oft-times more ſurely and irremediably ſhed the *Blood of Souls*, and as what would prove more ſcandalous in the Sight of all conſiderate Perſons, and make Religion more generally *deſpis'd*, *blaſphem'd*, and *evil ſpoken of*.

Particularly, it will be incumbent on them to ſupply the Church with the Miniſtration of neceſſary practical Truths,

First, *When dangerous and immoral Practices are ſetting up.* Eſpecially if they are ſetting up generally, and moſt People are in Danger of being drawn into them: As when they come dreſs'd up, with Appearances and Recommendations of worldly Eaſe or Intereſts; or are driven on by the Arm of ſecular Power, or by the Cry of a Time: And undiſturbedly, as when they, who are in the Place of Reproving, diſſemble and connive at them, and are dumb, not lifting up their Voices againſt them.

Theſe immoral Practices, tho' the immoral Things are only practiſed, but not juſtify'd, are moſt dangerous and deſtructive to thoſe Souls who are involv'd therein: And when they ſee Men in the Ways of Death, *the Watchmen* are requir'd at their Peril to give Warning, and to tell them what will be the End thereof: *If thou giveſt him not Warning, nor ſpeakeſt to warn the Wicked from his wicked Way, to ſave his Life, his Blood will I require at thine Hand*, Ezek. 3. 18, 20. and chap. 33. 8. They are the ſpiritual Weakneſſes and Diſeaſes of Souls, their Strayings and loſing of themſelves in wrong and pernicious Ways: And the Duty of Shepherds, is not to ſtand off, or to keep Silent, when theſe Maladies have ſeiz'd the Flocks; but to ſhew their Paſtoral Care, and make Proviſion for them: They are, as God tells the Shepherds by *Ezekiel*, *to heal that which they find to be ſick, by applying proper Remedies*; and *to ſtrengthen that which is diſeas'd*; Feeding it with wholſome Doctrine, or † *proper Aliment*, as *Grotius* ſays upon it; *to bring again that which was driven away, and to ſeek that which was loſt*, if happily, by ſeaſonable and needful Warning and Admonition, they may recover it, *Ezek.* 34. 4. And if they take up with *feeding of themſelves*, and neglect by theſe Ways *to feed the Flocks* at ſuch Times, he denounces Woes to them, *ver.* 2. and declares, *He will require his Flock at their Hand*, ver. 10.

I do not ſay immoral Practices are a Cauſe for Paſtors to *ſeparate Communions*: For Immorality, whilſt confin'd to Practice and Converſation, and not crept into Worſhip and Prayers, doth not hinder all Communion in divine Service: Nor are we to ſeparate from any Church in divine Offices, becauſe of a *Mixture of Perſons*, or of their having moral and immoral Livers among them, as I obſerv'd before.

But they are an obliging Call to them, *to miniſter the Word*; *to put a Stop to them*: And if they cannot be allow'd to do this in Communion with others, they muſt do it however, by breaking off from them, and officiating by themſelves: And ſuch Breach, to ſay nothing of other Grounds, is conſequential upon the Miniſtrations of the depriv'd Paſtors on ſuch Revolutions: They are by their Deprivation ſecluded

† *Bonis Alimentis.* Grot. *ad loc.*

from miniſtring in the authoriz'd and eſtabliſh'd Churches; and ſo muſt act ſeparately, and miniſter by themſelves, if they are bound to miniſter the Word at all.

Secondly, When *ill or immoral Practices are not only ſet up, but juſtify'd*: And then *ill Practices* are turn'd into *ill Principles*, and become *Doctrines*. There may be a Defection from Duties in Practice, whilſt Men retain their Principles: Their Love of this World, and the Strength of corrupt Paſſions carrying them too oft to act and do ill againſt their Judgments: But if their Opinion is brought over, and in Judgment they are reconcil'd to ill Ways, ſince all Judgment is upon Principles, that is by Change of Principles, their Judgment then is perverted by ill and corrupt Doctrines; which having imbib'd, to corrupt, and alledging to clear and juſtify themſelves, they will teach and propagate among others: And when, by venting corrupt Principles and Propoſitions, falſe Guides ſet up for Teachers of ill Things, 'tis high Time for true and faithful Guides to open their Mouths, and to ſtrive for Truth and Righteouſneſs againſt them. They are *ill Watchmen*, if they are aſleep or ſilent at ſuch a Time; and *ill Shepherds*, if they take no Care to lay wholſome Things before the Flocks, and to drive away unwholſome, when *the Speakers of perverſe Things* are endeavouring to poyſon them: And *unfaithful Stewards* and *Diſpenſers of the Word*, if, inſtead of diſpenſing it out, they ſmother and ſuppreſs it, when the Church is in the greateſt Need to be inform'd thereof.

Particularly, they are oblig'd to this Miniſtration, when the ill and immoral Practices are *juſtify'd*.

Firſt, In *ſome particular Caſes*, eſpecially if thoſe *Caſes* are of *general Concern*, that draw in great Numbers of Perſons; and may prove of *long Continuance*, to hold them on for a conſiderable Time, in the Repetition of the ſame immoral Practices: Both which happen in Caſes of Injuſtice to diſpoſſeſt Princes, and of turning Allegiance again them; which concern all the Subjects of ſuch Princes, and will continue ſo to do, 'till the Competition ceaſeth.

Now theſe Immoralities in particular Caſes, are the Immoralities that will deſtroy Souls, when thoſe Caſes happen. It is in particular Caſes, that particular Perſons are guilty of them, and liable to be condemn'd for them: So 'tis in particular Caſes, that they need to be warn'd againſt them, and ſhew'd the Danger of them.

And the giving them this Warning in ſuch particular Caſes, as they come, is the Buſineſs of the *Watchman*: For he is ſet to watch particular Caſes, and againſt particular Occurrences; and is to cry out, and give Warning, as oft as he eſpies any Harm or Danger approaching therein. And if any periſh in thoſe Caſes for Want of his giving them Notice, God tells him, * *He will require their Blood at his Hands.* The *Watchman* muſt have both his Eyes Abroad, to eſpy theſe Dangers, and his Tongue free to proclaim, and give Warning of them: Being ſet to drive any approaching Evils away, by giving the Alarm for People to arm againſt them, and to keep out of their Way. And if, like Men aſleep, they take no Notice of Vice when catching and over-running their Flocks, nor open their Mouths againſt them, the Scripture brands and upbraids them, as it did the *Prophets* and *Watchmen* of *Iſrael*, with the Name of *dumb Dogs that cannot bark*: It being *the Office of Prieſts and Prophets* to *reprehend*

* Ezek. 33. 6.

nd open their Mouths againſt approaching *Vices*, *as it is of Dogs* ſet
o watch the Houſe, to open theirs, *and bark againſt approaching Thieves*,
s † *Grotius* comments upon it, *Iſa.* 56. 10.

† *ad loc.*

It is the Part of * *Stewards* and *Rulers of the Houſe*, who are ſet
o attend all particular Caſes that may ariſe and concern the Family,
nd ſtill to diſpenſe and deliver out *what Portion of Food* each Caſe
r Occaſion may make needful or proper for the *Houſhold.*

* Luk. 12. 42.

It is the Office of Paſtors and Shepherds, to have an Eye to Cir-
umſtances of Time and Place, and to watch over their Flocks in
articular Caſes. The Needs of their Flocks, their Sickneſſes, and
trayings, lye all in particular Caſes; and as the Work and Duty of
hepherds, lyes in † *feeding of their Flocks*, it will be their Duty to
dminiſter this Food when they need it; and their Care and Proviſion
uſt be for thoſe particular Caſes which are in Want thereof. Their
eeding of their Flocks muſt be by *ſtrengthening them* in any Caſe, where
hey ſee them *diſeas'd*; or *healing them* where they find them *ſick*;
r *ſeeking after them* when they are *loſt*, and *bringing them back* at any
ime when they are *gone aſtray*, or *are driven away*, as God tells the
hepherds of *Iſrael*, Ezek. 34. 3, 4. And if they neglect, by due
Miniſtrations to feed them in theſe Caſes, where they are in ſo great
Want to be fed, he tells them they are no Shepherds, but that his
Flock is without a Shepherd, ver. 5. or that they are ſuch *Shepherds*
s *feed not his Flock, but feed themſelves*, ver. 2, 8.

† Ezek 34 2, 8.

* v. 8.

It is the Duty of *Miniſters of the Word*, who are to *watch and mark*
eaſons, and not to let the People want it in any Caſe, when they
eed to be warn'd and inſtructed by it. They are to *preach the Word*,
nd to be inſtant in it, in Seaſon, yea, *and* even *out of Seaſon*, 2 Tim. 4.
. To ſee that none of the *Family* ſtarve, or *go aſtray* for Want
hereof, in a trying Time; but that all have what *Portion of it they*
eed, in due Seaſon, Luk. 12. 42. They are conſtituted *Paſtors and*
Teachers, to miniſter the Word, for perfecting the Saints, and for edifying
he Body of Chriſt: And ſo are bound to adminiſter it in any Caſe,
where the Saints need to be perfected; or where that Body needs to
e repair'd thereby; as ſure they do, when ill Practices have broken
n, and are allow'd among them, *Eph.* 4. 11, 12.

It is the Work and Profeſſion of *Guides of Souls*, to direct them
n all particular Occurrences, and to ſet them Right in all Caſes:
And if at any Time they ſee them about to miſtake their Way,
o ſhew them which Path they ought to keep; or, if they ſee they
re gone wrong, to call out to them to come back again: They are
uch *Guides* or *Leaders*, † as are entruſted with and *muſt give an Account*
f Souls; and ſo are ſtrictly bound to ſee that they do not ſtray, nor
periſh in any Caſe, for Want of true and careful Guidance and Di-
rection, *Heb.* 13. 17.

So that particular Caſes, which are the Times of the Peoples
Needs, muſt be Times of the Paſtors Miniſtrations: Eſpecially ſuch
particular Caſes, wherein the Generality are like to run into deadly
Sin, and are like to be daily repeating the ſame, and, for ought ap-
pears, to continue long therein.

And therefore in ſuch Caſes, if immoral Things are not only
practis'd, but juſtify'd, the true Paſtors are more highly bound to
warn

† ἐνίστασθαι.

warn the Church, and to ſhew the Guilt and Danger thereof. The mere Juſtification of them in ſuch particular Caſe, without any farther Propoſitions or falſe Doctrines about them, is enough to require this Miniſtration at their Hands: For when ſuch immoral Things are juſtify'd, Sin is not only practis'd, but it and Death are generally recommended. Men are taught, then, to † *call Evil, Good*, and to embrace Sin without Remorſe or Shame, and to meet Death without Fear or Senſe of Danger: And what is there left then to reſtrain them from corrupting themſelves therewith, according as they are lead thereto by their own Intereſts, Eaſe, or Inclinations; or by the Power or Perſwaſions of others? So that Sin and Death here ride triumphant, and go on without Oppoſition: And that ſure, is a loud Call for the Miniſters of Righteouſneſs, to ſtir up their miniſterial Powers to put a Stop thereto, and to ſave the Souls they are ſet to miniſter to, from being polluted and deſtroy'd by them. They would be *ill Miniſters of the Word*, ſhould they adminiſter no Word, but keep ſilent; and *ill Watchmen* for their ſeveral Charges, ſhould they give no Warning; *ill Stewards of the Houſe-hold*, ſhould they make no Proviſion; *ill Shepherds of the Flock*, ſhould they neglect to feed and miniſter to them; and *ill Guides of Souls*, ſhould they fail to ſhew the Way, and to give Directions how they may avoid both Sin and Death, ſo fairly and invitingly recommended to them, and ſo haſtily coming upon them, in theſe Caſes.

† Iſ. 5.20.

CHAP. IV.

More of the Caſes, wherein faithful Biſhops and Miniſters are bound to ſtick to their paſtoral Powers aand Miniſtrations.

BUT when immoral and unrighteous Practices are juſtify'd in any particular Caſe, ſince thoſe Practices are literally and directly condemn'd by moral Precepts, they who pretend to juſtify them, muſt find ſome Way to reconcile and take off thoſe Precepts: So that this Juſtification of immoral Practices in a particular Caſe, will be ſure to bring on another Step, which will make this Miniſtration of all true Paſtors ſtill more neceſſary, and that is,

Secondly, *The eluding or vacating of moral Duties and Precepts oppoſite thereto by Doctrinal Salvo's.*

When Men both act and juſtify immoral Things, they do not ordinarily renounce the Duties tranſgreſs'd thereby under their general and receiv'd Names, but ſtart ſuch Doctrines and Principles about them for Salvo's, as elude or vacate them in Practice.

Thus the *Jeſuites* allow the Sinfulneſs of Lying: But they ſay, what is ſpoken is no Lye, if they can make it a Truth by a *Mental Reſervation*; or by the *Equivocalneſs* and *Ambiguity* of any Words or Sentences whereby it is expreſs'd.

Thus

Thus alſo others admit the Damnableneſs of *Reſiſting the higher Power*, according to St. *Paul*, * or of *raiſing Rebellion:* But they ſay, this is only reſiſting them whilſt they keep to Laws, and within the Bounds of legal Powers, and the Frame of the Government; not when they go beyond them: They own, that by the *fifth Commandment*, and other ſcriptural *Precepts*, Allegiance is due to their Sovereign Prince: But they teach withal, ſometimes, as the *Papiſts*, that it is in the Power of the *Pope*; or, as others, that it is in the Power of the People, to depoſe their Princes, and then they are no longer Sovereigns; and thereby to abſolve and diſcharge themſelves from owing and bearing them any more Allegiance. Which Poſitions, for *depoſing Princes*, and for *abſolving Subjects from their Allegiance* to them, have paſs'd, in the Account of our Laws and Church, for *damnable Doctrines:* Or elſe they ſay, that this Allegiance is due *for the Sake of publick Good*; and that whether the Sovereign himſelf, whoſe Right it is, diſcharge it or no, publick Good, when it interferes, will give a diſcharge thereof. Or again, that it is due *only on Account of actual Adminiſtration*, and is ſtill to follow the King *in Fact:* And ſo is no longer due to their lawful King, if once another hath forcibly diſpoſſeſs'd him. *Rom. 13. 2.

Farther yet, Some allow the *Sacredneſs* and *Obligations of Oaths*, particularly of the *Oath of Allegiance to Princes:* But they teach moreover, ſometimes, that all this ſacred Obligation is only to the *feign'd ſoftening and lower Senſes of their own*, neither ſuiting with the Nature of Things, nor with the ordinary and honeſt Uſe of Words, and with the Simplicity and plain Dealing of Promiſes and ſolemn Declarations, nay, nor with their own enſuing Practice and Performance thereof; they who, in ſwearing, declar'd for a Power, afterwards paying and practiſing an higher Senſe, as all will be call'd to do, in Courſe of their Obedience, who profeſs Allegiance to any as their civil Governors: Or elſe, that all this ſacred Obligation of the Oath of Allegiance, is *in Subordination to the antecedent* and *ſuperior Obligation of publick Good*, and that it will abſolve and diſcharge them from it.

Again, they admit the Unlawfulneſs of *Stealing*, or of taking another Man's Goods, or Crown, againſt the *Eighth*; or of *coveting* them, againſt the *Tenth Commandment:* But they teach alſo, which roots up the Foundations of common Honeſty and Juſtice, that if Providence has at any Time aſſiſted an Invader to get them from him, the Invader has thereby got a *providential Right* thereto, which is the beſt Right; and that after that, they may *lawfully maintain him in his violent Poſſeſſion*; *and may innocently keep the other, whom themſelves own ſtill to have the legal Right, out of the Poſſeſſion of his Right*; and, and may with a ſafe Conſcience force any remaining Parts out of his Hands, which he ſhall happen to continue ſtill poſſeſs'd

Laſtly, Admitting *the ordinary Wickedneſs* and *Deſtructiveneſs of ſuch breach of Oaths*, and of open *Injuſtice*, &c. yet many think all may be ſalv'd by *the Maintenance and Preſervation of ſome other Duties thereto which are of more Worth*, as of *orthodox Faith*, or of *Purity of Goſpel-worſhip* and *divine Service. Thus the* Jews, *who ſware by the Name of the Lord, but not in Truth, viz.* ſwearing falſely what they never meant nor intended; *nor in Righteouſneſs, viz.* promiſing to do what was very unrighteous and unjuſt: And yet, as God taxes them

by

by *Iſaiah*, they thought to ſalve all, and *would ſtay themſelves upon the God of* Iſrael, by *calling themſelves of the holy City*, or by retaining God's Temple and true Worſhip ſtill among them, *Iſ.* 48. 1, 2.

Such as theſe are the doctrinal Salvo's, whereby Men, who in the general would continue to own and to profeſs moral Duties and Precepts, do, notwithſtanding, ſtudy to reconcile them with ſome belov'd and juſtify'd Practices, which are a literal and down-right Breach thereof.

Now, tho' for ſilencing of their own Conſciences, or in Fear of worldly Shame, in theſe and the like Caſes, Men ſtill own the Duty in general Words; yet by theſe oppoſite Principles and doctrinal Salvo's, do they elude and vacate them in Practice: That is, under Shelter of theſe oppoſite Doctrines, they practiſe againſt thoſe Duties, and juſtify themſelves therein, as if there were no ſuch Duties to reſtrain, nor general Words to forbid them.

Under the doctrinal Salvo's of *Equivocations* and *mental Reſervations*, for Inſtance, they think themſelves true Men all the Time they are telling horrible Lies: And under the aforeſaid doctrinal Limitation of the *Damnableneſs of Reſiſtance* to *legal Actings and Adminiſtrations of Princes*, they believe themſelves good Subjects, whilſt they are moſt wickedly levying War and rebelling againſt God's Ordinance. Thus likewiſe, under the doctrinal Salvo's of the *Pope's*, or *People's Power to depoſe Kings*, and to *diſcharge their Subjects of their Obedience* of *Allegiance being due only to a King in Fact*; or whilſt the Payment of it makes, as they conceive, *for the publick Good*, may they think themſelves unreprovable in Duty and Loyalty to their lawful King tho' all the while they appear both to God and Man, as if they ought him nothing; yea, tho' both by Prayers and Practice they openly reſiſt him, and oppoſe and ſet themſelves againſt him: And by confining the *Obligation of Oaths of Allegiance* to their *own arbitrary Senſes*; or, by cancelling them by *antecedent Obligations of publick Good*, they may fancy themſelves keeping Faith, all the Time they are wofully breaking it; and that they are obſerving Oaths, tho' all the while, at their extream Peril, they are literally forſwearing themſelves: And under Shelter of the aforeſaid *providential Right*, to what an Invader has unjuſtly got into his Poſſeſſion, they may take themſelves for juſt and righteous Perſons, whilſt all the Time they are wickedly and horribly backing Violence and Wrong; and helping one to hold what they believe and know he hath unjuſtly got; and keeping the injur'd and oppreſs'd Perſon out of his own. And this making God's Laws of no Effect in Practice, however they may ſtill be own'd in general Names and Acknowledgments; ſince, in their Actions, Men may do contrary, as ſecurely and warrantably, as if there were no ſuch Laws at all. Thus it was with the Salvo of the Vow *Corban* among the *Jews*, to get clear of the Duty of *honouring and ſupporting Parents*; and with other Salvo's about *Oaths* and other *Commandments*: And theſe our Saviour call'd, *a making Void the Commandments of God through their doctrinal Traditions*, Mat. 15. 5, 6. and Chap. 23.

And where this is the Caſe, it muſt not be ſaid, on the Account of their ſtill owning and preaching up the moral Duties under their general Names, that *Men have made no Change of moral Doctrines*: They may have made none, but ſay the ſame, as to *general Doctrines*, viz. that in the general, there lyes an Obligation upon Men, *to keep Faith*

nd *Oaths*, and to be *obedient and paſſive under Governors*, and *to do uſtice to Proprietors*, and the like. And ſo the *Phariſees* would in the eneral own *the Duty of ſupporting Parents*, and thoſe other Duties hich they made void in Practice: But theſe general and abſtracted octrines lye farther off; and ſome other Doctrines more circumantiate, which give them their proper Limitations, and teach the bligation thereof, and how far they are Duties in particular Caſes, uſt come between them and the Practice of Men, which lyes all in ch particular Caſes: And in theſe nearer, and more limited and rcumſtantiate Doctrines about the fore-ſaid moral Duties, there is a hange, when Men fall to ſtart the fore-ſaid Salvo's: Yea, ſuch a hange, as intercepts all the Force of the general Doctrines, and aches and authorizes Men, notwithſtanding thoſe general Doctrines, practiſe otherwiſe: And ſuch as the *Phariſees* made, for which ey are charg'd by our Saviour, *for making void God's Laws*; which rtainly is to make a woful Change thereof: Theſe ſalving Doctrines e all Changes of Doctrine; and the Preachers thereof, at ſuch imes, make as great a Change of moral Doctrines, as is neceſſery to ake a Change of moral Practices: And tho' they may not all agree any one of theſe Salvo's or Changes of moral Doctrine; as Men e not ſo like to do when they are going Wrong, the Ways of Error ing infinite, tho' the Way of Truth is but one. Yet if once they agree, not only in following, but in juſtifying and teaching the moral Practices; they muſt all do it, upon one or other of theſe w ſalving Doctrines, which Men, not hardy enough to decry moral ties under their general Names, muſt each of them chuſe for themves as they ſee Cauſe.

Now, when ſuch Changes of practical Doctrine are introduc'd, d moral Duties and Precepts are thus eluded and vacated, by ctrinal Salvo's and Limitation, 'tis more highly incumbent ſtill the Miniſters of Chriſt, to ſtand up in his Cauſe, and to adminiſter s Word in Defence thereof. They are Miniſters of Religion, and uſt not ſee it ſuffer in any of its Articles or Duties; but, as its apinted Officers and Advocates, muſt guard and maintain them. Theſe rticles and Duties are a Truſt divinely committed to them: * *The rious Goſpel was committed to my Truſt:* And † *we are allow'd of God, be put in Truſt with the Goſpel*, ſaith St. *Paul*. They are intruſted in eir Hands, as Things which they are to *keep* and *hold faſt*. *O!* Tiothy, *keep that which was committed to thy Truſt*, ſaith he again, Tim. 6. 20. *Hold it faſt*, and *in the Form of ſound Words*, wherein it s deliver'd, 2 *Tim.* 1. 13. He truſts to them, not only to keep and tain them, but to defend and plead for them. *I am ſet for the Dence of the Goſpel*, Phil. 1. 17. To take Care, that they be tranſtted down to others, who ſhall come next in Succeſſion. *The Things at thou haſt heard of me, the ſame commit thou to faithful Men, who ll be able to teach others therein*, 2 Tim. 2. 2. And having receiv'd ch ſacred Truſts, they muſt ſhew a ſtrict Fidelity in Diſcharge there- St. *Paul* directs *Timothy, to commit them to faithful Men*, 2 Tim. 2. And ſaith, *Chriſt committed the Goſpel to his Truſt*, and *put him into e Miniſtry* of it, *counting him faithful*, 1 Tim. 1. 11, 12. And all this *delity*, is to be the *Fidelity of Miniſters*, who are entruſted, not only ith the private keeping and Profeſſion, but with the publick Minitation of theſe Articles and Goſpel-Duties. So that their keeping d holding faſt to them, is their keeping and holding to the Preach-

* 1 Tim. 1. 11.
† 1 Theſ. 2. 4.

ing and Miniſtration of them; and by that ſame *Preaching* and *Miniſtration* are they to defend them in the preſent Age, and to deliver them over to Poſterity.

And therefore, when any moral Duties or Precepts, depoſited and entruſted with them, are endanger'd, and Attempts are made to elude or vacate them, they are try'd how true they will prove to their Truſts, of *miniſterial keeping*, and *defending*, and *tranſmitting of them down*: And then, they muſt not deſert them, but ſtand up and act for them, by a faithful Adminiſtration. If others treacherouſly reject them, or bend their Wits to vacate them, and render them of no Effect, they muſt not run in, to give their Voice with them; nor by their unconteſting Silence, and baſe yielding, betray and give up that *ſacred Depoſitum*, which was inſtruſted to their Cuſtody and Maintenance.

This miniſterial Maintenance and Adminiſtration of moral Precepts, when thus chang'd and vacated by corrupt Salvo's, God expected from all *true Prophets* and *faithful Shepherds* among the *Jews*.

† *chap* 23. * *ver.* 1, 9. In the Prophet † *Jeremiah*, we are told of * *falſe Prophets* and *Paſtors*, who, by ſuch Salvo's, had poyſon'd Peoples Morals: They had corrupted them in Point of *Oaths*, drawing them generally into *Swearing* † *ad loc.* (or *Perjury*, as † *Caſtalio* and *Arias Montanus*, and others) *becauſe of which*, as 'tis there ſaid, *the Land mourns*: And alſo, in Point of *Juſtice*, abetting *a Courſe of Evil*, (or *Violence*, as the Margin) and of *unrighteous Force*, Jer. 23. 10. This Corruption of Practice was by Corruption of Principles: For they had made them firſt to believe that there is no Sin in theſe their Doings, which they had ſtudy'd to ſhelter by Salvo's of their own Invention, from the Cenſure of thoſe Laws, which ſeem'd plainly to forbid them. *They commit Adultery, and walk in Lies*, i. e. in lying Salvo's and Adulteration of moral Duties, making the Preſervation of God's *Worſhip and Temple* a Shelter † *in v.* 10. *and v.* 14. for theſe Vices and Immoralities, as † *Grotius* notes: And by ſuch Adulterations they *ſtrengthen the Hands of evil Doers* in theſe Ways *that none of them doth return from his Wickedneſs*, ver. 14. And theſe Salvo's, invented from Time to Time, as Need was, were not more a Defection from the Truth, than from their own profeſs'd Principles. The Prophets being tax'd therein, for *cauſing the People to err*, as by *their Lyes, ſo by their* * *Lightneſs*, ver. 32. But now, when the * *See Zeph.* 3. 4. *falſe Prophets* and *unfaithful Shepherds* ſet themſelves by ſuch corrupt Salvo's to elude and vacate moral Precepts, God expected of all the true and faithful Shepherds, that they ſhould ſtand up againſt them for Miniſtration and Maintenance thereof. *They ſhould have ſtood in his Counſel, and have caus'd his People to hear his Word, to turn them from thoſe evil Ways*, which the falſe Teachers labour'd to ſtrengthen and encourage them in, by their lying Salvo's, ver. 22. If any *Prophets had his Word*, he expected they ſhould *ſpeak it faithfully*, ver. 28. That his *Word ſhould be in them like a Fire*, burſting out with Violence, and not ſparing any that ſtood in its Way, as the falſe Prophets, thoſe falſe and flattering Accommodators, were wont to do, *and like an Hammer that breaks the Rock in Pieces*, ſtriking on the moſt obdurate, when the other, in their ſoothing Ways, were wont to ſtroak them, ver. 29.

In *Ezekiel*, God complains of the *falſe Prophets*, for *daubing* over immoral Practices *with untemper'd Mortar*, i. e. with corrupt Salvo's to cover them from the Cenſure and Condemnation of moral Pre-

cepts, *Ezek.* 13. 10, 11, &c. Their *daubing* was by ſuch Covers or Plaiſters as were *Viſions of Peace*; or to ſhew the Evil-doers how they did not break with God and moral Duties, by theſe their immoral Practices, ver. 15, 16. This he alſo calls *making Kerchiefs* or *Vales*, their End being to hide all Appearance of Sin and Deformity in theſe Actings; and ſaith, *they fitted them to every Stature*, ver. 18, 21. And *by theſe Lies*, or lying Salvo's, *they* made Men believe, that there was no Breach of moral Precepts in theſe immoral Practices, nor any Danger of Death thereby; and ſo *ſtrengthen'd the Hands of the Wicked, that he ſhould not return from his wicked Way, by promiſing him Life*, tho' he went on therein, ver. 22. But if any true Prophets, who ſaw this, ſhould keep Silence, or, out of ſelfiſh Subtilty, ſhould ſkulk, and keep out of thoſe Dangers which attend the miniſterial Reproof thereof at ſuch Times, God brands them, as *being like Foxes in the Deſart, for not having gone up into the Gaps* or *Breaches* to repair them, and *for not having made up the Hedge for the Houſe of* Iſrael, by fencing it again with ſound Doctrine, and with the Conſcience of moral Duties, to keep out all farther irruption of ſuch immoral Practices, ver. 4, 5. And elſewhere, by the ſame Prophet, he denounces Woes to them, and declares *he will require his Flock at their Hands*, if, inſtead of *feeding only themſelves*, they do not, as becomes *good Shepherds, feed their Flocks*; and that, by the due Exerciſe of their Miniſtrations, for *ſtrengthening the Diſeas'd*, or for *healing the Sick*, or for *reducing the Scatter'd, or recovering the Loſt*, as the Needs of the Flock ſhall require, Ezek. 34. 2, 3, 4, 10.

The Prieſts, ſaith *Zephaniah*, *have done Violence to the Law*, forcing it with corrupt Gloſſes and Expoſitions, to bear with immoral and unlawful Practices, Zeph. 3. 4. *They have violated my Law*, or, as the Margin from the *Hebrew*, *offer'd Violence to it*, i. e. ſtopp'd its Mouth by wicked Salvo's, not ſuffering it to condemn thoſe evil Deeds, againſt which it is deſign'd, ſaith God by *Ezekiel*, Ezek. 22. 26. Theſe corrupt Salvo's and doctrinal Perverſions of God's Laws are grievouſly complain'd of by the holy Prophets, and ſtill grew up among the Jews, to perfect the Wickedneſs, and to haſten on the Ruin of that Church. But whenſoever theſe Attempts were made by falſe Prophets and Seducers, to pervert the Laws of God, it was incumbent on his true Miniſters to oppoſe them therein, and to miniſter thoſe Laws and Duties to the People in their true Meaning: And they ſtill incur the Cenſure of * *Shepherds that feed not the Flock but themſelves*; † *blind Watchmen and dumb Dogs*; if they are ſilent, and ſit ſtill on ſuch Occaſions.

* Ezek. 34. 2, 3.
† Iſ. 56. 10.

The like our *Saviour Chriſt* alſo expected *from his Diſciples*, when they found ſuch Salvo's advanc'd, for Practices againſt any of his Commandments.

The *Phariſees* had invented many doctrinal Salvo's to juſtify Men in the Breach of moral Duties, and to vacate ſeveral of God's holy Commandments. Thus they dealt by the *Breach of Oaths*, which they clear'd by ſeveral arbitrary Limitations, and nice Diſtinctions of their own, about the *Obligation of them*, or *Mens becoming Debtors*, i. e. bound by them, *Mat.* 23. 16, 18. And by the *Denial of Relief to Parents*; which, they ſaid, † was diſcharg'd of the Obligation laid by the *Fifth Commandment*, and free from Sin, if it was ſalv'd by the Vow *Corban*, i. e. if they had made a Vow before, that they would never relieve them, *Mat.* 15. 4, 5, 6. Thus *fruſtrating the*

† *See Dr. Lightfoot's Hor. Heb. in loc.*

Commandments of God, as he tells them, *and making them of none Effect, through their undermining Salvo's and Traditions*, Mat. 15. 6. and *Mark* 7. 9, 13. Not to mention their limiting the Obligation of all Righteouſneſs to external Acts, or other Ways of their exempting many Offences forbid by their own Law, as well as by that of the Bleſſed Jeſus.

But when the *Miniſters of Chriſt* met with theſe Salvo's, it was their Part not to ſuffer them, but to reſcue moral Precepts from being corrupted, and Mens Conſciences and Practices from being inſnar'd by them. They were to * *beware of the Leaven of the Phariſees*, in theſe and other Points; not only, as private Chriſtians, to beware of imbibing it themſelves; but, as Paſtors, of ſuffering others to be tainted or corrupted therewith. When by theſe and ſuch like Gloſſes † *the Lawyers had taken away the Key of Knowledge*, and ‖ *ſhut up the Kingdom of Heaven againſt Men*, as our Lord ſaith; they, as Miniſters of that Kingdom, were to unlock and open it to them, and to make theſe Duties, which were the Paths thereof, plain for all, who were ſincerely deſirous to walk in them. They that are made *Paſtors*, and put in Station to be *Great in the Kingdom of Heaven*, muſt both *do* the ſame themſelves, *and teach others to obſerve even the leaſt of Chriſt's Commandments*, when *others* not only *tranſgreſs* them in their own Practice, but *teach Men to tranſgreſs them*, Mat. 15. 19.

* Mat. 16. 6, 11.
† Luk. 11. 52.
‖ Mat. 23. 13.
vid. Chryſoſt. *in loc.* & *Comment. incerti Authoris ap.* Chryſoſt. *in loc.*

St. *Paul* afterwards ſpeaks of *falſe Apoſtles*, *who corrupted the Word of God*, καπηλεύοντες, that *adulterated* it, as *Vintners do their Wines, by corrupt Mixtures*, blending their own arbitrary Salvo's and Conceits therewith, or *mixing their own Doctrines with God's*, as * St. *Chryſoſtom* comments, 2 Cor. 2. 17, who *handled the Word of God deceitfully*, and *ſpoke Lies in Hypocriſy*, pretending them conſiſtent with, or ſometimes promotive of Duty and Piety, 1 *Tim.* 4. 2. And *perverted the Goſpel of Chriſt*, Gal. 1. 17. But when the true Miniſters met with any of theſe corrupt Infuſions and Adulterations of Chriſtian Doctrines, inſtead of treacherouſly conniving at theſe Adulterations, they were by a purer and more ſincere Miniſtration, to cure and teach Men better. They were to *make full Proof of their Miniſtry in preaching the Word*, and to *reprove* and *rebuke* all that was contrary to it, among *thoſe that would heap to themſelves Teachers* of Errors and Adulterations of the Truth, *according to their own Luſts*, 2 Tim. 4. 2, 3, 5. When others fell *to ſpeak Lies in Hypocriſy*, they were *not to neglect the Gift that was in them*, that is, their paſtoral Power and Function; but to † *ſtir it up*, *and put the Brethren in Remembrance* of the pure and ſaving Chriſtian Truths and Duties, that they may diſcharge the Part of *good Miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt*, 1 Tim. 4. 2, 6, 14. When *vain Talkers and Deceivers ſtarted up*, *teaching Things they ought not*, *for filthy Lucres ſake*, they were call'd upon, not only to *hold faſt the faithful Word*, *as they had been taught*, and to keep it themſelves; but alſo, *by ſound Doctrine to exhort and* * *teach others*, *and to convince and ſtop the Mouths of Gainſayers*, Tit. 1. 9, 10.

* *in loc.*
* 2 Cor. 4. 2.
† 2 Tim. 1. 6.
* Acts 20. 28, 30, 31.

Thus are the faithful Miniſters of Chriſt oblig'd to feed the Church with the pure Adminiſtration of moral, or other Goſpel-Duties, when the falſe Guides, by doctrinal Salvo's and undermining Propoſitions, are ſhewing Men, how they may ſecurely vacate and tranſgreſs them. They are not to connive at ſuch Corruptions and Adulterations of moral Precepts; but to cry out, and warn againſt them: Nor to ſmother

ſmother and keep up the real and injur'd Duties, but to preach and miniſter them out to thoſe Souls who are like to periſh thro' their gnorance and Breach thereof: And this, as they will anſwer God's epeated Calls and Injunctions, or approve themſelves true and faith- ful to their miniſterial Truſts: To neglect it, or fail therein, would e Treachery and Falſeneſs to that ſacred Doctrine which had been epoſited with them, and to thoſe Souls which had been committed o them.

And this Miniſtration they are bound to, tho' theſe corrupt Salvo's re only the *Doctrines of the Paſtors and Teachers*, (as thoſe forementiond alvo's of the *falſe Prophets*, and of the *Phariſees* too, I ſuppoſe, ere among the *Jews*) and are not yet made the Determinations of he Church. 'Tis not enough, on ſuch Juſtification of immoral ractices, or Advancement of immoral Salvo's by the Guides of Souls, o ſay, the Church hath not alter'd its Articles, nor juſtify'd nor alv'd the ill Things ſo by any *Synodical Confeſſion*: For 'tis a Call to hem for their Miniſtration, if theſe Things are done by the Church- en: Their Miniſtration is to provide againſt the Dangers of Souls; and ey are always endanger'd by damnable Practices, whoſoever teach em, whether their particular Guides, or whole Synods: But par- cular Guides are the Directors, which the Generality of Men have r their Conſciences and Practices: So that the Conſciences and ractices of the Generality are endanger'd, when they fall generally teach them the Breach of moral Duties by corrupt Salvo's: And en true Guides are to warn them of theſe Dangers, *When Speakers perverſe Things ſhall ariſe from among themſelves, the Paſtors are bid take heed to their Flocks, and to feed them with the Word of Truth and ghteouſneſs*, Acts 20. 28, 30.

And inſtead of abating this Obligation, it will add to it, if, amidſt this Prevarication of the Church-men by ſuch corrupt Salvo's, the urch it ſelf continues right in theſe Points, and ſays the ſame it d in its publick Acts and Articles: For then, in theſe Miniſtrations, oſe faithful Paſtors have, as the Authority of Truth, ſo alſo the thority of their own Church on their Side: Therein they only iniſter out among the Members, what their own Church teaches, d ſhow themſelves as *faithful Miniſters of Chriſt*, in ſtanding up for s Truths, *ſo*, *faithful Mtniſters of their own Church*, *in ſtanding up for Doctrines*. As to the Point *of Separation from the Church*, I grant at true Miniſters muſt not ſeparate from a Church for any Doctrines, the Church it ſelf holds and maintains them, tho' the Churchmen ould generally and ſhamefully defect from them: But this Mini- ation of thoſe deſerted Doctrines, is not to ſeparate from it, but to ck firm and conſtant to it; yea, and to keep it up ſtill as a viſible dy, for all its true Members to adhere to: And I hope true and thful Miniſters of a Church may ſtand by it, in Maintenance and iniſtration of the Truths and Laws of *God*, tho' that continue a Breach, and keep them at a Diſtance from thoſe revolting Paſtors, o have defected and ſeparated themſelves from both.

The foreſaid Juſtification of immoral Practices in ſuch particular ſes, and Maintenance thereof by doctrinal Salvo's, will make the nſciences of Tranſgreſſors eaſy and in Reſt at Sin: They will by s Means ſee no Breach of Duty in what they do, nor Danger of niſhment for doing it: They are taught, in theſe Caſes, *to call Evil, od*; and *to put Darkneſs for Light*, whereto ſuch heavy Woes are denounc'd

*Iſ. 5. 20. denounc'd by the * Prophet; and ſo, under the greateſt Load and
†Jer. 6. 14. & c. 8. 11. Danger of Sin and Guilt, think themſelves ſafe and innocent. This
&c. 23. 17. God calls, † *ſpeaking Peace to the Wicked*, or to thoſe *who ſhould have*
Ezek. 13. 10. *no Peace*, but Terror and Indignation in their preſent evil Ways; and
‖Ezek. 13. 18. 20. ‖ *ſewing Pillows* to bolſter up evil Doers, to make them eaſy and at
* Jer. 23. 14. Reſt in their Unrighteouſneſs: And * *ſtrengthening the Hands of the*
Ezek. 13. 23. *Wicked*, making them bold and forward in their ungodly Courſes; and barring their *Repentance and Return from their Wickedneſs*, by leaving in them no Conſcience of Guilt, no Relentings or Remorſe for their going on therein.

Now all this is a direct Miniſtration to deſtroy Souls: And whilſt *falſe Prophets* and *devouring Wolves* are miniſtring Lies for their Deſtruction, it is evidently and highly incumbent on true and faithful Paſtors, who are ſet to *ſave Souls*, to miniſter the Word of Truth for their Salvation. Accordingly, amidſt all theſe *Preachers of Peace*
†Ezek. 13. 4, 5. and *Strengtheners of evil Doers*, God † tells the Prophets of *Iſrael*, that they ſhould not, like ſubtile Foxes, have ſtudy'd only how to ſlip aſide and ſhun Danger, by ſilently conniving at theſe Doings; but *ought to have gone up into the Gaps, and have made up the Hedges.* Seeing they were publick Miniſters deputed by God to act for him,
* Jer. 23. 22. and for the Good of Souls, their Part had been * *to ſtand in his Counſel, and to have caus'd his People to hear his Words, and thereby to have turned them from the Evil of their Doings.* When the People run thus to do Evil in ſuch Caſes, without any Senſe of Guilt, or by *calling Evil Good*, they heap up Sin and Death to themſelves, and know it not, and ſo *periſh for Want of Knowledge*: But *the Prieſts Lips muſt keep up Knowledge* among *the People*, and they muſt *have the Knowledge of the Law at his Mouth*, Mal. 2. 7. *And if my People are deſtroy'd for lack of Knowledge*; *becauſe thou haſt rejected Knowledge*, and the Communication thereof to my People, *I will alſo reject thee, that thou ſhalt be no Prieſt to me*, ſaith God, *Hoſ.* 4. 6.

Such is the Obligation incumbent on true Paſtors, to miniſter moral Truths, when immoral Practices are juſtify'd in particular Caſes, and all the moral Duties oppoſite thereto, are vacated and taken off, by undermining Propoſitions and doctrinal Salvo's.

And they are ſtill more ſtrictly oblig'd to this Miniſtration, if the Practices juſtify'd by ſuch Salvo's are

Firſt, *In Immoralities of great and general ill Fame, and in Things extreamly ſcandalous to Religion.*

All groſs Violations of common Honeſty and Juſtice, and Breach of Faith, eſpecially when confirm'd by *ſolemn Oaths*, and renouncing of Duty and Subjection to Superiors, more particularly to Parents and Princes, and ſuch others, are Immoralities that all ſober Men think they ought to account ſcandalous and of higheſt Reproach: For the Duties tranſgreſs'd thereby, are generally known to be of greatest Importance for keeping up Society and for ſecuring the Comforts of human Life: Which therefore all Mankind, that feel ſuch Need of Society, and would find Comfort in Life, cry up, and utterly decry the Breaches of them. So that theſe Immoralities are ſure to bring the moſt general Infamy upon any Thing that is guilty of them, yea, and upon Religion it ſelf, ſhould it ever be found or repreſented as allowing or giving Countenance thereto.

Now the Miniſters of Religion are to be eſpecially careful to preſerve its good Name, and to keep up an honourable Opinion and Reverence for it among Men: He has nothing of the miniſterial Care, or of a miniſterial Spirit, who is careleſs and un-concern'd how ill and irreverently Men think of Religion: Indeed, if they would keep Religion it ſelf up in the World, they muſt keep up this Reverence and good Opinion of it: For if once Mankind come to think ill or deſpicably of it, they are never like to trouble themſelves much therewith, nor to labour after much thereof: And if they would preſerve Religion reputable, and ſecure of Mens Reverence and honourable Opinion, they muſt watchfully keep all thoſe Things out of it, which deſervedly loſe and leſſen Mens good Opinion: They muſt have a jealous Care to preſerve it pure, not admitting, or juſtifying any Thing that, in the common Senſe of Mankind, is infamous or of bad Name: And therefore, if any ſuch Things, (as all the fore-mention'd Immoralities are in an high Degree) offer to creep in, or if *Satan*'s Miniſters are buſy to introduce them, they muſt oppoſe, and miniſter againſt them with all their Might, and preſently diſclaim and purge them out, that Religion may be clear of them. They muſt watch, as far as they are able, to keep them out of the Practice of Men, leaſt from ſuch Practice of its Profeſſors, the Lookers on ſhould harbour a Preſumption or Suſpicion, as if Religion had ſome Toleration or Allowance for them. † *Let Servants count their own Maſters worthy of all Honour*; and * *Let Wives be keepers at Home, and obedient to their own Huſbands*, &c. *that the Word of God and his Doctrine be not blaſphem'd*, ſaith St. *Paul*, directing *Timothy* and *Titus* in that paſtoral and miniſterial Care, which they ſhould have of the Church: But when theſe ill and infamous Things appear, not only in Practice, but in Doctrines, and come, not as the blam'd and prevaricating Acts of Profeſſors, but as juſtify'd and preach'd up by their Guides and Leaders, then Religion is more directly and plainly brought in, and the true Miniſters thereof are more highly oblig'd to oppoſe them in its Behalf, to prevent its incurring any Scandal or Reproach thereby.

† 1 Tim. 6. 1.
* Tit. 2. 4, 5. 1 Tim. 5. 14.

Or,

Secondly, *If they are generally preach'd up by Seducers, and Men are every where taught and perſwaded to them.* Inſtead of giving any Diſcharge to thoſe few faithful Miniſters that remain, at ſuch Times, the general falling away and Corruption of others adds to their Obligation: For God, and theſe moral Truths then have more Need of their Miniſtration: And they can have no Pretence left of putting off this Service to other Miniſters, ſince they, in Effect, preach them down; and there is no Appearance of their being faithfully admiſter'd at all, if not by them: So that what miniſterial Truths they undertook, or (*a*) Promiſes they made, of *being ready with all faithful Diligence, to drive away all ſuch erroneous Doctrine*, are more preſſing upon them, ſince then they reſt on their Fidelity alone: And this will be to anſwer the Apoſtles Rules, of *taking heed to all their Flocks, when the Speakers of perverſe Things ariſe to draw away Diſciples after them*, Acts 20. 28, 30. Of ſtanding up againſt *Deceivers that teach things which they ought not, and of exhorting, and convincing, and ſtopping*

(*a*) *Form of Ordination.*

ping the Mouths of Gain ſayers, Tit. 1. 9, 10, 11. Of *making full Proof of their Miniſtry, when People have Teachers after their own Luſts*; yea, *will not bear ſound Doctrine, but heap up ſuch to themſelves, having itching Ears*, 2 Tim. 4. 3, 5.

Or,

Thirdly, *If they come recommended by Suitableneſs to worldly and carnal Paſſions and Intereſts*, which, when once theſe Salvo's have reconcil'd them to Mens Conſciences, will be ſure to gain innumerable Followers: But eſpecially, *if the ſcrupulous and unwilling are driven into them, by a ſore and general Perſecution.*

This Caſe of *Perſecution*, I grant, is an outward Diſcouragement to the true Paſtors, from performing this Miniſtration, becauſe it will be ſure to be hotteſt againſt them: And it will be an Hindrance too from their diſcharging it ſo fully and generally as they might do in a free and quiet Time. If Meetings then are fix'd, and of free Recourſe, and open, and numerous, they will miſs of their End, and the Effect will only be to be diſturb'd, and carry'd before Magiſtrates, not to go on in Prayers and Devotions. Aſſemblies to partake in theſe Miniſtrations, cannot be ſo regular and conſtant to Times and Places, ſo free and full of Communicants, and ſo eaſy and acceſſable to all thoſe Members who deſire and ſtand in Need thereof, when the Church is daily diſturb'd, and perſecuted, and driven into the Wilderneſs, as they may in Times of Peace and external Allowance: And thus, in the *firſt Perſecutions*, *the Diſciples aſſembled in the Evening*, and were careful to keep *the Doors ſhut, for Fear of the* Jews, Jo. 20. 19, 26. And St. *Paul*'s Meeting *on the firſt Day of the Week at* Troas, was held *in an upper Chamber*, and in the † Night-Time, *his Speech being continued until Midnight*, Acts 20. 7, 8, 9, 11. And *Pliny*'s Account to the Emperor *Trajan*, of the Chriſtians Meetings in that Perſecution, is, *That* (*a*) *on their ſet Times, their Manner was to meet together before Day, for their ſolemn Worſhip and Sacraments.*

But ſofar as they can miniſter the Word of moral Truths againſt them in a perſecuted and diſperſed State, and in ſuch Sort as that will admit of, they have more Obligation to this Miniſtration: By Reaſon of the Perſecution, it makes the Difficulty of this Miniſtration to be the more, but the Duty of it to be never the leſs, but the ſtraighter likewiſe: For the more others perſecute moral Duties and good Practices, the more Need there is for the Miniſters thereof to ſtand up for them: And the more any faithful Souls are perſecuted for them, the more Need there is for the Guide of Souls, and the more Obligation lyes on them, by the beſt Miniſtrations they can, to inſtruct and ſtrengthen them therein. They are then to miniſter the Word, not only to confirm them in their good Practices, but alſo to ſupport and comfort them under their hard Sufferings, and to aſſiſt and arm them at all Points againſt their Perſecutors and ſpiritual Enemies, that by Faith and Fortitude, Patience and Charity, they may bravely repel all their Aſſaults, and glorioufly triumph over them.

Thus God blames the Shepherds of *Iſrael*, becauſe *when the Flock were ſcatter'd, none did ſearch or ſeek after them*; when any *were driven away*

† Acts 12. 12.

(*a*) *Quod eſſent ſoliti ſtato die ante Lucem convenire, carmenque Chriſto, quaſi Deo, dicere ſecum invicem.* Plin. *Epiſt. l.* 10. *Ep.* 97. *p.* 306.

way, none ſought *to bring them back again*, nor *to ſtrenghen what was diſeas'd*, nor *to bind up what was broken among them*, Ezek. 34. 5, 6. *And when the Wolf is coming*, to break in among *the Sheep*, and to tear and *ſcatter them*, i. e. When ſome cruel and imminent Perſecution is before them: If a Paſtor doth not ſtick by them then, and miniſter and ſhew his paſtoral Care the beſt he can; but leaves them to themſelves, and looks only how he may ſecure his own Perſon; our bleſſed Lord tells us, he is no true Shepherd, as being deſtitute of the paſtoral Care and Spirit, but *an Hireling*, Joh. 10. 12. And St. Paul bids *Timothy*, *to ſtir up the Gift that was in him, by the laying on of his Hands*, and not to be hinder'd or diſcourag'd from it, by the Perſecutions of that Time; for that the *Holy Ghoſt*, *conferr'd* by God upon his Miniſters by ſuch Impoſition of Hands, *is not the Spirit of Fear*, or *Cowardice*, whoſe Miniſtrations are to be ſtopt by Approach of Dangers; but the Spirit *of Power* or *Courage*, and *of Love* to him and his Church, when thereby we expoſe our own Perſons, 2 Tim. 1. 6, 7. *Seeing we have*, or ſtand charg'd with *this Miniſtry*, *though troubled*, *perplexed*, *and perſecuted on every ſide*, in the due Diſcharge thereof, *we faint not*, ſaith he, 2 Cor. 4. 1, 8, 9. *But approve our ſelves the Miniſters of God*, *by the Word of Truth*, *and by the Armour of Righteouſneſs on the Right-Hand*, *and on the Left*, *in all Patience and Afflictions*, and in the midſt of *Tumults*, of *Stripes*, and *Impriſonments*, 2 Cor. 6. 4, 7.

CHAP. V.

Of the Obligations to actual Miniſtration, which lye upon them in the foreſaid Caſes.

HItherto I have inſiſted on thoſe Caſes, wherein true and faithful Paſtors and Miniſters of Jeſus Chriſt, are plainly bound, I conceive, to ſtir up thoſe ſpiritual Powers which he hath conferr'd on them; and to act miniſterially, as Biſhops and Paſtors, for applying the Needs of Religion and of Souls, or of the Churches which are intruſted to their Charge.

And the Sum of what I have ſaid thereupon is this, They are bound to ſupply the Church, with the *Miniſtration of Prayers*, or of pure and unpolluted Offices, when the publick Service is corrupted, and Prayers are poyſon'd, not only with idolatrous, but alſo with unrighteous and immoral Mixtures: And with *the Miniſtry of the Word*, when they ſee dangerous and immoral Practices are begun to be ſet up; and more ſtill when they are offer'd to be juſtify'd: Being oblig'd to this, when immoral Practices are juſtify'd in ſome great and particular Caſes, which are like to involve the Generality of Perſons: And higher oblig'd yet, when, for Juſtification of the ſame in ſuch particular Caſes, falſe Teachers ſet themſelves to vacate all the oppoſite

moral Duties, by undermining Propoſitions and doctrinal Salvo's: All which ſtill call louder for this Miniſtration, if the immoral Practices ſo juſtify'd and doctrinally ſalv'd, are in themſelves infamous, and a Scandal to Religion; or, if they have Numbers of Seducers and falſe Guides to recommend or perſwade them; or, if they are preſs'd and forc'd upon all Refuſers by a ſecular Arm, and driven on by a violent and general Perſecution. When the Breach is ſo great upon Religion, and the Danger is ſo terrible to the Souls of Men, and is like to make a general Waſte, and to ſeize and deſtroy ſuch Numbers of them, true Miniſters of Religion and Guides of Souls, ought not to be ſilent, and to ſit ſtill, under ſuch Wrongs done to both: But are bound, *Not to neglect the Gift that is in them, by the laying on of Hands*, 1 Tim. 4. 14. but *to ſtir it up*, and that out of a *Spirit of Love* to Religion and the Church; *and of Power* or Courage, without Fear of Dangers, as I obſerv'd from St. *Paul*, 2 Tim. 1. 6, 7. To give Attendance to it, *waiting on their Miniſtry*, Rom. 12. 7. Not to be content merely to accept Seaſons, as put upon them; but to ſeek them, *preaching the Word, and being inſtant in Seaſon and out of Seaſon*, 2 Tim. 4. 2. To *give themſelves wholly to theſe Things*, and to perſevere and *continue in* performing them, that *in ſo doing they may both ſave themſelves and thoſe that hear them*, 1 Tim. 4. 15, 16.

But farther to ſet off this Obligation, having ſaid thus much *to the Caſes wherein they ſtand bound*, I ſhall now proceed,

Secondly, *To note, what Obligations of actual Miniſtration do lye upon them in ſuch Caſes.* And theſe Obligaions will appear, both from the *Nature of the paſtoral Function*, from *the ſeveral Characters which they ſuſtain*, and from *the Poſt or Station which they are placed in.*

Theſe Characters I ſhall conſider under this *threefold Reſpect*, either as they relate to *God*, to *Religion*, or to *the Souls of Men.*

Firſt, I ſhall conſider them as *they relate to God.* And here this Obligation to the foreſaid Miniſtrations, in the preceding and ſuch like Caſes, will appear plain upon them, as they bear the Character, and ſtand in Place,

1. *Of his Meſſengers. The Prieſt is the Meſſenger of the Lord of Hoſts*, Mal. 2. 7. And St. *Paul* ſays, *The* Galatians *receiv'd him as an* (a) *Angel or Meſſenger of God*, Gal. 4. 14. And *the Biſhops of the Churches* are ſtil'd *Angels*, Rev. 1. 20. Now, when a polluted and immoral Worſhip is offer'd up to God, or when immoral Practices are ſet up and the plain Senſe of moral Preccpts is perverted or vacated to maintain them; God hath enough to ſay to Men, both for Caution and Prevention, and alſo for their Recovery from the ſame: And who ſhall tell them this, but his own Meſſengers? And how ſhould they tell it, but in the Diſcharge of their Miniſtrations? So that by their Miniſtry, they muſt ſhew them the horrible Prophanation of an immoral Devotion, and teach and afford them a pure Worſhip which is according to his Mind; and declare to them the true Force and Meaning of thoſe moral Laws and Duties, which others have doctrinally gloſs'd away and vacated, to the End they may warrantably and ſecurely tranſgreſs them. *As the Meſſenger of the Lord of Hoſts his Lips ought to keep up Knowledge* among the People; *and they are to ſeek the Law, i. e.* the true Senſe of it, as (b) *Grotius* and others note

(a) ἀγγελον Θεϑ. (b) *ad loc.*

at his Mouth, Mal. 2. 7. So that he is ministerially to open his Mouth, not to shut it; to minister Knowledge, not to pen it up and suppress it within himself: It being the Part of an ill and unfaithful Messenger to seal up his Lips, and conceal the Message which he is charg'd with.

2. Of *his Ministers and Ambassadors.* They are not, as inferior Messengers, employ'd only to bear and tell a Message, but as *Ministers of his Kingdom*, they are Messengers impower'd and authoriz'd to negotiate and transact for God: And this, not only in some particular Thing, but at large, in all the outward Administration of the Covenant of Grace, or of Reconciliation between God and Man. *Let a Man so account of us*, says St. *Paul*, *as of* ὑπηρέτας *the Officers of Christ*, 1 Cor. 4. 1. as of διακόνες, *Ministers by whom ye believed*, 1 Cor. 3. 5. *as of* πρεσβεῖς, *the Ambassadors*, 2 Cor. 5. 20. *as of* λειτουργὸς, *the publick Agents of Jesus Christ*, Rom. 15. 16. as of *such Ambassadors*, who have the Ministry, τὴν διακονίαν, *the Administration of Reconciliation* between God and sinful Men, 2 Cor. 5. 18, 19. and as of *such publick Agents* who are impower'd and entrusted *to minister the Gospel of God*, Rom. 15. 16. Nay, being thus impower'd as God's *Ministers*, *publick Agents* and *Ambassadors*; they are not only as his Servants, who are to do his Business; but as his *visible Representatives* and *Vicegerents* here on Earth, who in all these Concerns, are to sustain his Person and to stand in his Place. This is the Part of publick Agents and Ambassadors, who sustain the Person and supply the Presence of their Masters. Speaking to you as God's Ambassadors, *God bespeaks you and beseaches you by us*; and praying you, as *Ambassadors of Christ, we pray you in Christ's Stead*, says St. *Paul* to the *Corinthians*, 2 Cor. 5. 20. And accordingly the *Galatians*, he says, *receiv'd him as Christ Jesus*, Gal. 4. 14. and in his *ministerial Actings*, he declares *he acted in the Person of Christ*, 2 Cor. 2. 10. And they are sent thus to transact for him in all these Administrations, and to sustain and supply his Place, not only at some one Time, or on some particular and and occasional Turn; but with standing Powers, as his *Ambassadors in Ordinary*, or *Residentiaries* here on Earth, who are to do the same still from Time to Time as there is Occasion.

Now, standing thus, as his ordinary Ministers and publick Representatives, who are to act God's Part, and to supply his Place in these Matters, they must be bound to their actual Administrations in the foresaid Cases.

For being to act in those Cases, and in all others which providentially come before them, as God's *Ministers* and *Officers*, they ought to do all therein that is needful for God's Business: They are unfaithful Ministers, if they do not appear and concern themselves in their Master's Affairs, and so far as their Power will go, prosecute his Business who employs and entrusts them: And when sinful Prayers are presented to him in his solemn and publick Worship, his Business is to have them purg'd out, and to have more pure and unpolluted Prayers put up to him in their Room. When immoral Practices are justify'd, his Business is to have them generally disclaim'd and Condemn'd. When moral Precepts are gloss'd away and vacated, his concern is to have them faithfully expounded and maintain'd: So that if they must officiate, and act in Prosecution of his Business, they must officiate and minister in Prosecution of these Things: And they throw off the Part and Work of his Ministers, if they will have no Care of his Matters, nor afford him their Ministrations at such Times.

As God's *publick Agents* and *ordinary Ambaſſadors*, their Inſtructions are *to preſerve the Things of God ſafe.* Then they muſt ſee to guard his Worſhip from ſinful and polluted Mixtures, and his Laws from eluſive Gloſſes and undermining Salvo's, and the Practices of his People from damnable Unrighteouſneſs and Immoralities: And what Sort of Agents would they ſhew themſelves, ſhould they refuſe to miniſter and act for him? What truſty Ambaſſadors, ſhould they fail to purſue their Inſtructions, when all theſe Wrongs and Violences are offer'd to his Affairs, and are attempted to be obtruded upon his Worſhip, his Precepts, and his People, at ſuch Times?

† 2 Cor. 5. 18, 19, 20. As *his Ambaſſadors*, they are *Ambaſſadors for Peace*, and carry † *the Word of Reconciliation* to a People that has offended him: And when God and any People are at Enmity, by Reaſon of the foreſaid Worſhip and Practices, would they approve themſelves fit to be intruſted with this *Ambaſſage of Peace*, or to be faithful in the Diſcharge thereof, who ſhould not ſo much as tell the Offenders, that God and they are at Difference, nor miniſter and propoſe from him the true Terms of making up the Breach: By failing to miniſter this Word, when they are ſent on purpoſe with it, and have undertaken *the* (a) *Adminiſtration of it*, would they not prove themſelves down-right Enemies, and baſely treacherous and falſe to both? And is any Failure or Falſhood more fatal, as well as more inexcuſable, than theirs would be in this Caſe?

As Chriſt's *Repreſentatives*, and as *ſuſtaining his Perſon and Place*, they are to ſay what he would ſay to any Offenders, and to act as he would act in theſe Caſes were he viſibly to appear, and immediately to manage and adminiſter his own Affairs; they muſt come into Chriſt's Care and Adminiſtration when they come to ſuſtain his Perſon: For his Part on Earth, as he declares, was to * *miniſter to his Church. Repreſenting him*, they muſt endeavour, as they can, *to ſupply the Want of his Preſence*; and that muſt be, by affording Religion and his People what Miniſtrations he would afford to them, were he among them: And this muſt imply the foreſaid Exerciſe of their ſpiritual Miniſtries in the above-mention'd Caſes: For were he here on Earth at ſuch Times, he would ſurely ſee no Want of theſe Miniſtrations to preſerve or reſcue his Worſhip from being polluted, his Laws from being vacated, and the Practice of his People from ſuch Ways of Sin and Death, as are then offer'd to be obtruded on them: To miniſter againſt all theſe was his Buſineſs when he was upon the Earth, and would be ſo were he to appear again, and ought to be the Buſineſs of all that repreſent and appear for him. If they Neglect the Miniſtry and Care of theſe Things, and let them alone, what other Miniſtries are there left then for them to repreſent this great * *Miniſter of God* and † *Biſhop of our Souls* in? If then they do not miniſter his Word to the Church *in his Name*, what becomes of the Communication which they are to keep up between his Church and him? For he is to ſpeak to them by his Repreſentatives, and ſays, *he that hears them hears him*, Luke 10. 16. And if his Repreſentatives are ſilent at ſuch Times, and ſay nothing from him, that, inſtead of faithfully maintaining, is to drop, and make an End of this Way of Communication.

* Mat. 20. 28.

† Mat. 20. 28. Rom. 15. 8.

* 1 Pet. 2. 25.

Thus doth their very Office and Station of being God's *ordinary* and *ſtanding Miniſters*, and *publick Agents*, and *Ambaſſadors*, and *Repreſentatives*,

(a) τὴν διακονίαν, v. 18.

tatives, oblige them to *actual Administrations* in the foresaid Cases: Their Office lyes in supplying such Administrations, which are the Trust they have receiv'd from Christ, and the Business which they are set for. *He hath committed to us the Administration of this Reconciliation*, saith St. *Paul*, 2 Cor. 5. 18. This faithful supply of such Administrations is call'd, *fulfilling their Ministry*, as in St. *Paul*'s Caution to *Archippus*, Col. 4. 17. For to intrust his Things with them as Ministers or Agents, is to trust that they will act therein, and administer the same unto his People: Accordingly, they who have *receiv'd a Ministry*, are requir'd *to wait on their Administration*, Rom. 12. 6, 7. Or, *every Man as he hath receiv'd the Gift of Preaching*, or *Ministry*, &c. *even so to minister the same one to another, as good Stewards of the manifold Grace of God*, 1 Pet. 4. 10, 11. Thus also they are call'd to *preach the Word*, and discharge these Ministrations against *Teachers preaching to please Mens Lusts*, and against People *heaping up such Teachers to themselves*, that they may thereby *fulfil*, or *make full Proof of their Ministry*, 2 Tim. 4. 2, 3, 5. And are bid *not to neglect the Gift that is in them by Imposition of Hands*, but to be the People's Monitors against *the Speakers of Lies in Hypocrisy*, that they may be *good Ministers of Jesus Christ*, 1 Tim. 4. 2, 6, 14. *And to approve themselves as the Ministers of God by the Word of Truth, and by the Armour of Righteousness*, in the Midst of *Afflictions and Persecutions*, 2 Cor. 6. 4, 5, 7. Their Administration, must from Time to Time, keep up what God would have kept up, both in his Peoples Practice, and in Doctrine, in Worship, and Devotion. *They shall teach my People the Difference between the holy and prophane; and shall cause them to discern between the unclean and the clean. And they shall keep my Laws and my Statutes in all mine Assemblies*; or, *see that all Things be done in those Assemblies according to them*, as † *Theodoret* expounds it, Ezek. 44. 23, 24.

3. *Of his Fellow-workers* or *Co-adjutors*. *We, as Workers together with God, beseech you*, saith St. *Paul*, 2 Cor. 6. 1. *We are* (a) *Labourers together with God the chief Worker*. And *ye are God's Husbandry*, whom, as *Co-labourers*, we cultivate, planting what is profitable, and rooting out every hurtful Weed. *Ye are God's Building*, which we, as *Workmen* together with him, are spiritually to rear and build up, or to repair the same when any Part thereof is broken down, 1 Cor. 3. 9.

Now when any such Breaches are made upon the Worship or the Laws of God, and upon the Practice of his People in all the foresaid Cases, God is sure to be at Work with Men: His Providence outwardly throws in Hindrances and awakening Alarms; and his holy Spirit is inwardly busy in their Hearts, by raising holy Thoughts and Suggestions to prevent the fall of some, and to recover and raise up others who are already fall'n, and to set, both the Celebration of his own Worship, and the Sense of his Precepts, and the Practice of his People, Rights again: And whilst he is thus working and plying them, both with inward Motions, and with outward Accidents or Occurrences, his Ministers, as Fellow-workers, should joyn their Ministration, to carry on the same Work in them: And how are they Fellow-labourers at such Times, whilst he holds on labouring, they give it off? How are they true to the Part of Co-workers, if they withdraw their Ministrations, and leave and let him alone to do all the Work himself?

They

† in loc. (a) συνέργοι.

They are alſo ſaid to be *Co-workers with him of the Peoples Joy or Conſolation*, 2 Cor. 1. 24. This Joy can be had only in the Way of holy, not of polluted Prayers; and of maintaining, not of vacating, God's Precepts; and of humbly and induſtriouſly ſeeking to approve themſelves to God by good, not of juſtifying themſelves in unrighteous and wicked Practices: For in thoſe Ways, they have nothing to do with Joy, but Remorſe, and Shame, and Sorrow are their Portion: So that if the true Paſtors are to be Miniſters and co-workers of their Joy and Conſolation, they muſt miniſter and co-work at ſuch Times, to keep up pure Worſhip, and purer Precepts and Practices among them; becauſe elſe they would not have what they may juſtly rejoyce and take Comfort in.

Again, the miniſterial Characters may be conſider'd,

Secondly, As *they relate to Religion.* And here alſo they carry with them a plain Obligation to the foreſaid Miniſtrations in the forecited Caſes.

With reſpect to Religion they are ſtyl'd *Miniſters of the Word. We will give our ſelves*, ſays the Apoſtle, *to the Miniſtry of the Word*, Acts 6. 4. Or, *Miniſters of the Goſpel*, or of the *new Covenant. The Goſpel whereof I am made a Miniſter*, Eph. 3. 7. Col. 1. 23. *And God hath made us able Miniſters of the New Teſtament*, ſaith St. *Paul*, 2 Cor. 3. 6. Or ſometimes, laſtly, *Stewards of the Myſteries. Let a Man ſo account of us, as of Stewards of the Myſteries of God*, ſaith the ſame Apoſtle, 1 Cor. 4. 1.

Now as Miniſters and Stewards of the Word of God, of Religion, and of its Myſteries, they ſtand intruſted with the Charge thereof. The Part of Stewards and Miniſters is, to keep ſuch Pearls of Price ſafe, to ſupply what is wanting to them, or improve them to Advantage; of their Fidelity and Care wherein they muſt give a ſtrict Account to their Maſters.

So that as Miniſters and Stewards of Religion, and of its Myſteries, they ſtand oblig'd,

1. To keep and preſerve them: They muſt ſee that they be not loſt, nor injur'd in any Part; that the Word of God be not maim'd or perverted, nor his Worſhip adulterated and polluted, nor his Doctrines and Precepts, either deny'd in Terms, or vacated by corrupt Gloſſes or undermining Propoſitions. This is the firſt Thing which they owe to thoſe good Things wherewith they are intruſted. *That good Thing which was committed to thee, keep*, 2 Tim. 1. 14. *O! Timothy, keep that which was committed to thy Truſt*, 1 Tim. 6. 20. *Hold it faſt and in the Form of ſound Words wherein thou haſt receiv'd it*, 2 Tim. 1. 13. *And remember how thou haſt receiv'd and heard, and hold faſt*, Rev. 3. 3. Theſe Things, are *a* † *Depoſitum*, 1 Tim. 6. 20. *a* * *good Depoſitum*, 2 Tim. 1. 14. of moſt ſacred and precious Things lodg'd in their Hands, and left to their Keeping: So that their firſt Fidelity to theſe *Depoſitums* muſt be the *Fidelity of good Keepers:* They muſt ſee that they be not worſe for being in their Hands; that nothing be ſpoil'd, or periſh from them; but that they have them to produce ſafe, intire, and uncorrupted, when they are call'd for back again.

And this Keeping of theſe Miniſters and Stewards muſt not lye merely in keeping theſe Things thus pure and perfect to themſelves. But,

2.

† παραθηκαθηκη. * καλη παραθηκαθηκη.

2. *In keeping them up ſo pure and perfect among others.* This Worſhip is to be a publick Worſhip, and Chriſt's Followers are to joyn in common, and concur therein: And this Word is to be generally and publickly communicated; and a true Senſe thereof is to be born up, and held faſt in the Church of Chriſt: So that theſe Keepers of the pure and perfect Word and Myſteries of Religion, muſt be Miniſters to exhibit and deal them out, and Stewards to diſpenſe them. The Part of Stewards lyes in dealing of them out; *as good Stewards of the manifold Grace of God, miniſter the ſame one to another*, ſaith St. *Peter*, 1 Pet. 4. 10, 11. And the Part of Miniſters lyes in *Adminiſtrations*, or in *miniſtring the Goſpel*, as St. *Paul* ſaith, Rom. 15. 16. *To be Miniſters of the new Covenant*, is to have the *Miniſtration of the Spirit*, and *the Miniſtration of Righteouſneſs* which is therein offer'd, 2 Cor. 3. 6, 8, 9. That is, to ſtand charg'd with the Adminiſtration thereof, by affording People the appointed Ways of entring and confirming it, in *Adminiſtration of the Sacraments*; and of being built up in the Duties, and of ſupplying and fetching down the Grace and Bleſſings thereof, in *Adminiſtration of the Word*, and of *Prayers*. And thus the Scripture ſets off being *Miniſters of the Word*, by having the Charge of *Preaching* and *teſtifying it*. *To make thee a Miniſter and a Witneſs*, ſaith our Lord to *Paul*, when he committed the Goſpel to him, Acts 26. 16. And *the Miniſtry which I have receiv'd of the Lord Jeſus, to teſtify the Goſpel of the Grace of God*, ſaith the Apoſtle, Acts 20. 24. And they were then ſaid to have *fulfill'd this Miniſtry of the Lord*, when they had *preach'd it all about*, Acts 12. 25.

As therefore they are oblig'd to purge out all Prophanation and Polluted Matter from Worſhip and Prayers, and all corrupt Gloſſes and vacating Salvo's from the Doctrines and Duties of Religion, as their faithful Keepers; ſo are they oblig'd to exhibit the ſame, thus purg'd and cleans'd in their own Miniſtrations, that they may keep them up among others, as their faithful Stewards and Miniſters: And they are very much wanting to Religion and its Myſteries, if they do not acquit themſelves, both as their faithful Keepers and Diſpenſers, in the foreſaid Caſes.

And this Keeping and Diſpenſation of the foreſaid unpolluted Worſhip and moral Doctrine, where that can be had, is to be in a *regular and ſtanding Church*. If there is a Want of Paſtors and People by any Defection, to incorporate in the Adminiſtration and Profeſſion of them, 'tis a fatal Blow, indeed, to pure Worſhip and Doctrine, in any Kingdom: But if a Remnant is left, both of Paſtors and People, who ſtill faithfully and firmly adhere thereto; their Way is *as a light ſet on a Candleſtick*, or *as a City ſet on an Hill*, Mat. 5. 14, 15. by viſible Communion to profeſs them, and to bear them out before Men, 'Tis a Debt they owe to Religion, and to God's holy Truth and Worſhip, to appear to the World as a viſible Church, for the Maintenance and Miniſtration thereof.

For Religion ought not to ſtand on ſcatter'd Individuals, but to be born up by † Communions of Paſtors and People, or by regular Societies. Our Lord has inſtituted a Chriſtian Church for the Profeſſion and Support of Chriſtian Worſhip and Doctrine: And the Church

† *Vid. Part* 3. *chap.* 4.

Church is to be the *Pillar* and *Baſis*, or *Stay of Truth:* Or that which ſhould ſupport and bear it up, and make it both more conſpicuous and more creditable to the World, 1 Tim. 3. 15. As a Church, they muſt preſerve the *Depoſitum*, and miniſter and bear it out in their own Times; and *commit the ſame to faithful Men, who*, at the Head of their reſpective Churches may hold it on, and *teach others*; that is, tranſmit it down, by like Way of Church-Miniſtrations, and viſible Societies, to ſucceeding Ages, 2 *Tim.* 2. 2. By the Profeſſions and Miniſtrations of ſuch Societies it comes down to us, and by the ſame ought we to convey it down to our Poſterities, that there may be no Want of that *ſacred Depoſitum*, or of a Church to miniſter the ſame and bear it out before Men, to preſerve the Knowledge and Memory thereof, and to ſhew, that true Religion has not fail'd, to the World's End.

CHAP. VI.

More of the Obligations to actual Miniſtration, which lye upon them in the foreſaid Caſes.

THE laſt Reſpect wherein the miniſterial Characters may be conſider'd, is,

Thirdly, *As they relate to the Souls of Men*, or *to the Church.* And theſe alſo moſt evidently oblige to the ſame Miniſtrations in the foreſaid Caſes.

For in this Reſpect, they are plac'd in the Church of Chriſt, and ſet over it,

1. As *Watchmen. I have ſet thee as a Watchman to the Houſe of Iſrael*, ſaith God to the Prophet Ezekiel, *Ezek.* 3. 17. and cap. 33. 7. and *they watch for your Souls as they that muſt give an Account thereof*, ſays St. *Paul*, Heb. 13. 17. Now the Watchman is ſet to eſpy any emergent Harm or Dangers before they come, and to deſcry the Enemy whilſt yet he is only approaching: And this, to give Notice of them, that the People may not be ſurpriz'd or ſeiz'd thereby, but timely ſhun them, or prepare againſt them: So that his Office lyes *in miniſtring the Word of Warning. Being ſet as their Watchman, thou ſhalt warn them from me*, Ezek. 3. 17. and cap. 33. 7. *Warning every Man*, who is in the Way of doing ill, *and teaching every Man* the Sin and Danger thereof, *that we may preſent every Man perfect* in the Knowledge and Obedience of *Chriſt Jeſus*, Col. 1. 28. And if he fails to miniſter this Word of Warning, as any ſpiritual Need of theirs, or as any Approach of Sin and Danger requires the ſame, *their Blood God will require at the Watchman's Hands*, Ezek. 33. 8. and cap. 3. 18.

Now immoral Worſhip and Practices are moſt detrimental and dangerous to Souls. Immoral Prayers prophane God inſtead of honouring him, and provoke a Curſe inſtead of bringing down a Bleſſing; and immoral Practices are Ways of Death, which Men muſt not truſt to any Prayers to put by or atone for, 'til, inſtead of going on therein, they truly repent of the ſame, and turn away from them; and when any Guides come, to recommend and juſtify theſe to Men, and to vacate all thoſe moral Precepts which ſhould make them uneaſy and afraid to be found therein; then is the Enemy approaching, and Guilt and Death ſtand gaping to devour them: And then they who watch for Souls, ought certainly to adminiſter the Word of Warning, and to ſee that the People do not ſecurely ſin and periſh for want of their *blowing the Trumpet*, and giving Notice: And the Blood of thoſe Souls would be requir'd at their Hands, ſhould they treacherouſly keep ſilent, and fail to preach and warn their Charge on ſuch Occaſions.

2. As *Overſeers* or *Inſpectors*. *Take heed to the Flock over which the Holy Ghoſt hath made you Overſeers*, Acts 20. 28. *Taking the Overſight thereof willingly and of a ready Mind*, 1 Pet. 5. 2. Now the *Overſeer of Souls* is to be an Overſeer of their Worſhip, or of what they do in God's Houſe; of their Lives and Practices, how they demean themſelves in thoſe Duties which God will require an Account of; of their Faith, how they retain the Belief and Profeſſion of his Truths; and if any ſpiritual Wants, or Dangers, or other Things whereon the Salvation of Souls depends: And the Part of theſe Overſeers, is, from Time to Time, to obſerve what their Wants or Dangers are, either in Worſhip, Faith, and Practice, *&c.* and to miniſter Proviſions and Supplies againſt them. Their Eyes are to be over them for theſe Purpoſes; the Over-ſight which they have undertaken *being an Overſight of Care and Kindneſs*, for the right Conduct and Salvation of their Charge: Accordingly, as *Overſeers*, they are call'd upon *to take heed to their Flocks*, or to eſpy and provide againſt any Harm that is coming upon them: And when they are in any ſpiritual Want, either of Worſhip or Doctrine, or of other ghoſtly Proviſion, which is in their Power to ſupply them withal, *to feed them therewith*, or *to miniſter it to them. Feed the Flock of Chriſt whereof you have taken the Overſight*, ſaith St. Peter, 1 Pet. 5. 2. And *take heed to all the Flocks, to feed the Church, over which the Holy Ghoſt hath made you Overſeers:* Yea, ſuch *heed* as befits the Overſight of the moſt invaluable Things; this Church being the *Church of God*, and *a Church which he hath purchaſed with his own Blood*, Acts 20. 28. And this feeding of their ſpiritual Wants, is feeding them with their ſpiritual Miniſtrations, thoſe being the proper Food of Souls: So that to ſhew themſelves faithful Overſeers, when the foreſaid Immoralities are introduc'd into the Worſhip, the Doctrine, and Practice of the Church, they muſt take heed, both to eſpy the Guilt and Danger thereof, and to ſupply the Church with better and more wholſome Miniſtrations.

3. As *Guides* or *Leaders*. *Remember (a) your Guides*, or *thoſe that have the Guidance or Rule over you*, Heb. 13. 7, 17. And our Saviour calls the Scribes and Phariſees, thoſe ignorant and miſtaken Paſtors, *blind (b) Guides or Leaders*, Mat. 23. 16, 24. and chap. 15. 14.

(a) τῶν ἡγουμένων. (b) ὁδηγοὶ

Now the Buſineſs of Guides of Souls, is to ſhew them God's Ways, and to carry them on in the ſame; and to keep them out of ſuch as are Evil and Deſtructive to them: In all Things where they are ſet to direct, they muſt ſhew them the Right, and lead them on in it, as their Leaders in what is Good; and call out to them when they are going wrong, and ſhow them the Danger of holding on therein: They muſt not be ignorant, or miſtake the Way themſelves, which is to be *blind Guides*, as our Saviour tax'd the *Phariſees*, Mat. 23. 16. And when they ſee the right, they muſt not conceal or diſſemble it; but are to be Guides, which *ſpeak to their People the Word of the Lord*, or tell them what he calls Right, *Heb.* 13. 17. And this they muſt do with all Carefulneſs; ſeeing that none miſcarry or periſh for Want of Guidance, but only for being deaf thereto, and contumacious againſt all their Calls; wherein they muſt demean themſelves, as they that *watch for Souls*, and *muſt give an Account thereof*, as the Apoſtle there ſaith.

Now, as Guides of Souls, they are to direct and lead them in acceptable and ſaving Worſhip, Doctrines, and Practices: And if, with reſpect to any of theſe, they ſee them going wrong, or ſee Seducers buſy to miſlead them; as their true and faithful Guides, they muſt ſet them right, and call out to them to have a Care of Wandering; or, if they are got out of the Way, to come back again: When others guide them into an immoral Worſhip, or immoral Practices, or into the Belief and Maintenance of ſuch corrupt Salvo's as vacate moral Duties, they muſt guide them out of the ſame; and they would be very unfaithful Guides, ſhould they ſuffer Men, either on their own Heads, or at the Call of Seducers and falſe Guides, to run into wrong Ways; and ſhould not diligently Diſcharge their Miniſtry, and do their Part to lead them better, and ſet them right in ſuch Caſes.

4. As *Paſtors* or *Shepherds*. *The evangelical Miniſters* St. *Paul* calls *Paſtors*, Eph. 4. 11. *They are ſet to feed Chriſt's Sheep*, and under him *the chief Shepherd*, as St. *Peter* ſpeaks, 1 Pet. 5. 2, 4. Of theſe, God foretells that they ſhould be *Paſtors after his own Heart*, Jer. 3. 15. And the *Prieſts of Iſrael God calls the Paſtors and Shepherds of Iſrael*, when he ſends to denounce Woes againſt them, *Jer.* 23. 1, 2. *Ezek.* 34. 2.

Now the Part and Office of Shepherds and Paſtors is *to feed their Sheep*. *Should not the Shepherds feed their Flocks?* Ezek. 34. 2. And *feed the Flock of God which is among you*, 1 Pet. 5. 2. *The Food of Souls* are *divine Offices*, and *the Word of Knowledge*. Theſe are repreſented as the *Milk* which they are to ſuck, 1 *Pet.* 2. 2. as *the Bread of Life*, wherewith they are to be ſuſtain'd, *John* 6. 35. and as *the Meat which periſheth not, but endureth to eternal Life*, ver. 27. and ver. 47, 48, 51. And therefore the Feeding of the *Shepherds of Souls*, muſt be their *Adminiſtration* of this *ſpiritual Food*, or feeding the People with the Miniſtry of the Word, or of divine Offices; *Feeding them with Knowledge and Underſtanding*, as God promiſes the true Prophets ſhould do, *Jer.* 3. 15.

His Part is alſo to keep them together the beſt he can, for joynt Participation of theſe Miniſtrations, that, as one Flock, they may be fed therewith: This *gathering* and *keeping them together*, God takes Notice of in Shepherds. *He that ſcatter'd Iſrael, will gather him as a Shepherd doth his Flock*, Jer. 31. 10. When he carries them out to feed, or to miniſter this ſpiritual Food to them, *he calls to all his Sheep*,

Sheep *that will know and hear his Voice*, and not *run after ſtrange Voices*, and *leads them out, and goes before them*, (the Sheep among the *Jews* being us'd to † *follow*, not, as with us, to be driven before their Keepers) that as one Flock they may feed together thereon, he himſelf adminiſtring it at the Head of them, *John* 10. 3, 4, 5. And if any Wolf comes to break in, to deſtroy or ſcatter any of his Fold, he doth not flee away as the Hireling, but ſtands to them at his Peril, to keep them together the beſt he can, and to guard them againſt the Wolf by a diligent Miniſtration, ver. 11, 12, 13. *He takes heed*, as St. *Paul* directs, *to feed and arm all the Flock*, that they may not become a Prey to *grievous Wolves*, Acts 20. 28, 29. And if any of them are loſt in the On-ſet, *he ſeeks after that which was loſt*, to recover it again; if any by the Fright *were driven away*, or *ſcatter'd*, he endeavours *to bring it back*. *He ſtrengthens what was diſeas'd, and heals what was ſick, and binds up what was broken* in the Conflict. And without ſuch Care in getting and keeping their Flocks together by ſuch Miniſtrations, God declares, *they are not Shepherds that feed his Flock, but that feed themſelves*; and that *he is againſt them, and will require his Flock at their Hands*, Ezek. 34. 2, 3, 4, 8, 10.

As Paſtors and Shepherds of the Flock therefore, they muſt ſee what ſpiritual Food is adminiſter'd to it: If there is a Want of neceſſary and ſaving Doctrine and Worſhip, they muſt not ſee the Children ſtarve for Want of Bread, or the Fold pine away for Want of Food, but *lead out all that will know their Voice*, where they may have it, and there adminiſter the ſame themſelves, and ſupply it to them; or, if others would feed them with poyſon'd Food, as immoral Doctrines, and immoral Worſhip are, they are to warn them of the Harm deſign'd, and to miniſter purer and more wholſome to them in its ſtead: And their Care muſt be, as much as the Caſe allows, to keep their Flocks together with theſe Adminiſtrations: So that as Shepherds, who would ſhew Care of the Flocks, or approve themſelves faithful Paſtors, they are bound to feed and keep their Flocks together, by due and diligent Exerciſe of their paſtoral Miniſtrations in the foreſaid Caſes.

5. As *Doctors*, or *ſtanding Teachers of the Church*. *He has given them to the Church as Paſtors and Teachers*, ſaith St. *Paul*, Eph. 4. 11. and requires that they ſhall be (*a*) *able to teach others*, 2 Tim. 2. 2. and (*b*) *apt to teach*, 1 Tim. 3. 2. and 2 Tim. 2. 24. This *teaching* muſt be *of the Things that thou haſt heard of me*, ſaith the Apoſtle, 2 Tim. 2. 2. *of the Depoſitum*, or *of that good Thing which was committed to thee*, 2 Tim. 1. 14. Of all that is needful, *in the Work of the Miniſtry, for the edifying of the Church, and for the perfecting of the Saints in the Unity of the Faith, and in the Knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect Man in Chriſt*, Eph. 4. 11, 12, 13. It muſt be a Teaching theſe faithfully and incorruptly, as they have been taught them: *Holding faſt the faithful Word as they have been taught it, that their Exhortation may be ſound Doctrine*, Tit. 1. 9.

And in this Work of teaching all theſe Things with Fidelity and Incorruptneſs from Time to Time, as need requires, they muſt lay themſelves out, and give Attendance. *Let him that teacheth wait on Teaching*; *and him that exhorteth, on Exhortation*, Rom. 12. 7, 8. *Give Attendance to Exhortation, to Doctrine*, i. e. (*c*) *teaching* or *inſtructing*

† Pſal. 23. 2, 3. *and* Pſal. 77. 20. *and* Pſal. 80. 1.
(*a*) ἱκανοὶ διδάξαι. (*b*) διδακτικοὶ. (*c*) διδασκαλίαν.

others, 1 Tim. 4. 13. *They are to labour in adminiſtring this Word and Doctrine*, 1 Tim. 5. 17. *To give themſelves wholly to theſe Things, and to continue in them, that by ſo doing they may both ſave themſelves and thoſe that hear them*, 1 Tim. 4. 15, 16. They are to ſlip no Seaſons, when People need to be taught any of theſe Matters; but to *preach the Word, and to be inſtant in it, in Seaſon and out of Seaſon*, 2 Tim. 4. 2. And, as *good and faithful Rulers and Stewards of the Houſhold, to give them their proper Portion of Meat in due Seaſon*, Luke 12. 42. Particularly in thoſe Seaſons when falſe Teachers lead them to do ill Things, and ſeek to poyſon them with corrupt Doctrines: For then, *by ſound Doctrine they are to ſtop the Mouths of vain Talkers and Deceivers, who for filthy Lucres ſake, teach Things which they ought not; and to convince Gain-ſayers*, Tit. 1. 9, 10, 11. And *to be ready, with all faithful Diligence to baniſh and drive away all erroneous and ſtrange Doctrine, contrary to God's Word, and to call upon others to do the ſame*: As all Biſhops, according to our *Form of Conſecration*, ſolemnly promiſe in their Ordination.

Now, ſuſtaining the Office, and ſtanding in Place of ſuch Teachers to the Church, the Miniſters of Chriſt muſt neceſſarily be bound to a diligent Diſcharge of their Miniſtrations, or to adminiſter the Word in the fore-mention'd Caſes: For then both the Prayers and religious Service, and the Lives and common Practice of the People, is corrupted by heinous Immoralities: And they want to be taught and ſhew'd, that there is any Harm in either; falſe Teachers having juſtify'd to them the Immoralities in both, and by vacating moral Precepts, and by broaching corrupt and immoral Doctrines, having labour'd to leave in them no Conſcience thereof: And when People are thus untaught, or miſ-taught, in great and concerning Parts of the *Depoſitum*, they who would faithfully diſcharge the Part of true Teachers, muſt take Care to teach them better: If they are *to attend on it, to labour*, and *give themſelves wholly to it*, how can they let it fall at ſuch a Time, not appearing at all, or appearing very negligent therein? If they are to *continue* in teaching theſe Things, they muſt not flinch from it, and give it off; if they are to do it *in* and *out of Seaſon*, they muſt not ſure be wanting when the Seaſon is ſo preſſing if *againſt Deceivers and Gain-ſayers*, they ought in no wiſe to fail, when thoſe *Gain-ſayers* are ſo buſy at Work for perverſion thereof: So that as faithful Teachers of Chriſt's Church, they are not to ſuffer the People to periſh for Want of ſaving Knowledge, but are duly to adminiſter the Word in the forefaid Caſes.

I might alſo farther note the Neceſſity and Obligation they lye under to the fore-mention'd Miniſtrations, from their being ſet up by our *Saviour*, *as the Light of the World*, Mat. 5. 14. and *as the Salt of the Earth*, ver. 13. For, *as the Light of the World*, they muſt ſhine out, and give Light Abroad; *Men not lighting a Candle to put it under a Buſhel*, that it may ſhine only to it ſelf; *but to put it on a Candleſtick*, that it may ſhine out and give Light to others, ver. 15. And ſuch Light they give to the World by their Miniſtrations, when they miniſter the Goſpel, and all the Doctrines and Duties of it, with the Knowledge whereof the World is to be enlighten'd: And as the *Salt of the Earth*, they muſt keep the religious Service and Morals of Men from being corrupted; ſince the Uſe of *Salt* is to keep out Putrefaction and Rottenneſs. And this alſo is by their Miniſtrations: For by their Conſtancy in adminiſtring ſound and wholſome Things, they

ſeaſon the Church, keeping it up in Purity and Soundneſs, and keeping out all Adulterations and Corruptions, when Endeavours are us'd to introduce them by Seducers.

And thus, by all the Characters of the miniſterial Function, and the Parts of their Office, do the Biſhops and Paſtors of Chriſt's Church ſtand bound to an actual Diſcharge of their Miniſtrations in the forementionʼd Caſes; and cannot drop or let them fall, without thoſe Characters and Offices flying in their Faces.

For how will they anſwer it to God, as having acted the Part of his *faithful Meſſengers*, to a People ſo endanger'd and deprav'd by polluted Worſhip, Doctrines, and Practices, if they have ſtood dumb and ſpeechleſs; and, inſtead of miniſterial Uttering and Delivering, have ſuppreſs'd and kept back the Word and Meſſage they were charg'd with? How, as having well diſcharg'd the Place of *Miniſters*, *Ambaſſadors*, of publick *Agents* and *Repreſentatives* of God and Chriſt, if they have been ſuch *Repreſentatives* as would not act, or order any Thing in their Names; ſuch *Ambaſſadors* as would purſue no Inſtructions; ſuch publick *Agents* as refus'd to act, and ſuch *Miniſters* and *Officers* as would not miniſter or officiate in their Maſter's Buſineſs and Affairs; yea, even in thoſe of moſt Importance, and in their greateſt Exigencies? How, as having been *Co-workers* and *Fellow-helpers*, if, whilſt he was ſo buſy at Work with an endanger'd and deprav'd People, by his Spirit and Providence, they gave over Working, and left him to do it by himſelf, making him no Help or Furtherance by their Miniſtrations?

How will they hope to approve themſelves before him to have been good and faithful Miniſters and Stewards of Religion and its Myſteries, if they have not been both faithful Keepers and faithful Diſpenſers thereof? Will Religion and its Myſteries be judg'd to have been well kept, when it was ſuffer'd to be ſpoil'd and rifl'd, and when the brighteſt *Gems* of this ineſtimable *Depoſitum*, have been broken, imbezel'd, or made away, and its choiceſt Flowers pick'd out, and not only baſe, but poyſonous and corrupt Weeds put in their Places? Or will they be deem'd to have been their faithful Miniſters and Diſpenſers, who have not miniſter'd or diſpens'd them out to others, but conceal'd and kept them up to themſelues? Or Diſpenſers of them by Church-Miniſtrations at the Head of viſible Societies, who have not paſtorally adminiſter'd them to any Churches, or headed any Societies of faithful upright Chriſtians, in the free and ſtedfaſt Profeſſion and Obſervance thereof.

How can they expect, at the great Day of Accounts, to paſs for Men that have acquitted themſelves as good *Watchmen*, if all the Time, whilſt Sin and Death were advancing to make the People their Prey, they could eſpy no Enemy; or, if they did, would ſpeak of none, nor warn againſt them? Or, for truſty *Overſeers*, if they over-look'd the moſt preſſing Wants of their Charge, or gave no Caution, nor made any Supply or Proviſion for them? They are ill *Overſeers* that over-look, when they ſhould eſpy their Peoples Neceſſities or Dangers; and over-ſee, not as Keepers and Guardians, but Conſpirators and Betrayers, if, when they ſee them, they will not diſcover them, but let them ſilently and ſecurely run into Deſtruction.

Can they imagine he will call them *faithful Guides*, who left a People that were ignorant of the true Way, to guide themſelves, or to be miſ-guided by Seducers, who would not ſhew the right Way, when

when all Endeavours were us'd to make them go wrong; nor when they ſaw them ſtraying, would call out to them to come back again? Or that he will repute them good Shepherds, who have taken no Care to feed their Flocks with ſpiritual Miniſtrations, nor to guard and arm them againſt Wolves and Seducers; nor to keep them together when they are in Danger to be ſcatter'd; nor to bring them back when they are ſtraying from the Fold? Or that he will receive and welcome them as conſtant and faithful Teachers of his Church, who have let Men ſin and periſh for want of Teaching, and could ſilently ſit by, and hear them miſ-taught by Seducers, and, inſtead of ſtopping their Mouths, give Way to Gain-ſayers; whoſe Lips did not preſerve and keep up Knowledge among the People, but ſuppreſs and conceal it from them; and who, inſtead of ſeeking, ſhunn'd the Seaſons of miniſtring the Word, and of giving God's People the neceſſary Inſtructions?

How will they hope to approve themſelves at that Day, as having been the *Lights of the World*, if they held this Light as Dark-Lanthorns, miniſtring none to the World, but letting it ſit ſtill in Darkneſs? Or, as the *Salt of the Earth*, if, by pure and wholſome Miniſtrations they did not ſeaſon the Inhabitants thereof, but ſuffer'd them, for want of Seaſoning, to run into ſpiritual Corruption and Putrefaction? If they appear then to have been ſuch Salt as did nothing to keep out Corruption, they will be in Place of *Salt without Savour*, as our bleſſed Lord ſays, or of *inſipid Salt*: And ſuch, inſtead of being ſet by, and carefully laid up, he declares to be *good for nothing but to be caſt out and trodden under Foot*, Mat. 5. 13.

So that all the Parts and Offices, the Titles and Characters of their own ſacred Powers, do moſt fully and loudly proclaim to them the Duty of exerciſing their ſpiritual Functions, and diſcharging their holy Miniſtrations in the foreſaid Caſes: And let them but look to any of thoſe Marks of Power and Care which God has put upon them, or to any of thoſe Stations wherein he hath plac'd them, and they will effectually re-mind them how much they are oblig'd to ſtir up the Gift that is in them, when they ſee Religion wrong'd, and the Souls of Men endanger'd, by immoral Worſhip and Doctrines, or by other great Invaſions on Chriſtian Worſhip, Faith, or Practice.

Indeed, the Neceſſity of ſupplying the Church with this pure Worſhip, Faith, and Practice, is thought by ſome to go a great Way in conferring the miniſterial Powers on thoſe, who otherwiſe would not have them: And this is the Plea for the Collation of the miniſterial Powers *by Ordination of Preſbyters without Epiſcopal Impoſition of Hands, in ſome foreign Churches.* But not to examine that here, whatever Force and Effect it have in that Caſe, of conferring the miniſterial Powers on thoſe who have them not, it muſt needs be a ſure Call to the Exerciſe thereof, to thoſe who have them, and are endow'd therewith.

I do not ſay all Men are equally bound by the foreſaid Characters, to exerciſe theſe Gifts; nor that the ſame Men are equally bound to it in all Places: The bleſſed Apoſtles had *general Commiſſions*, and were ſent out expreſly *to all Nations*, Mat. 28. 19. Other Biſhops have a more limited Inſpection, and ought to be more eſpecially watchful over their own Dioceſſes, having more particularly undertaken the Charge thereof: But yet ſo as to be the Biſhops of the

† Catholick Church, and for the Preſervation of the Catholick Worſhip and Faith ; who are therefore under Obligation of keeping theſe up, as far as they can, when they are ſinking and over-borne in other Places. † See *Part* 3. *ch.* 4.

Indeed, in this Miniſtration, they are not to ſtand on Punctilio's of Obligation, doing no more than it can be prov'd they are bound to do in Rigor of Juſtice : But they are to ſhew Zeal and Affection, which doth not weigh Grains, but thinks *that* a Call where it can do Religion and its Maſter any conſiderable Service ; and that the more of this it can do, the better it is. The Spirit of Love and Zeal is the Spirit which God requires in Paſtors, to direct and influence their ſpiritual Exerciſes and Adminiſtrations. *Loveſt thou me ?* ſays Chriſt to *Peter*, repeating this to him *three Times*, when he charg'd him with the paſtoral Office, *of feeding his Sheep and his Lambs*, John 21. 15, 16, 17. *By the putting on of Hands in Orders, the Spirit which God hath given us is the Spirit of Love to Chriſt and his Church*, and *of Power* or Firmneſs and Fearleſneſs of what Evil may befal our ſelves in Proſecution thereof, ſays St. *Paul*, 2 Tim. 1. 7. The Charge of *feeding the Flock*, or the *Over-ſight which they take*, is not an unwilling Charge, ſuch as will go no farther than it is compell'd ; but requires *a willing and a ready Mind*, that, on any Call, is free and prompt of ſelf to diſcharge it, 1 *Pet.* 5. 2.

And this Spirit of Love, and Zeal, and Power, which is the Principle of their Miniſtrations, ſtands not upon ſtrict Terms ; but being all of Care for Chriſt, and for the Good of Souls, and fearleſs of what may thereby befall our ſelves, doth more or leſs, according as its Meaſure and Degree is. St. *Paul* had a great Meaſure thereof, and according to the Degree of *its working in him mightily, he labour'd and ſtrove earneſtly* in the Work of the Miniſtry, *that he might preſent every Man perfect in Chriſt*, Col. 1. 28, 29. He diſputed not nicely how far he was bound, but would readily go beyond the ſtrict Terms ; counting, whatever were the Over-plus, that it was to be expected from this Principle of Love and Zeal in his Maſter's Cauſe, and would abundantly be made up by a ſurpaſſing Recompence. *If I do this Thing willingly*, or beyond ſtrict Command or Neceſſity, ſays he, ſpeaking of ſome Things in the Courſe of his Miniſtration which he was not ſtrictly bound to, *I have a ſpecial Reward for ſo doing*, 1 Cor. 9, 15, 16. And proportionable to the Degree of this Love and Zeal in Miniſters, will the Meaſure of their Service and Miniſtrations be likewiſe : They will ſtill in any Places be more active to keep up the Catholick Faith and Worſhip, according as they are more perfect in this Miniſterial, or paſtoral Spirit.

And thus, at length, I think it may fully appear, that Chriſt's faithful Miniſters are, on many Accounts, oblig'd not to ſuppreſs their Miniſtrations, but to ſupply the Church therewith, when that is neceſſary to prevent a Peoples being nurs'd up in irreligious and deſtructive Ways, like as are not only Idolatry and ſpeculative Hereſies, but alſo immoral Doctrines and Practices, and immoral Worſhip and Devotions : And therefore ſhould thoſe Things prove Immoralities, which, on any Revolution, happen to be juſtify'd in any Kingdom, and are every where preſs'd and recommended to the Peoples Practice, and are ſalv'd by the foreſaid or ſuch like new Doctrines, and are brought into Prayers, and publick Offices and Devotions in thoſe Countries, the depriv'd Biſhops and Clergy in that State, would

be under all theſe Obligations to exerciſe their Functions, and to miniſter to the Church in thoſe Caſes.

And this would abſolutely ſet aſide the Argument from the forecited Sayings of *Clemens*, aud *Dionyſius*, and *Chryſoſtom*, and *Nazianzen*, for the Ceſſation of rightful Biſhops to the intruding Anti-Biſhops: For theſe Ceſſations are in a Cauſe that concerns only perſonal Rights, not that touches the Intereſts of Religion, or the Salvation of Souls: And without examining the Truth of the particular Hiſtories, wherein are Errors enough, as others have made appear, it will alſo effectually put by all the Force of the *Greek Manuſcript in the publick Library at* Oxford; or of the Collection of Inſtances of injur'd Biſhops reſting under unjuſt Deprivations, and keeping in the Communion of the new Intruders into their Places, lately tranſlated by Mr. *Hody*. For thoſe Inſtances of Acquieſcence and Communion, are brought, as the Author of the *Manuſcript* † ſeveral Times profeſſes, for Inſtances thereof, only whilſt the Intruders were *Orthodox*: And ſo are no Inſtances for Acquieſcence in the Cauſe and Oppreſſion of pure Worſhip and Doctrine, or of the Intereſt of Souls; but only in Competition of Perſons, where the publick Offices to be adminiſter'd, the Doctrines to be taught and upheld, and the Practices to be preſs'd and juſtify'd under them, were the ſame under both.

And therefore there can be no preſſing Silence or Ceſſation on the depriv'd Biſhops and Clergy at ſuch Times, with any Appearance of Truth and Reaſon, but by clearing thoſe Things which they ſtick at and which they ſee every where impos'd on Worſhip and Practice, of all Immorality and Unrighteouſneſs: Which, on ſuch Revolutions and Change of Maſters, they can never do, who profeſs to transfer Allegiance, and to do all on the Plea of a *King de facto*, leaving the diſpoſſeſs'd Prince to be ſtill King *de jure*: By which, in their own Account, they are acting all the while againſt Right, and againſt him that has it; which is to be, as St. *Paul* ſays of *ſtubborn Heretick* (*a*) *convict of their own Conſciences*, or *Self-condemn'd*, Tit. 3. 10, 11. So that all thoſe Brethren, who on ſuch Occaſions have profeſs'd this, muſt condemn their own Principle, and all the Compliance they have paid thereupon, before they can accuſe the depriv'd Paſtors for holding on ſtill in their ſpiritual Adminiſtrations, or can perſwade them to forbear; but that which alone can be effective to purge the Things in Debate, of this Immorality and Unrighteouſneſs, is the *clearing of the legal Right*, (which the publick Acts of ſuch Times, I think, are not wanting to aſſert) as the Ground of all that is then call'd for, either in Practice or in Worſhip. And the Diſcuſſion of this is no Part of my Deſign or Purpoſe in theſe Papers.

To conclude this Point, of *their Obligations to theſe Miniſtrations*, I only add, in the laſt Place, that if, for keeping up pure Worſhip, Doctrine, and Practice, Chriſt's faithful Paſtors are bound to afford theſe Miniſtrations in the fore-mention'd Caſes, *his faithful People will in the ſame Caſes ſtand bound to adhere to them, and to attend on them for Participation thereof.*

This Obligation will appear,

1. *From that Adherence they owe to the Things themſelves.* They are bound to Purity of Worſhip, Belief, and Practice, that they may propitiate and pleaſe God, and benefit their own Souls thereby. As Chriſtians, or as Men profeſſing Chriſtian Religion, they are obliged

† p. 1, 18, 22. *of the* Engliſh *Tranſlation.* (*a*) αὐτοκατάκριτος.

unite themſelves to theſe, and to ſtick by them: And that in hurch-Society, and under paſtoral Adminiſtrations, to keep up *a Com-nion of Saints* in ſuch pure Worſhip and Profeſſions: And this uſt be under ſuch Biſhops and Miniſters, as retain and ſtand true them, when others fall off from them.

As Members of a Church, 'tis true, good Chriſtians ſtand oblig'd to here to their own Biſhops: For the Biſhops are the Heads of Church-cieties; and 'tis the Duty of Members to ſtick and keep united to e Heads of their reſpective Bodies. But this, as I ſhall ſhew here-ter, is only whilſt they keep to thoſe Things wherein they are bound head them, that is, to pure Chriſtian Worſhip and Doctrines: It is r the having theſe adminiſter'd, that they are oblig'd to be under any iſtors, or to adhere to them: And ſo they muſt ſtill adhere to ſuch do adminiſter the ſame; which, if their own Biſhops fail to do, ey are to ſtand off from them, to hold on with ſuch pure Worſhip d Doctrine, and to have the Adminiſtration thereof from ſuch other ſhops and Paſtors, as keep true and firm thereto, whereof I ſhall eak more at large, in its † proper Place.

† *Part* 3. *chap.* 3, & 4.

2. *From the Duty on their Part, in all the foreſaid Relations.* For thoſe lations carry Duties on both Sides, and call, as the true Paſtors to ed and miniſter to the Church, ſo all true Members of the Church, ſeek their Food from the Miniſtrations of ſuch true Paſtors. As is the Part and Office of the one to adminiſter them, ſo is it of the her to attend on their Miniſtration, for Participation thereof. If ey are Chriſt's *true Shepherds*, to whom ſhould *his Sheep* adhere but *his Shepherds*, and *know and hear their Voice*, and *not give Ear the Call* and *Voice of Strangers*? Joh. 10. 3, 4, 5. If they are *the ithful Guides of Souls*, to whoſe miniſterial Conduct and Direction ould the People of God commit their Souls, but to theirs who will d them out, and carry them on, only in ſafe and right Ways? If ey are the *truſty Watchmen*, under whoſe Watch and Guard ſhould en, who ſeek nothing but to ſave their Souls, place themſelves but der thoſe whoſe Eyes are open to ſee, and their Voice lifted up thfully to admoniſh and warn them of their Dangers? If they are *true Teachers*, to whom ſhould the Scholars and Diſciples of Chriſt ſort for Inſtruction but to them, and attend, as obedient Learners, their Preaching and Exhortation? If they are Chriſt's *faithful iniſters*, his People muſt keep cloſe to their Miniſtrations, and adhere them, as to his truſty Officers and Repreſentatives here on Earth: d if they are to be fed with the Miniſtration of holy Worſhip and octrines, and to be inſtructed and bore up only in righteous and od Practices; if they muſt take Care to be warn'd and guided, ught and help'd on, only in theſe Things, which are the Things one that are fit to pleaſe God, and to ſave their precious Souls, whom muſt they cleave, and keep united for them all, but to thoſe epherds who daily provide them with this Food, and to thoſe uides who conduct them in theſe Ways, and to thoſe Watchmen, ho fail not to give them theſe Warnings, and to thoſe Teachers, ho entertain them with theſe Leſſons, and to thoſe Miniſters, who nſtantly ſupply them with theſe Adminiſtrations? So that view the ſtoral Function in all its Parts, and ſcan all the Characters thereof, d in each they will ſee enough to ſhew them their own Duty, as ell as their Miniſters: And how, as theſe ſtand bound to lead, ſo ey themſelves do to follow; as the Prieſts are to adminiſter, ſo are

the People duly to attend on them, and to ſtick to their Miniſtrations in the foreſaid Caſes.

3. *From the contrary Carriage which they are requir'd to ſhew toward all who call them to any Pollutions or Breach thereof.* Such as call the People from moral Doctrines and Worſhip to Immoralities in both; and from good and righteous, to wicked and unrighteous Practices; the Scripture calls or comprehends under the Title of * *Deceivers* and † *Seducers*, and ‖ *Wolves*, and * *Makers of Diviſions*, and † *falſe Prophets*, and *falſe Teachers*, and the like. Now 'tis the Part of good Chriſtians not to aſſociate themſelves with Deceivers, but to ſtand off from them; not to follow Seducers, but to beware of them; not to run after the Wolves; (which were to ſhew themſelves ſilly Sheep indeed, and prepar'd for Deſtruction) but to run away from them; not to give Ear to falſe Teachers and falſe Prophets, but to keep out of their Hearing, and ſhut their Ears againſt them; and, laſtly, not to ſtrike in with thoſe *that cauſe Diviſions*, but to *avoid them*, as St. Paul teaches, and as the Rules of the Church have ſtill requir'd faithful Chriſtians to do, by *the Makers of Schiſm. Bid him not God-ſpeed, nor receive the Bringer of falſe Doctrine into your Houſes*, 2 Joh. 10. 11. *Beware of falſe Prophets, as of ravening Wolves*, Mat. 7. 15. *Keep not Company with diſorderly Walkers, who adhere not to the Tradition they receiv'd of us*, 2 Theſſ. 3. 6, 14. *Mark them which cauſe Diviſions and Offences, in breaking off*, and *going contrary to the Doctrine which ye have learned, aud avoid them*, Rom. 16. 17. Theſe, and ſuch like are the Scripture Rules in theſe Caſes, which call the Servants of Chriſt, to withdraw themſelves from thoſe who have firſt ſeparated and withdrawn themſelves from his Worſhip and Doctrines, and, inſtead of them, to adhere to others, who, as his true Miniſters and faithful Paſtors, ſtick true to the ſame, and adminiſter them pure and uncorrupt to his Church; whereof I ſhall give a farther Account afterwards.

* Rom. 16. 18. Tit. 1. 10. † 1 Tim. 4. 1. and 2 Tim. 3. 13. ‖ Acts 20. 29. * Rom. 16. 17. * 2 Pet. 2. 1.

† *Part* 3. *chap.* 5.

PART

PART II.

Of Deprivations by Civil States or Eccleſiaſtical Synods.

CHAP. I.

Of the Force of State Deprivations in the foreſaid Caſes.

HItherto I have endeavour'd to mark out the Caſes wherein the Biſhops and Paſtors of Chriſt's Church are bound to exerciſe their miniſterial Powers, and to proceed on duly in their Adminiſtrations, and to ſet forth the great and manifold Obligations which are incumbent on them in oſe Caſes.

And having thus laid out *their Obligations*, I ſhall next conſider *the eſtraints* which, at ſuch Times, *are moſt pleadable in theſe Caſes*, by ewing,

Secondly, Of *what Force a Deprivation of State, or the Preſervation external Communion and Peace in the Church, ought to be in debarring em thereof.*

Firſt, One great Thing that may be alledg'd to ſilence faithful Biſhops nd Miniſters of God's pure Worſhip and Righteouſneſs, and to ſtop e Courſe of their Miniſtrations in the foreſaid Caſes, is a *Deprivation f State*, when the ſecular Power, by its Laws and Interdicts, forbids oſe Miniſtrations, and removes them from their Sees, putting others nto their Places.

For Biſhops and Paſtors, as they are Miniſters of Chriſt, ſo are they lſo Subjects of the State: And therefore, as ſome think, ought not o exerciſe their Miniſtry, at leaſt *not among their Subjects*, nor *in any Dioceſe of their Dominions*, in Oppoſition to it. And in Chriſtian Kingoms the Church is incorporated into the State; and by the Benefit f this Incorporation, Biſhops and Paſtors have their ſpiritual Miniſtrations back'd with ſecular Effects and Cenſures; as *Excommunication* mong us, makes liable to temporal Impriſonment, and incapacitates rom carrying on any *civil Suit* or *Action* in the *civil Courts:* They have lſo their Juriſdiction extended thereby to ſome ſecular Matters; as he Biſhops Courts are to Matters of *Wills*, *Marriages*, *Benefices*, &c. nd are encourag'd therein by *ſecular Benefices*, *Honours*, and *Freeholds*. Now all theſe ſecular Fortifications, Juriſdictions, and Encouragements n their Miniſtrations, conferr'd on the Biſhops and Paſtors of an incorporate Church, are the Gifts of the State, and are ſecular Additions to what ſpiritual Powers they receiv'd from Jeſus Chriſt: And what the State gives, the State, when it ſees Cauſe, may deprive them of. So that incorporate Miniſtrations, or adminiſtring theſe ſpiritual

Powers in the mix'd and fortify'd Way of an incorporate Church, may ſeem, as ſome will argue, more ſubject to the State, to take out of ſome, and to put into other Hands.

Eſpecially conſidering, that in grateful Return and Commutation for the Benefit of Incorporation, or for being made free of the State, and having the ſecular Acceſſions; the Church, by Compromiſe, has parted with ſome of its Privileges to the Civil Power. Thus, ſince the Incorporation has it, in Compliance, given up to the State the *Nomination of Biſhops and Metropolitans*, belonging anciently to the other Biſhops of the Province, or to the Clergy and People of the Church: And that *Rules agreed on in Synods, ſhall be no Canons, 'till they be approv'd and ratify'd by the Prince:* And that there ſhall be no *Admiſſion or Refuſal of Clerks to Cures*, or *Uſe of Diſcipline*, but in *Conſiſtence with*, and under *Regulation of the King's Prerogative*, and the *Laws of the Land*; and the like: And by theſe Ceſſions they may ſeem, as ſome think, to have cut off all Power of conteſting the State's Nomination or Advancement to Churches, or its Deprivation and Removal from them; as having, by their Account, given up theſe Privileges in Way of Bargain and Exchange, to keep on the Benefits and State Enjoyments of an incorporate Church.

But as to this Regard which they ought to have to State Deprivations, in Bar of the foreſaid Miniſtrations, I obſerve,

Firſt, That this Regard is to be preſs'd only *under a ſuppos'd legal and rightful State:* For 'tis to their rightful Prince, that, as good and faithful Subjects, they owe all their Obedience, which is call'd for in theſe Caſes. What Regard they are to pay as Subjects, muſt be to his Deprivation; but not if they are depriv'd by an Uſurper ſet up againſt him, who really has no regal Authority over them, but only pretends to it, and aſſumes a Power which is none of his own: Eſpecially if he ſhould deprive them for their Adherence to their lawful King: As if *Athaliah* had *depriv'd Jehojadah* for adhereing to *Joaſh* his true Sovereign; or as the *rebellious Parliament* did depoſe not only the Biſhops and Epiſcopal Clergy, thoſe faithful Adherers to the Crown, but Epiſcopacy it ſelf in King *Charles* the Firſt's Time: For then, as there is no real Authority to bind on, ſo neither would there be any Equity or Colour of Law to back ſuch a Deprivation, or to oblige the Sufferers to acquieſce therein. The Law, which ſtill ſupports the Right of the lawful King againſt his Uſurpation, muſt need ſupport the Rights of all his Adherents againſt the ſame: And as ſtill he would be the legal King, ſo would they not only be the real, but in Eye of Law, the legal Paſtors, notwithſtanding his forcible Removal of them: And therefore there is no Room for this Regard to a Deprivation of State, on the Plea of a King *de Facto*, or on Suppoſal of *unrighteous Uſurpation:* The *legal Right*, aſſerted ſtill by the *publick Acts* on ſuch Revolutions, will give it Place to go as far as it can. But as for all thoſe who give up the legal Right, 'tis not for any of them, (and 'tis well known how conſiderable a Part they make among the Writers, as well as among the Practiſers in this Point) to urge the Authority of a Deprivation of State in this Queſtion.

Secondly, A *Deprivation of a lawful State*, if ſuppos'd to paſs on Biſhops and Miniſters, *would be no conſcionable Diſcharge from keeping on their ſpiritual Miniſtrations againſt ſuch Immoralities as are ſet down in the aforeſaid*

aforeſaid Caſes. For Jeſus Chriſt, who gave them their miniſterial Powers, requires them, as his Miniſters and as Paſtors of his Church, to exerciſe them for him, and for the Souls of Men, as I have ſhewn, when thoſe Caſes happen. And if the State forbids what he commands, they are to hear or obey no State or Power on Earth againſt him: But muſt anſwer as the Apoſtles did to the *Jewiſh* Rulers, in this Caſe, *Whether it be lawful in the Sight of God, to hearken unto you more than unto God, judge ye*, Acts 4. 18, 19, 20. And thus it muſt needs be in Men who are call'd to be his Miniſters under perſecuting States, and to be Miniſters of a Religion which is *a Doctrine of the Croſs*, and bids them expect and prepare to bear Croſſes under oppreſſive Powers; as is plainly the Caſe of Goſpel-Miniſters: For if they muſt be his Miniſters, and adminiſter this Religion in Perſecutions, they muſt hold on miniſtring, when the State where they live breaks with them, and both moſt ſtrictly forbids and moſt cruelly perſecutes them for ſo doing. And thus the *firſt Miniſters* did, who were to plant Chriſtianity againſt all the Edicts and Oppoſitions of the *Heathen* or *Jewiſh* Magiſtrates: And ſo did all the faithful Biſhops and Paſtors thereof, who, in all the ſucceeding Perſecutions of the Church, ſtuck firm to their Miniſtrations againſt all the Inhibitions and oppreſſive Force of ſecular Rulers; or elſe our holy Religion had periſh'd long ſince, and had never deſcended pure and perfect as it is to our Days. And ſo muſt all others do in any preſent or ſucceeding Tryals, (which, as they always have done, ſo always will ſeek to ſuppreſs Chriſt's Worſhip and Truth, by ſuppreſſing the paſtoral Adminiſtrations thereof) that, by their Miniſtry, it may not fail in the Church, but be held on the ſame, and continu'd down to the World's End.

But this I ſay, as to their pure *ſpiritual Powers* and *Miniſtrations*, which they neither did nor could receive from the Civil State, on which he never conferr'd it, but which they hold independently of Chriſt Jeſus: That is, what ſpiritual Powers they have receiv'd from Chriſt, *by Impoſition of Hands*, continu'd down from the Apoſtles, for the feeding and governing of his Church, by Adminiſtration of the Word, of Prayers, and Sacraments, by letting into the Church and excluding out of it; and for providing a conſtant Succeſſion of the ſame Miniſtrations, by empowering or ordaining others: Theſe mere ſpiritual Powers they muſt exerciſe as his Miniſters, without Regard to any Deprivation or Inhibition of worldly Princes: For earthly Kings cannot deprive them of theſe merely ſpiritual Powers, becauſe they have them not from them, but miniſter therein, not by theirs, but by Chriſt's Commiſſion. If ſecular Princes gave them their Commiſſions to exerciſe their ſpiritual Authorities, they might recall them: If they were the Fountain of theſe Powers, and could make or ordain Biſhops, they might have more Plea to unmake and deprive them: But not originally proceeding from them, but from Chriſt himſelf, by the Way of his own preſcribing, in a Succeſſion of *Apoſtolical Impoſition of Hands*, thro' all Ages of the Church, they cannot be revers'd by their Deprivation: Nor are the Biſhops and Paſtors to be debarr'd the Exerciſe thereof in any Caſe where Chriſt requires it, at their Inhibition, becauſe they are Chriſt's Servants more than theirs, and muſt obey God rather than Man. But,

Thirdly, As for any *temporal Acceſſions* and *Enforcements of theſe mere ſpiritual Miniſtrations*, which the Church receives when once it is ſhone upon

upon by earthly Powers, and made incorporate or free of the State; *These Acceſſions are borrow'd Powers, and the Gift of Princes, and under the Depoſition of a lawful State; the Biſhops and Miniſters of Chriſt muſt not challenge or pretend to them.*

As to theſe I obſerve,

1. *That the civil State hath Power over theſe temporal Acceſſions and ſecular Endowments, becauſe it conferr'd them. When Kings and Queens turn Chriſtians, they come not in only as Members to partake in theſe mere ſpiritual Miniſtrations, but as Patrons, by their ſecular Power, to back and promote them:* They muſt ſhew themſelves *Nurſing-Fathers* and *Nurſing-Mothers*, as was foretold by the * Prophet; and *ſerve the Lord as Kings*, that is, (*a*) *by employing their Kingly Power to encourage and advance his Service*, (*b*) *doing him thoſe Services, which none can do but themſelves*; as St. *Auſtin* tells them.

* Iſa. 49. 23.

Thus to give Encouragement and Leiſure for the Miniſters to attend on theſe Miniſtrations without Diſtraction, the civil State endows them with Benefices, or worldly Freeholds, Honours, and Privileges. It alſo allots them publick and authoriz'd Places for theſe Miniſtrations, and makes civil Laws, requiring People duly to reſort to them, and puniſhing all Diſturbers of them, and ſuch as carry themſelves indecently thereat: It likewiſe adds a ſecular Juriſdiction to the ſpiritual, extending the ſpiritual Juriſdiction to the Cognizance of Wills, Marriages, Benefices, *&c.* which are civil Matters; and backing it by temporal Acceſſions in the ſpiritual Parts thereof, making a Mixture and Concurrence of religious and civil Powers in the ſpiritual Courts: For thus the *Rubricks* it paſſes into Laws; and the *Canons* alſo, which are the Rules of exerciſing that Juriſdiction, it binds on the Subjects with the King's *Approbation* and *Ratification*, or with a *civil Strengthening*; and the *ſpiritual Cenſures* or Judgments, according to theſe Rules, it backs with civil Penalties, as Impriſonment; or with putting Men under civil Incapacities, as to plead in an Action at Law, or the like.

Now all theſe temporal Helps and Acceſſions come not to the Biſhops and Miniſters immediately from Chriſt, or as they are Miniſters of Religion: For † *His Kingdom is not of this World*: Nor was he, whilſt on Earth, any Judge in civil Matters; nor doth he confer any ſuch worldly Powers, or grant any ſuch Commiſſions: But all theſe ſecular Benefices and Fortifications, in all the Parts of the ſpiritual Miniſtry, are the Gifts of Princes: They flow from their Favour to the Church, or from their taking upon them to be its temporal Patrons, or its *Nurſing-Fathers* and *Nurſing-Mothers*: And as the Biſhops and Miniſters of Chriſt hold them only by their Commiſſion, ſo may they loſe them by their recalling it: So that altho' the State has no Power either to give or to deprive the Miniſters of Chriſt of their mere ſpiritual Powers, yet has it a direct Authority to grant or deprive them of theſe temporal Additions.

† Joh. 18. 36.

And therefore the Biſhops and Miniſters of Chriſt in an incorporate Church, when they are depriv'd by their rightful Prince, or by a legal State, muſt exerciſe their mere ſpiritual Powers in the foreſaid Caſes without any of theſe civil Effects or Mixtures: That is, they can only ad

(*a*) *In hoc Reges, ſicut iis divinitus præcipitur, Deo ſerviunt in quantum Reges ſunt, ſi in ſuo Regno bona jubeant, mala prohibeant, non ſolum quæ pertinent ad humanam Societatem, verum etiam ad divinam Religionem.* Aug. contra Creſcon. l. 3. c. 5.

(*b*) *In hoc ergo ſerviunt Domino Reges in quantum ſunt Reges, cum ea faciunt ad ſerviendum illi, quæ non poſſunt facere niſi Reges.* Id. Ep. 50. *Ad Bonifacium virum militarem.*

adminiſter the Word, and Prayers, and Sacraments, and let in Members by Baptiſm, and, on juſt Caſe, caſt them out by Excommunication, and ordain others that ſhall hold on from Time to Time to do the ſame: But in Diſcharge of theſe mere ſpiritual Powers, they cannot claim the eſtabliſh'd Places, wherein to aſſemble for theſe Miniſtrations; nor any Enforcement of civil Laws, to make Men duly frequent them, and to hinder all from diſturbing them, or from demeaning themſelves diſorderly or irreverently at them: Nor can they claim any ſecular Benefices for Maintenance of thoſe who miniſter therein, nor to have any Cognizance of Wills, Tythes, or other temporal Matters; nor to have their Canons made regal Injunctions, or their Rubricks made parliamentary Laws, and the Breakers thereof puniſhable by civil Magiſtrates in their Eſtates or Perſons; nor their ſpiritual Cenſures to bring Men under civil Incapacities, or make them liable to civil Puniſhments, or the like. The State that gave theſe civil Acceſſions to the Biſhops and Paſtors in their Incorporation, has call'd them back, and taken them away in their Deprivation: So that now, to ſtick to Chriſt, they muſt quit the Benefits of Incorporation, and the Favour of Princes; and, as Men left to their naked ſpiritual Powers which no rightful State can deprive them of, be content to exerciſe their ſpiritual Miniſtrations in the foreſaid Caſes, not as in an endow'd and ſecularly protected, but as in a perſecuted or ſecularly deſtitute Church.

And as the State has Power over all theſe ſecular Endowments of the ſpiritual Miniſtration, becauſe it conferr'd them; ſo has it,

1. *Over ſome other Powers which belong'd to the Church whilſt it kept ſeparate, but which it gives up to the civil State during the Benefit of Incorporation with it.* For ſome Powers the Church may have no Neceſſity to inſiſt on, either for the Sake of Religion, or of the Souls of Men: And ſuch Powers, for the greater Benefit of Incorporation, it may be free to part with.

Thus, provided the Subſtance of Religion were ſecur'd and kept up among Men, in all neceſſary Points of Worſhip and Doctrine; and the main of Diſcipline were taken Care for by Canons already allow'd, as it (*a*) was on *the Submiſſion of our Church and Clergy* made under King *Henry* the Eighth: The Church might be free, by Compromiſe, to agree, that it would *exerciſe no Canons already made*, but ſuch as were conſiſtent with the King's *Prerogative* and the *Laws of the Land:* And that, in Caſe of any others, a Stop ſhould be put to the Proceedings of the ſpiritual Courts by *ſecular Prohibitions:* And that the Biſhops and Clergy ſhould *not meet* to make more, or *aſſemble* in *Synod* or *Convocation*, but when *ſummon'd thither by the King's Writ:* Nor any of their Agreements ſhould be given out for *Canons* or *Orders*, but what he allow'd to paſs under his *Ratification:* And that after they were paſs'd, in Things *diſpenſible*, on juſt Cauſe in any particular Caſe, he ſhould have the chief Power to *grant a Diſpenſation.* That all Biſhops coming in to govern the Church, according to the foreſaid Rules and Preſcriptions, ſhould be of his *Nomination:* And that the Advancement of all Miniſters to benefic'd and civilly fortify'd Cures and Adminiſtrations, ſhould be, according to the *Rights of Patronage*, eſtabliſh'd by the Laws; and ſuch like. Theſe

(*a*) Provided, *That ſuch Canons, Conſtitutions, Ordinances, and Synods Provincial, being already made, which be not contrariant nor repugnant to the Laws, Statutes, and Cuſtoms of this Realm, nor to the Damage or Hurt of the King's Prerogative Royal, ſhall now ſtill be uſed and executed, as they were afore the making of this Act, till ſuch Time as they be view'd, ſearch'd, or otherwiſe order'd or determin'd, &c. according to the Tenor and Effect of this preſent Act.* Statute of Submiſſion of the Clergy. 25 H. 8. c. 19. 7.

Theſe, and ſuch like Powers, are naturally reſident in the Church it ſelf in a ſeparate State, or when it ſtands upon its own Bottom, and is not incorporated: For, as a Society, it muſt have Power in it ſelf to make needful and wholſome Rules of Government from Time to Time, and to have its Biſhops and Miniſters meet together as they can, that they may make them; and to appoint Perſons who ſhall be entruſted with the Adminiſtration thereof: And accordingly, whilſt the Church was kept ſeparate from the State, and perſecuted by it, theſe Powers were exercis'd by the Church, and by its Biſhops and Paſtors, under all the Heathen Perſecutions: During which, the Clergy under their Biſhops, and the Biſhops under their Metropolitans, were conven'd, and met in Synods, and made Canons, and decided Controverſies, and ſentenc'd Criminals, and fill'd up Vacancies in Presbyteries or Biſhopricks, having a new Biſhop elected by the Metropolitan and Biſhops of the Province, or ſometimes by the Clergy and People of the Dioceſe, and the like.

Indeed, as good Subjects of the State, they are bound to keep all innocent State-Laws; and cannot, by any devis'd Canons of their own, caſt off their Obligation, or forbid themſelves, or the Church, to pay a due civil Obedience by Obſervance thereof: So that they have no Power, in any Condition, of making any Church Canons, which require Subjects to act againſt innocent State-Conſtitutions; nor may they lawfully refuſe, when the State calls them to meet together in Synods, or otherwiſe; but, as good Subjects, are oblig'd to pay a ready Obedience, and to appear upon its Summons. Theſe are only proper Expreſſions of civil Subjection, from which the Church can in no State or Condition plead Exemption. But tho' they may not diſobey the State-Summons, yet, when it meddles not therewith, in a ſeparate Condition, they have Power to aſſemble themſelves as they can, and as Need requires, taking Care to do it in ſuch Ways as will make it leaſt jealous of them: And when aſſembled, tho' they can make or inforce no Canons, to defeat any innocent civil Conſtitutions, they have Power, in ſuch ſeparate State, to make others which are conſiſtent with them, and to exerciſe the other now mention'd Powers, as, I ſay, the Church did in the primitive Perſecutions.

But when it became incorporate, and was oblig'd by the Favours and Privileges of the State, the Church, by *Agreements* partly *expreſs*, and partly by tacit and practical, carry'd in Preſcription and the Practice of Times, gave up theſe and ſuch like Powers, reſiding otherwiſe in it ſelf, to the civil Magiſtrates, who were thus obligingly become its Patrons and Nurſing-Fathers. (*a*) *Since the Emperors became Chriſtians, the Affairs of the Church have depended upon them, and the greateſt Councils have been held, and ſtill are held at their Pleaſure*, was the Obſervation of *Socrates* in the *Preface* to his fifth Book of the *Hiſtory of the Church*.

Theſe it parted with to the civil Power for its greater Honour, and alſo to ſecure it of its good Behaviour; being ty'd thereby to a compliance in Things which it was not bound to inſiſt on, for the Sake of Religion and of a good Conſcience; and to prevent all jarring and interfering with that Power, in whoſe Favour and Society it found ſo great Benefit; ſeeking herein to keep up that beneficial Kindneſs and Correſpondence which is between them: And theſe it gave up to it

(*a*) —— Ἀφ' ἧς χριστιανίζειν ἤρξαντο [Βασιλεῖς] τὰ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας πράγματα ἤρτηλο ἐξ αὐτῶν, καὶ μέγιστα συνόδοι τῇ αὐτῶν γνωμῇ γεγόνασί τε καὶ γίνονται. Soc. *Hiſt. Eccl. Proem. ad lib.* 5. *pag.* 259.

y Degrees, and more in ſome Places, and leſs in others; being put pon parting with leſs at firſt, and with more afterwards; eſpecially fter the *Papal Uſurpations* in the *Weſtern Church*, grew ſo very troubleome and prejudicial to Princes and their Kingdoms, in Point of *Inveſtitures*, *Appeals*, &c. which made them more ſenſible of the Advantage of having theſe Powers quietly and unconteſtedly lodg'd in heir own Hands.

Theſe it might ſafely part withal during the Incorporation, as reining ſtill what it could not part with, *viz.* *A Power of ſtanding by ll neceſſary Points of Worſhip and Doctrine*, and of *doing what is neceſſary r the Souls of Men*; and as being alſo fitted all the Time, in the main, ith *what is needful in Point of Diſcipline*: And its parting with them, as in Way of Compromiſe and Bargain, as a grateful Return for the nefits and Privileges of its Enfranchiſement and Incorporation; or Conſideration of its enjoying a Freedom, not only of exerciſing iritual Miniſtrations, but of exerciſing them in the Way of an inrporate Church, *viz.* in holding Benefices, and in being back'd erein by ſecular Juriſdiction, Laws, and Privileges.

And whilſt theſe Benefits of Incorporation are held on in Favour of e Truth, the Ceſſion of the Church in theſe Points is to be held on o, and not to be reſum'd back again. Protected and incorporate ſhops and Paſtors muſt be content to claim epiſcopal and paſtoral wers under the Receſſions and Limitations of an incorporate Church. hus our * *Articles* and † *Canons* receive and aſſert the *Eccleſiaſtical* * Art. 37. †Can. 136. and Queen *Elizabeth's* Injunctions and Oath of Supremacy. ‖ Can. 2. *premacy* of our Kings, which contains the foreſaid Church-Receſſions; d *denounce Excommunication*, ipſo facto, *to thoſe* that ‖ *deny any Part our King's legal Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, or his having the ne Authority therein as the godly Kings had among the* Jews, *or Chriſtian perors had in the primitive Church*: And accordingly, in our *Form of laining Biſhops*, they profeſs to think themſelves *call'd to this Miniation, according to the Will of Jeſus Chriſt, and the Order of this Realm*; d promiſe to *cenſure and puniſh the Unquiet and Diſobedient within their ceſſes, according to ſuch Authority as they have by God's Word, and as hem ſhall be committed by the Ordinance of this Realm.*

But now all this giving up theſe, or the like Powers, to the State, the ſake of this Incorporation, and in Way of Bargain and Commiſe, or other Abridgment of its own Miniſtrations, is,

. *With a* Salvo *to the Intereſts of Religion, and of the Souls of Men.* ey cannot give away any Thing, to make themſelves wanting in neceſſary Service unto them; nor part with their Powers of miniing to Souls, to build and nurſe them up in pure Worſhip, Doctrine, Practice: Theſe Powers are a *ſacred Depoſitum*, which if they emzzle or yield up in Compliance, they are falſe to God and to n's Souls, and thereby betray both them and their own holy Funn. And their Acts alſo are Nullities, wherein they offer or promiſe do the ſame: For they are Acts againſt an antecedent Obligation ich are wicked in the making, as *Herod's Oath* * was to gratify * Mar. 6. 22, 23, 26. *odias* in the Baptiſt's Death, and the † *Jews Conſpiracy* and *Oath to* † Acts 23. 12, 13, 14. St. *Paul*: But they are null as to the Obligation of Performance, s agreed in the Caſe of all Contracts and Promiſes to do unlawful ings, or Things evil or forbidden in themſelves.

They can neither diſcharge themſelves, I ſay, nor receive any Diſrge from Princes, of exerciſing theſe Powers, where Chriſt requires y ſhould exerciſe them for the Service of Religion, and of Souls, as

I have ſhewn he doth in the fore-mention'd Caſes. *In Stewards it is requir'd that they be found faithful*, in diſpenſing out theſe Miniſtrations as he orders, not in ſuppreſſing them contrary to Order, 1 *Cor.* 4. 2. *Neceſſity is laid upon me, and Woe be to me*, is here the Scripture Denunciation, *if they preach not the Goſpel*, or fail truſtily to diſcharge that Miniſtry they have undertaken, 1 *Cor.* 9. 16. No earthly Powers, by conferring on them the Benefits of Incorporation, get any Authority over *Chriſt*'s *Miniſters*, to diſcharge them of miniſtring to their Maſter in theſe Matters: For this would be to give the civil Power, which ought to keep under Chriſt, a Power over him: It would turn them from *Nurſing-Fathers*, who, by giving it a civil Enfranchiſement, undertake to protect the true Religion, into *devouring Wolves*, who ſeek to make a Prey of it. It is expreſly declar'd againſt by the Apoſtles, who appeal to the common Senſe of Mankind, *Whether they are not bound to obey God rather than Men*, Acts 4. 19, 20. And would leave no Miniſtrations of true Goſpel-Worſhip and Doctrine under any Chriſtian State, which ſhould fall from any neceſſary Parts thereof, and begin to perſecute them, as the *Arian* Emperors did in the Perſecutions they rais'd againſt the Orthodox, and as *Popiſh* Princes did in like Violence us'd by them at any Time againſt our Proteſtant Brethren or Anceſtors; than which nothing can be worſe calculated for any Church of God, but eſpecially for the Chriſtian Church, which is to continue a Church in Perſecution, and to bear up Chriſtian Worſhip and Doctrine by due Miniſtrations of both, when any Powers of this World fall, from protecting, moſt violently to bear them down.

And this in all Times has been the Opinion and Practice of God's faithful Miniſters, when the State, which, by Incorporation, ſhould have back'd and ſtrengthen'd them therein, fell to diſcharge and bar them of their Miniſtrations in theſe Caſes.

Thus God's *faithful Prophets* and *Miniſters* did in the *Jewiſh Church* who approv'd themſelves glorious Confeſſors and Martyrs, in adminiſtring God's Word and true Worſhip, when the State fell to break in upon them, and, inſtead of backing and protecting them in thoſe Miniſtrations, according to the Purport of Incorporation, fell violently to diſcharge and drive them from officiating any longer therein.

Thus likewiſe *Athanaſius* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, *Paulus* of *Conſtantinople*, and *other* Biſhops did in the *Arian Perſecution*. The civil State had then receiv'd the Church into it ſelf, and endow'd it with civil Edicts and Enfranchiſements; and the Deprivation and Ejection of theſe Biſhops out of their Churches, particularly of the *Great Athanaſius*, was with *State-Concurrence*, and for *State-Cauſes* or *Pretences*. Among other Articles, *Athanaſius* was charg'd *with* * *Contumacy againſt the Emperor, in refuſing to appear upon his Edict at the Synod of* Cæſarea: And with a † *treaſonable Deſign to ſtop the yearly Tranſport of Corn from* Alexandria *to* Conſtantinople; *on which Suggeſtion he was baniſh'd to* Tryers *by* Conſtantine. Not to mention the ‖ Accuſation of his *having impos'd on the* Ægyptians *a Tribute of Linnen Cloth*; and * *having conſpired with one* Philumenus *againſt the Emperor*; and † *having treaſonably correſponded with the Traytor* Magnentius, and ‖ *uſurped the Imperial Prerogative, by holding the Feſtival Dedication of the great Church of* Alexandria *without the Emperors Warrant*, and the like. And his Depoſition, and *Gregories* and *George*'s Advancement to his See by Synod were

* Theod. l. 1. c. 28. & Soz. l. 2. c. 25. † Soc. lib. 1. c. 35. ‖ Soz. l. 2. c. 22. * Ibid.
† Athan. Apol. ad Conſtan. p. 677, & 681. *Ed. Col.* 1686. ‖ Athan. *ib.* p 682.

were ſeconded by Acts of State; having the *Approbation* and *Juſtification of the Emperors*, and the *Aſſiſtance of Præfects*, as well as the (*a*) *Imperial Letters*, violently forcing one out of the Epiſcopal Throne, and giving the other Poſſeſſion thereof; and barbarouſly enforcing Submiſſion and Adherence to them from the Clergy and People, as was done by (*b*) *Philagrius*, (*c*) *Syrianus*, and (*d*) *Heraclius*, to omit others. But theſe State-Inhibitions and Deprivations coming on him and his Adherents, not for any other Crimes alledg'd, which were ſhameleſs Falſhoods, and aſſum'd merely as Pretences, but in Reality only for his being a ſtout Aſſerter of the orthodox Faith, he ſtill went on preaching and miniſtring the ſame, and for all theſe State-Ejections, was ſtuck to therein by the faithful *Ægyptians*, and by the Orthodox in all other Places.

And thus alſo our own Anceſtors continu'd to do on the States turning upon them, and, under Forfeiture of Incorporation, and all the Penalties of a bloody Perſecution, forbidding them to go on adminiſtring the Word and Worſhip of God, according to the *Reformation* thereof made by King *Edward*, in Queen *Mary*'s Time: For being to adminiſter this Word and Worſhip in Duty to God, and in Care of Souls, they ſet light by the Benefits of Incorporation and civil Advantages, and paid no Regard to State-Deprivations or Inhibitions; but went on faithfully to adminiſter the ſame, tho' at the Peril of their Lives.

I grant, the Deſire of keeping on the publick Benefits of Incorporation, may, many Times, be a Reaſon for Biſhops and Miniſters voluntarily to reſt under State-Deprivations and Inhibitions, when 'tis a Caſe only of perſonal Rights and Privileges. Such Deprivations and Inhibitions often affect Perſons only, and not Things, when, on the Deprivation of one, the ſame Miniſtrations would be kept up by others: As was done in the Depoſitions of *High-Prieſts*, ſo common in later Times among the *Jews*; and of *Patriarchs*, ſo ordinary at preſent among the *Greeks*; and may happen in other Places. In all which, there is only a Change of Perſons, but no Change in Miniſtrations; the Church being ſtood on in the ſame neceſſary Worſhip, Doctrine, and Practice, under both. And here, to prevent a Breach with the State, and to keep on the Way of ſpiritual Miniſtrations with the Benefit of ſecular Acceſſions, the Biſhops and Paſtors of an incorporate Church, (where it is not like to do the Church more Hurt by an utter Loſs of its Liberty in theſe Points, than the Incorporation deſir'd will compenſate) may think there is more Cauſe, for the Church's Sake, to reſt under State-Deprivations: They may eſteem it their Parts to quit their own particular Intereſts to advance the Church's, and believe that the keeping in the publick Benefits of Incorporation, will abundantly compenſate for the wrongful Encroachment made by ſuch Deprivation on a private Perſon: But in Caſes which concern, not only the perſonal Rights and Privileges of Paſtors, but the Subſtance of Religion, or the Safety of Souls, and where Chriſt requires they ſhould exerciſe their Miniſtrations, as I have ſhewn he doth in the foreſaid Caſes, they muſt not let them fall, in Regard to any Inhibitions or Deprivations, even of their lawful Princes: They muſt here ſlight all worldly Benefit of Protection, and be willing, if need require, to undergo a Perſecution; and go on faithfully in their Miniſtrations, as their bounden Duty requires, and as, in theſe Caſes, God's faithful Miniſters have done in all Times.

(*a*) Athan. ad Solit. p. 811, 815, 843. & Apol. ad Conſt. p. 695. Ed. Col.
(*b*) Athan. ad Solit. p. 815, 816, 817. (*c*) Apol. de Fuga, p. 716, 717. ad Conſtant. p. 689, 690. Proteſt. Pop. Alex. ad Calcem Ep. ad Solit. p. 867. (*d*) Ep. ad Solit. p. 843, &c.

Secondly, *What is ſo given up by the Church*, for Abridgement of its own Power in ſpiritual Miniſtrations, *is only whilſt it keeps united to the State, and receives Protection*; *not when it is ſeparated from it again, or falls under Perſecution.* Its Receſſions, as I noted, were on Conſideration of State-Benefits, and as a grateful Return for them whilſt it was ſuffer'd to enjoy them: They are all upon the Score of its Union, and ſo ceaſe when the State breaks off, and turns it up to it ſelf again: For being made ſeparate, it is no longer under any former Tyes of Incorporation, but acts again with the Powers of a ſeparate Condition: And thus it is, when, inſtead of protecting, the State puts any neceſſary Points of Doctrine, or Worſhip, or Part of their Miniſtration, under Perſecution. When it ſeparates its Protection, it ſeparates it ſelf: It drives out the Church, when it drives out any of thoſe Things which the Church muſt ſtick to at all Perils; and when, inſtead of incorporating, or civilly protecting the Miniſtrations thereof, it falls to incorporate and to protect the Miniſtration of Error and Wickedneſs in their Place: It diſfranchiſes pure Worſhip and Doctrine, when it enfranchiſes Errors and Corruptions contrary to them; and by turning to perſecute the neceſſary Miniſtrations of pure Religion, it breaks it ſelf from them, and thence forward they are no longer *one*, but become *two* again.

So that whatever Regard and Compliance the Biſhops and Miniſters of Chriſt may ſhew to ſuch Deprivations and Inhibitions of the State whereinto they are incorporated, whilſt it inhibits no neceſſary Miniſtrations to Religion or to the Souls of Men, but, in diſcharging all thoſe, they enjoy the Privileges and Protection thereof; yet are they not to be diſcharg'd thereby from miniſtring to the ſame in all the aforeſaid or other like Caſes, nor to be debarr'd of any of their ſpiritual Powers after once the State breaks with them, and, inſtead of yielding them the Benefits of Incorporation, puts them under Perſecution: But then they muſt exerciſe theſe Miniſtrations only according to what they have receiv'd from Chriſt, and from the Canons of the Church, ſo far as they do not interfere with any innocent State-Laws, which reſtrain them as good Subjects; not with any civil Fortifications and State-Acceſſions.

CHAP. II.

Of the King's Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy receiv'd and aſſerted by our Church.

* Can. 2. *Eccleſ. Anglic.*

AND all this agrees well with the *Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy* own'd by our Church, and claim'd by our Princes, * *conformable to* what was aſcrib'd to, and claim'd by, *the godly Kings among the* Jews, *and the godly Emperors in the primitive Church*; whoſe *eccleſiaſtical Sovereignty lyes not in their being inveſted with*, or *in their having a ſovereign Diſpoſal of the Powers of Orders*; but *in retaining their civil Sovereignty over all Perſons*, whether *Laymen* or *Eccleſiaſticks*, and *in the Subordination of eccleſiaſtical Courts and Cauſes*, which are content to act in Subordination on the Score *of their ſecular Mixtures*, as in *beneficiary Matters*, *Cenſures*, &c. And for Cognizance of either of theſe, either of Perſons or Cauſes, *in barring all foreign Appeals.*

Firſt, *It lyes not*, I ſay, *in their being inveſted with, or having a ſovereign Diſpoſal of the Powers of Orders.* For theſe our Kings do not preten

to have in their Power, or to be Powers ſubjected and inherent in themſelves; but to be proper and peculiar to ſpiritual Perſons, Thus King *Henry* the Eighth, when he aſſerts his own regal *Supremacy* over the Church, leaves all proper ſpiritual Powers and Functions to ſpiritual Perſons; and, in the * *Statute for Reſtraint of Appeals*, declares *the Spiritualty ſufficient and meet to declare and determine all ſuch Doubts, and to adminiſter all ſuch Offices and Duties, as to their Rooms Spiritual doth appertain.* And † Queen *Elizabeth*'s Injunctions diſclaim *all challenging of any Authority and Power of Miniſtry of divine Service in the Church*, by Vertue of the Supremacy. And the 37th Article of Religion declares, That thereby *we give not our Princes the miniſtring, either of God's Word, or of the Sacraments.* And the ‖ Statute of Queen *Elizabeth* ſays, *The Oath of Supremacy ſhall be taken and expounded in ſuch Form as is ſet forth in the Queen's Admonition annex'd to her Injunctions.* They are the *Miniſters of God* in their Dominions, as * St. *Paul* ſays: But that is, as *Kings*, not as *Prieſts.* So that *the King's Supremacy in eccleſiaſtical Matters, doth not imply the Power of the Keys, which the King has not,* † ſays Mr. *Maſon.* And (*a*) *by the Supremacy, we do not attribute the Power of the Keys, or eccleſiaſtical Cenſures*, as Biſhop *Andrews* obſerves. *We never gave our Kings the Power of the Keys, or any Part of either the Key of Order, or the Key of Juriſdiction, purely ſpiritual,* ‖ ſays Biſhop *Bramhall.*

* Stat. 24. H. 8. c. 12. 1

† Vid. Bp. *Sparrow's* Collect. p. 83.

‖ Stat. 5. El. c. 1. 14.

* Rom. 13. 4.

† De miniſt. Angl. l. 3. c. 3. p. 271.

‖ Schiſm guarded, Sect. 1. c. 4. p. op. 311.

And this bounding of their Claims and Pretences of Power, is ſuitable to what we find among thoſe godly *Jewiſh Kings*, and *Chriſtian Emperors*, to whom our Church's * *Articles* and † *Canons* about *Supremacy* refer.

* *Art.* 37.
† *Can.* 2.

As to the *Jews*, *It appertaineth not unto thee, O Uzziah! to burn Incenſe unto the Lord, but to the Prieſts that are conſecrated thereto*, ſay the Prieſts to King *Uzziah*, when he would aſſume to himſelf the Prieſts Office, for which God miraculouſly *ſmote him with a Leproſy upon the Place*, 2 Chron. 26. 16, 18, 19, 20. And *the Lord hath choſen you to ſtand before him, to ſerve, and miniſter unto him, and to burn Incenſe*, ſays King *Hezekiah* to the *Levites*, 2 Chron. 29. 11.

And the like appears of the godly Chriſtian Emperors, who were told by their holy Biſhops, and profeſs'd of themſelves, *That they were no Prieſts, and that their Power of Empire did not ſwallow up the Sacerdotal Powers.* (*b*) *God hath intruſted the Affairs of the Kingdom in your Hands, but thoſe of the Church in ours; and as we may not lawfully take upon us to act as Kings, ſo neither have you Authority, O Emperor! to burn Incenſe, or uſurp the Prieſts Office*, ſaid the great *Hoſius* in his Epiſtle to the Emperor *Conſtantius.* (*c*) *To you it appertains externally to puniſh, but to us to judge and determine what is heretical and impious*, ſay *Eluſius* and *Sylvanus*, and the other Biſhops, to the ſame *Conſtantius.* (*d*) *The Royal Purple makes Men Emperors, but it doth not make them Prieſts*, ſays St. *Ambroſe* to the Emperor *Theodoſius.*

As Chriſtians and godly Emperors, they us'd their imperial Power and Sovereignty about *Church-Matters*: But that was not *Privative*, to deny the Paſtors of the Church, or to bereave them of their Power; but *Cumulative*, to add the imperial Power, which was of another Kind, to the Spiritual, thereby to back their Acts, and to make them bind the faſter.

(*a*) Non vel conciones habendi, vel rei ſacræ præeundi, vel Sacramenta celebrandi; non vel perſonas ullas, vel res; non clavium jus, vel cenſuræ. Verbo dicam, nihil ille ſibi; nihil nos illi fas putamus vindicare, quæ ad Sacerdotale Munus ſpectant, ſeu Poteſtatem Ordinis conſequuntur. *Tortura Torti*, p. 380.

(*b*) —Σοὶ Βασιλείαν ὁ Θεὸς ἐπεπίστευκε, ἡμῖν τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπίστευσε. ὅστε τοίνυν ἡμῖν ἀρχεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔξεστιν· ἐπὶ σοὶ τὸ θυμιᾶν ἔξουσιαν ἔχεις, Βασιλεῦ. Hoſii Ep. ad Conſtan. ap. Athanaſ. Ep. ad Solit. p. 840. (*c*) Καὶ αὐτὸν ἔφασαν ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τῆς τιμωρίας, ἡμᾶς δὲ τῆς εὐσεβείας ἢ ἀσεβείας, Theod. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 2. c. 27. (*d*) —Ἀλουργὶς γὰρ Βασιλέας, οὐκ ἱερέας ποιεῖ, Ap. Theod. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 5. c. 18.

Secondly, *What is ſo given up by the Church*, for Abridgement of its own Power in ſpiritual Miniſtrations, *is only whilſt it keeps united to the State, and receives Protection; not when it is ſeparated from it again, or falls under Perſecution.* Its Receſſions, as I noted, were on Conſideration of State-Benefits, and as a grateful Return for them whilſt it was ſuffer'd to enjoy them: They are all upon the Score of its Union, and ſo ceaſe when the State breaks off, and turns it up to it ſelf again: For being made ſeparate, it is no longer under any former Tyes of Incorporation, but acts again with the Powers of a ſeparate Condition: And thus it is, when, inſtead of protecting, the State puts any neceſſary Points of Doctrine, or Worſhip, or Part of their Miniſtration, under Perſecution. When it ſeparates its Protection, it ſeparates it ſelf: It drives out the Church, when it drives out any of thoſe Things which the Church muſt ſtick to at all Perils; and when, inſtead of incorporating, or civilly protecting the Miniſtrations thereof, it falls to incorporate and to protect the Miniſtration of Error and Wickedneſs in their Place: It diſfranchiſes pure Worſhip and Doctrine, when it enfranchiſes Errors and Corruptions contrary to them; and by turning to perſecute the neceſſary Miniſtrations of pure Religion, it breaks it ſelf from them, and thence forward they are no longer *one*, but become *two* again.

So that whatever Regard and Compliance the Biſhops and Miniſters of Chriſt may ſhew to ſuch Deprivations and Inhibitions of the State whereinto they are incorporated, whilſt it inhibits no neceſſary Miniſtrations to Religion or to the Souls of Men, but, in diſcharging all thoſe, they enjoy the Privileges and Protection thereof; yet are they not to be diſcharg'd thereby from miniſtring to the ſame in all the aforeſaid or other like Caſes, nor to be debarr'd of any of their ſpiritual Powers after once the State breaks with them, and, inſtead of yielding them the Benefits of Incorporation, puts them under Perſecution: But then they muſt exerciſe theſe Miniſtrations only according to what they have receiv'd from Chriſt, and from the Canons of the Church, ſo far as they do not interfere with any innocent State-Laws, which reſtrain them as good Subjects; not with any civil Fortifications and State-Acceſſions.

CHAP. II.

Of the King's Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy receiv'd and aſſerted by our Church.

* Can. 2. *Eccleſ. Anglic.*

AND all this agrees well with the *Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy* own'd by our Church, and claim'd by our Princes, * *conformable to* what was aſcrib'd to, and claim'd by, *the godly Kings among the* Jews, *and the godly Emperors in the primitive Church*; whoſe *eccleſiaſtical Sovereignty lyes not in their being inveſted with*, or *in their having a ſovereign Diſpoſal of the Powers of Orders*; but *in retaining their civil Sovereignty over all Perſons*, whether *Laymen* or *Eccleſiaſticks*, and *in the Subordination of eccleſiaſtical Courts and Cauſes*, which are content to act in Subordination on the Score *of their ſecular Mixtures*, as in *beneficiary Matters*, *Cenſures*, &c. And for Cognizance of either of theſe, either of Perſons or Cauſes, *in barring all foreign Appeals.*

Firſt, *It lyes not*, I ſay, *in their being inveſted with, or having a ſovereign Diſpoſal of the Powers of Orders.* For theſe our Kings do not preten-

o have in their Power, or to be Powers ſubjected and inherent in hemſelves; but to be proper and peculiar to ſpiritual Perſons, Thus ing *Henry* the Eighth, when he aſſerts his own regal *Supremacy* over he Church, leaves all proper ſpiritual Powers and Functions to ſpiriual Perſons; and, in the * *Statute for Reſtraint of Appeals*, declares *the piritualty ſufficient and meet to declare and determine all ſuch Doubts, and adminiſter all ſuch Offices and Duties, as to their Rooms Spiritual doth ppertain.* And † Queen *Elizabeth*'s Injunctions diſclaim *all challenging any Authority and Power of Miniſtry of divine Service in the Church*, by ertue of the Supremacy. And the 37th Article of Religion declares, hat thereby *we give not our Princes the miniſtring, either of God's Word, of the Sacraments.* And the ‖ Statute of Queen *Elizabeth* ſays, *The ath of Supremacy ſhall be taken and expounded in ſuch Form as is ſet forth the Queen's Admonition annex'd to her Injunctions.* They are the *Miniers of God* in their Dominions, as * St. *Paul* ſays: But that is, as *Kings*, ot as *Prieſts*. So that *the King's Supremacy in eccleſiaſtical Matters, doth t imply the Power of the Keys, which the King has not,* † ſays Mr. *Maſon.* nd (*a*) *by the Supremacy, we do not attribute the Power of the Keys, or cleſiaſtical Cenſures*, as Biſhop *Andrews* obſerves. *We never gave our ings the Power of the Keys, or any Part of either the Key of Order, or the ey of Juriſdiction, purely ſpiritual,* ‖ ſays Biſhop *Bramhall.*

* Stat. 24. H. 8. c. 12. 1

† Vid. Bp. *Sparrow's* Collect. p. 83.

‖ Stat. 5. El. c. 1. 14.

* Rom. 13. 4.

† De minift. Angl. l. 3. c. 3. p. 271.

‖ Schiſm guarded, Sect. 1. c. 4. p. op. 311.

And this bounding of their Claims and Pretences of Power, is ſuitable what we find among thoſe godly *Jewiſh Kings*, and *Chriſtian Emperors*, whom our Church's * *Articles* and † *Canons* about *Supremacy* refer.

* *Art.* 37.

† *Can.* 2.

As to the *Jews*, *It appertaineth not unto thee, O Uzziah! to burn Inſe unto the Lord, but to the Prieſts that are conſecrated thereto*, ſay the ieſts to King *Uzziah*, when he would aſſume to himſelf the Prieſts ffice, for which God miraculouſly *ſmote him with a Leproſy upon the ace*, 2 Chron. 26. 16, 18, 19, 20. And *the Lord hath choſen you to nd before him, to ſerve, and miniſter unto him, and to burn Incenſe*, ſays ing *Hezekiah* to the *Levites*, 2 Chron. 29. 11.

And the like appears of the godly Chriſtian Emperors, who were told their holy Biſhops, and profeſs'd of themſelves, *That they were no ieſts, and that their Power of Empire did not ſwallow up the Sacerdotal wers.* (*b*) *God hath intruſted the Affairs of the Kingdom in your Hands, t thoſe of the Church in ours; and as we may not lawfully take upon us to as Kings, ſo neither have you Authority, O Emperor! to burn Incenſe, or rp the Prieſts Office*, ſaid the great *Hoſius* in his Epiſtle to the Empe- Conſtantius. (*c*) *To you it appertains externally to puniſh, but to us to dge and determine what is heretical and impious*, ſay *Eluſius* and *Sylva-s*, and the other Biſhops, to the ſame *Conſtantius*. (*d*) *The Royal rple makes Men Emperors, but it doth not make them Prieſts*, ſays St. *mbroſe* to the Emperor *Theodoſius*.

As Chriſtians and godly Emperors, they us'd their imperial Power d Sovereignty about *Church-Matters*: But that was not *Privative*, deny the Paſtors of the Church, or to bereave them of their Power; t *Cumulative*, to add the imperial Power, which was of another Kind, the Spiritual, thereby to back their Acts, and to make them bind the faſter.

(*a*) Non vel conciones habendi, vel rei ſacræ præeundi, vel Sacramenta celebrandi; non vel perſonas as, vel res; non clavium jus, vel cenſuræ. Verbo dicam, nihil ille ſibi; nihil nos illi fas putamus ngere, quæ ad Sacerdotale Munus ſpectant, ſeu Poteſtatem Ordinis conſequuntur. *Tortura Torti*, p. 380.

(*b*) —Σοὶ Βασιλείαν ὁ Θεὸς ἐπεχείρισεν, ἡμῖν τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐπίστευσε. ὥστε τοίνυν ἡμῖν ἀρχεῖν ἐπὶ γῆς ἔξεστιν· ὥστε σὺ τὸ θυμιᾶν ἔξουσίαν ἔχεις, Βασιλεῦ. Hoſii Ep. ad Conſtan. ap. Athanaſ. Ep. ad it. p. 840. (*c*) Καὶ αὐτὸν ἔφασαν ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν τῆς τιμωρίας, ἡμᾶς σφᾶς αὐτὰς τῆς εὐσεβείας ἡ σεβείας, Theod. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 2. c. 27. (*d*) —Αλυσγὶς γὰρ Βασιλέας, οὐκ ἱερέας ποιεῖ, Ap. Theod. . Eccl. l. 5. c. 18.

faſter. Thus when they ſent Count *Candidianus* to the Great Council of *Epheſus*, the Emperors *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian* declare in their (*a*) Letter to the Council, That is was *to keep good Order, and to ſee fair Debates; but with Orders not to intermeddle in determining Queſtions of Faith, and Eccleſiaſtical Matters, which*, ſay they, *is lawful only for the Biſhops.* And when the Emperor *Marcian* came in Perſon, at the Paſſing the Definitions of the Great Council of *Chalcedon*, (*b*) *it was not*, as he tells them in his Speech to the Council, *to make Demonſtration of his own Power therein, but to give greater Firmneſs to what they had done in the Exerciſe of theirs.* Which he doth, by (*c*) *ratifying* the ſame *by ſecular Penalties*, as *by Baniſhment of Citizens, Diſbanding of Soldiers, and Depoſition of Clergy*, and *by other Puniſhments*, after the *Determinations of the Council had been read*, and the *Biſhops had own'd and ſubſcrib'd the ſame*, before him. When the Imperial Purple came to confirm a paſtoral Act, it gave a new Authority to that which had Authority in it ſelf before; or, as *Juſtinian* (*d*) ſpeaks in his Confirmation of the epiſcopal Sentence, or Anathema on *Zoaras*, *which*, ſays he, *having a Validity from it ſelf, or Authenticalneſs of its own, the Crown makes yet more valid, or of more Authority, by adding to it a ſecular Penalty.* The Epiſcopal or Spiritual Authority is by too many unjuſtly ſlighted; and therefore the ſecular Authority is both humbly call'd in, and piouſly comes in to its Help, ſince thoſe irreligious Contemners of the ſpiritual Power will ſtand more in Awe of the Secular. (*e*) *Coming in, by their ſecular Authority, to help and back the Church in thoſe Things wherein Men would otherwiſe contemn the Authority of the Biſhops*, as the Fathers expreſs it in the Council of *Carthage.* So that the Imperial Power, even whilſt employ'd about Church-Miniſtrations, all the Time ſuppoſes, but doth not ſwallow up the paſtoral Powers; nor doth its Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy lye, nor was ever thought ſo to do, either by our Church, or by thoſe Times whereto it refers, *in their being veſted with, or having a ſovereign Diſpoſal of the Powers of Orders.* But,

Secondly, It lyes,

Firſt, *In retaining their civil Power over all Perſons, whether Laymen or Eccleſiaſticks.* The civil State was firſt in Being, and Men were Subjects of the State when Chriſtianity came to be propos'd to them, and planted among them. (*f*) *The Church is in the Commonwealth, not the Commonwealth in the Church*, as *Optatus* ſays. And when Men became Members or Miniſters of the Church, they did not thereby ceaſe to be Subjects of the State, or owe ever the leſs Duty unto it. *Let every Soul be ſubject unto the higher Power*, is meant of Eccleſiaſticks as well as others: It takes in all, (*g*) *tho' an Apoſtle, tho' an Evangeliſt, tho' a Prophet, or whoſoever elſe*, as St. *Chryſoſtom* notes. And therefore Princes may lay their civil Commands, and inflict their civil Puniſhments upon Eccleſiaſticks, * as well as upon their other Subjects: They may put them under Fines or Impriſonments, or baniſh them out of their Dominions, or any Parts thereof

* Acts 25. 10, 11.

(*a*) --Καὶ μηδὲν μὲν ταῖς περὶ τῶν δογμάτων γινομέναις ζητήσεσιν κοινωνῆσαι· Ἀθέμιτον γὰρ τὸν μὲν τῆς καταλόγου τῶν ἁγιωτάτων ἐπισκόπων τυγχάνοντα, τοῖς ἐκκλησιαστικοῖς σκέμμασιν ἐπιμίγνυσθαι. Concil. Epheſin. Part 1. p. 229. Ed. Bin. Tom. 2. Concil.

(*b*) Ἡμεῖς γὰρ βεβαιότητα τοῖς πραττομένοις προσθήσοντες, ἃ δυνάμεως ἐπίδειξιν ποιησόμενοι, παρῆμεν τῇ συνόδῳ ἐδοκιμάσαμεν, &c. Conc. Chalced. Part 2. Act. 4. p. 345. Tom. 3. Concil. Ed. Bin.

(*c*) Ibid. p. 361.

(*d*) --Ἡ Κυρίαν καὶ αὐτὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς οὖσαν, κυριωτέραν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἡ Βασιλεία ποιεῖ, καὶ τοῦτο συνεξελαύνουσα τῆς βασιλίδος ταύτης πόλεως, &c. Juſtin. Novel. 42. c. 3.

(*e*) Περὶ τοῦ βοηθῆσαι [ἀρχοντικῇ δυνατείᾳ] τῇ κοινῇ μητρὶ τῇ καθολικῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἐν οἷς ἡ τῶν ἐπισκόπων αὐθεντία ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι καταφρονεῖται, Concil. Carthag. Can. 70.

(*f*) Non enim Reſpublica eſt in Eccleſia, ſed Eccleſia in Republica, *id eſt*, in Imperio Romano. *Optat. l. 3. p. 64. Ed. Par.*

(*g*) Κἂν Ἀπόστολος, &c. Chryſoſt. in loc.

thereof, as † *Claudius* did the *Jews* from *Rome*, or as ‖ *Domitian* did St. *John* into *Patmos*, where he wrote his *Revelations*; and as *Conſtantius* and *Valence* did the orthodox Biſhops in the *Arian* Perſecutions. And true Paſtors are bound to ſubmit to this, like as other Subjects are, either from heathen or heretical Emperors, and even in hard and unjuſt Caſes, as in the foreſaid Inſtances. And (a) *if any under Sentence of Baniſhment*, inflicted on certain Perſons, not on the whole Cauſe, *return into his own Country without Leave of the civil Power, if being caught, he ſuffer for it, he dies not as a Chriſtian, but as a Malefactor*, ſays St. *Cyprian*. So that Biſhops and Miniſters are no exempt Perſons, but are to own their Kings as their civil Sovereigns, and are as much bound to pay Obedience to their civil Laws, and are under the Cognizance of their civil Courts, as others are.

† Acts 18. 2.
‖ Rev. 1. 9

And this civil Subjection of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons againſt the Papal Exemptions thereof, is the main Thing in the Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy claim'd by our Kings. In the * Injunctions of Queen *Elizabeth*, and in the † Canons of King *James*, this Supremacy is call'd, "The "higheſt Power under God, whereto all Men within the ſame Realms, "by God's Law, owe moſt Loyalty and Obedience, afore and above "all other Powers and Potentates in Earth." "Her Majeſty, *ſay the* "‖ *Injunctions again, thereby* neither doth, nor ever will challenge any "*other* Authority than was lately us'd, and was of antient Time due "to the Imperial Crown of this Realm; that is, under God to have "the Sovereignty and Rule over all manner of Perſons born within "her Dominions, of what Eſtate, either Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal, "ſoever they be; ſo as no other foreign Power, ſhall, or ought to have "any Superiority over them." "By Supremacy, *or* chief Govern-"ment, *ſays the 37th Article of Religion*, we give only that Prerogative "which we ſee to have been always given to all godly Princes in "Holy Scriptures by God himſelf; that is, that they ſhould rule all "States and Degrees committed to their Charge by God, whether "they be Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal, and reſtrain with the civil Sword "the Stubborn and Evil-doers." *And the* Oath of Supremacy, *as* (b) *King* James *the Firſt declar'd*, "Only extended to the King's Power "of Judicature over all Perſons, as well Civil as Eccleſiaſtical; ex-"cluding all foreign Powers and Potentates to be Judges within his "Dominions." All which plainly make the *Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy* to lye mainly in *having Biſhops and Miniſters*, or the *Eccleſiaſtical State*, who were broke off from it by the *Papal Exemptions*, *under the ſame common Obligation to the civil Sovereign with other Subjects*, or *under the Tye of civil Subjection.*

* Injun. 1.
† Can. 1.
‖ In the Admonition.

In vertue of this civil Power over their Perſons, as his Subjects, he can command them faithfully to diſcharge their Duties and Functions: And that, not only as *Subjects* in *civil Matters*, but as *Miniſters* in *divine Offices*: For as he is the civil Sovereign, the temporal Magiſtrate is *the Keeper of both Tables*, being to keep his Subjects *in Godlineſs* as well as *in Honeſty*, as * St. *Paul* ſays: And is to uſe the civil Sword for Sins againſt Religion, as well as for Sins againſt the State; and, in his Way, to puniſh Miniſters for Neglect or Abuſe of their ſpiritual Functions, as well as for Breach of the civil Peace, Thus good Kings, as

* 1 Tim. 2. 2.

(a) Alius in eam Patriam, unde extorris factus eſt, regreditur, ut deprehenſus non jam quaſi Chriſtianus, ſed quaſi nocens pereat. *Cyp. Ep.* 13. *p.* 29, 30. *Ed. Ox.*

(b) King James's *Apology for the Oath of Allег.* p. 263.

* 2 Kings 18. 4. † 2 Kings 23. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 11.

as * *Hezekiah* and † *Joſiah*, employ'd their temporal Power to cut off corrupt Adminiſtrations, and to reform Abuſes of Worſhip and religious Offices in the *Jewiſh* Church: As *Conſtantine* and other good Chriſtian Kings and Emperors did afterwards in other Nations. And the 37th Article of our Church declares, That by his Supremacy, *the King with the civil Sword may reſtrain the ſtubborn and evil-doers, whether Laicks or Eccleſiaſticks.* And on this Account, *Conſtantine* (*a*) calls *himſelf the Miniſter of God for the Coercion and Puniſhment of wicked Biſhops.* And, at his Entertainment of the Biſhops, tells them, (*b*) *That God has appointed them the Biſhops of Things within the Church, and him the Biſhop of Things without it*; and that it *belongs to him, as Biſhop of Biſhops, to ſee they diſcharge their Duties, and be pious.* Thus the Emperors *Theodoſius* and *Valentinian* ſay, That (*c*) *God, by ſetting them to reign, had made them the Bond, both of the Piety and of the external Welfare and Security of thoſe who are ſubject to them, the Connexion betwixt which two their Study was to preſerve inviolable.* And (*d*) *in this, Kings*, ſaith St. *Auſtin, according as God commands them, do ſerve the Lord as they are Kings, when they enjoyn good Things, and prohibit evil Things in their Kingdoms: And that, not only in Matters pertaining to human Society, but alſo in Matters pertaining to our holy Religion.*

And thus, by means of his civil Power over ſpiritual Perſons, has the King the like Power over ſpiritual Acts and Functions, *viz.* as he can require, and, by the civil Sword, compel them, whom Chriſt has empower'd thereto in his Dominions, to exerciſe the ſame: I mean, to exerciſe them according to the Rules of God's Word, and of their own ſpiritual Function; his Power lying in calling them to do their Duties, not to any Neglect or Breach thereof. As we ſee was obſerv'd, not only by the godly *Jewiſh* Kings, but alſo by the primitive Emperors, whoſe civil Laws and Edicts in theſe Matters, ſtill follow'd the ſpiritual Rules and Duties, and were a ſecular Enforcement to drive all Eccleſiaſticks to keep them, not to tranſgreſs them. (*e*) *Our Laws do not diſdain to follow the ſacred and divine Canons*; the civil Power in theſe Matters enforcing that which the Church had firſt preſcrib'd, ſays the Emperor *Juſtinian.* And accordingly, in the civil Law for Reſtraint of Excommunications, *We* (*f*) *forbid our Biſhops*, ſaith he, *to excommunicate any, without a juſt Cauſe be ſhewn for it. We forbid all Biſhops and Preſbyters*, ſaith another Law, *to exclude any from the Communion, before Proof of ſuch a Cauſe,* (*g*) *for which this is commanded to be done by the Eccleſiaſtical Canons:* So by his Imperial Power over their Perſons, commanding their Miniſtrations, and limiting them therein to their own Rules.

And thus the King, like as the *Jewiſh* Kings and primitive Emperors were, is Supreme in theſe ſpiritual Acts and Adminiſtrations, *as*

in

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(*a*) Διὰ τῆς τοῦ θεραπόντος τοῦ θεοῦ, τουτέστιν ἐμοῦ, ἐνεργείας ἀναζαλήσεται, Ap. Theod. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 1. c. 20.

(*b*) Ὑμεῖς τῶν εἴσω τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν ἐκτὸς ὑπὸ θεοῦ καθεσταμένος ἐπίσκοπος ἂν εἴην, Euſeb. de vita Conſtant. l. 4. c. 24.

(*c*) Βασιλεύειν ἂν τεταγμένοι παρὰ θεοῦ, σύνδεσμοί τε τῆς τὰ ὑπηκόων ἐυσεβείας τε καὶ ἀνωφελείας τυγχάνοντες, ἀῤῥαγὲς ἀεὶ τὸ προσφυὲς τούτων φυλάττομεν, &c. Concil. Epheſ. Part 1. c. 32. p. 225. Tom. 2. Con. Ed. Bin.

(*d*) In hoc enim Reges, ſicut eis divinitus præcipitur, Deo ſerviunt in quantum Reges ſunt, ſi in ſuo Regno bona jubeant, mala prohibeant, non ſolum quæ pertinent ad humanam ſocietatem, verum etiam quæ ad divinam Religionem, *Aug. contra Creſcon. Grammat. l. 3. c. 5. Tom. 7. Ed. Col.*

(*e*) --Καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς καὶ θείας κανόνας, οἷς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἕπεσθαι κατακολουθεῖν οὐκ ἀπαξιοῦσι νόμοι. Juſtin. Novel. 83.

(*f*) Ἄνευ τοῦ δειχθῆναι αἰτίαν εὔλογον, Cod. Juſtin. l. 1. Tit. 3. L. 30.

(*g*) --Οἱ ἐκκλησιάσικοι κανόνες τοῦτο γίνεσθαι κελεύουσι, Juſtin. Novel. 123. c. 11.

in his Dominions, they are all to be ſped and adminiſter'd, not by independent Foreigners, but by his own Subjects; or, as having the ſupreme earthly Command of Biſhops and Prieſts, who are bound in civil Obedience to him as their temporal Sovereign, to exerciſe them when he requires it: And this Way he can give *final Juſtice* to all his Subjects, in all ſpiritual as well as temporal Matters; having Authority to command his Biſhops and Clergy to do it in the one, as well as his Judges and temporal Miniſters to do it in the other: And by this Power of doing it by their Means or Miniſtrations, is his Supremacy ſet off. Thus, in the (*a*) Statute for the Reſtraint of Appeals, the King is declar'd to be the *one ſupreme Head*, endow'd *with plenary Power and Authority to render final Juſtice in all Cauſes*; becauſe *the Spirituality*, or his Biſhops and Clergy, *can adminiſter and determine all that belongs to their ſpiritual Offices*; and *the Judges*, and other his temporal Miniſters, can do the like for *Tryal of Property, and Conſervation of civil Peace. The King's Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical Matters*, (*b*) *doth not imply the Power of the Keys, which he has not*; *but he may command thoſe who have them to uſe them rightly*, ſays Mr. *Maſon. This Supremacy is preſerv'd, if he take Care that thoſe who have the Power of Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures, do exerciſe them*, (*c*) ſays Dr. *Burhil. He has plenary Power to render final Juſtice*; that is, *to receive the laſt Appeal of his own Subjects, without any Fear of any Review from* Rome, *or at* Rome. *for all Matters Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal*; *Eccleſiaſtical by his Biſhops, Temporal by his Judges*, (*d*) ſays Biſhop *Bramhall*. So that the legal Supremacy of our Kings in ſpiritual Matters, lyes in their Power of doing them all, (without any Interpoſition of foreign Biſhops, who are none of their Subjects) by their own Biſhops and Clergy, whom they can command and compel to do their Duties therein, as their civil Sovereigns. And this Way the civil Sovereignty doth not drown, or ſwallow up the ſpiritual Powers of Eccleſiaſticks, but ſuppoſes them all the while peculiarly and immediately veſted therewith; but only retains its own ſecular Power over their Perſons, as well as others; whereby it can oblige them to a due Diſcharge of their ſacred Powers, according to the Rules of their ſpiritual Functions, as Occaſion requires.

It lyes moreover,

Secondly, *In the Subordination of Eccleſiaſtical Courts and Cauſes*, wherein *Eccleſiaſticks are content to act ſubordinately, on the Score of their ſecular Mixtures and Juriſdictions*, as in beneficiary Matters, Cenſures, and other Things of that Cognizance. To give more Leiſure and Encouragement to the Miniſters of Religion, in attending their ſpiritual Adminiſtrations, the civil State has endow'd their ſpiritual Cures with temporal Benefices or Preferments: And to beget a greater Regard, and a more general and awful Obſervance of Eccleſiaſtical Determinations, the civil Power, as I before obſerv'd, is annex'd and mingled with the ſpiritual in theſe Cauſes, and a Concurrence is therein made of temporal and eccleſiaſtical Juriſdictions.

(*a*) 24 H. 8. *c.* 12. 1.

(*b*) *Rex has claves non habet, habentibus tamen, ut eis recte utantur, pro ſuo jure imperare poteſt*, Maſ. Miniſt. Angl. l. 3. c. 3. p. 271.

(*c*) Of the King's Supremacy in his Anſwer to *Becanus*, p. 22, & p. 244.

(*d*) Biſhop *Bramhall*'s Juſt Vindication, *&c.* p. Op. 63. *vid.* & p. 230.

The Matters cognizable there, are not only mere ſpiritual, but ſome of them of a temporal Nature. Such are all *Cauſes Teſtamentary*, or about Wills; the Cauſes of *Matrimony* and *Divorces*; and thoſe about the Right of *Tythes*, *Oblations*, and *Obventions*; * *the Knowledge whereof, by the Goodneſs of Princes of this Realm*, ſays the Statute for Reſtraint of Appeals, *and by the Laws and Cuſtoms of the ſame, appertaineth to the ſpiritual Juriſdiction of this Realm.*

* Sat. 24. H. 2. c. 1. 2.

And the *Canons* and *Rubricks*, which are to rule all Proceedings, are not only the *Preſcriptions of Biſhops and Prieſts*, but royal and civil Injunctions. Like as alſo the ancient Canons were, by the Piety of the primitive Emperors. (*a*) "We decree, that the holy Eccleſiaſtical "Canons, either thoſe paſs'd in the four general Councils, or thoſe "confirm'd by them, be in Place of Laws, *ſays the Emperor* Juſtinian. "(*b*) Our own Laws will have the divine Canons not to be of leſs "Force or Effect than Laws,---- and what the ſacred Canons forbid, "that alſo do our Laws coerce and aboliſh, *ſays the* Code." And as it was in the Caſe of thoſe ancient Canons under thoſe Emperors, ſo in Caſe of ours too under our Kings, the Judgments and Sentences upon them reſt not in mere ſpiritual, but draw on temporal Effects and Incapacities, which affect the Sufferers in their Perſons and Eſtates, as well as in their ſpiritual Concerns; As ſubjecting them to a Writ of Impriſonment, rendering them uncapable to commence or carry on a Suit at Law, or the like.

Now for the Favour of this State-Concurrence in all theſe Cauſes, that under the Union of two ſuch different Powers there may be no claſhing, the Church ſubmits to act in Subordination, and the King, in all theſe Cauſes and mixt Juriſdictions, is Supreme. That is, *no Synod of Eccleſiaſticks* is *to meet* for *making Canons* or *Conſtitutions*, but when, by *his Writ*, *he convenes* them: Nor are any *Agreements* of theirs, when aſſembled, to be publiſh'd as *Canons* or *Ordinances*, 'till he approves or ratifies them: Nor any of thoſe introduc'd formerly, to be executed and put in Uſe, farther than they conſiſt with the King's Prerogative Royal, and with the Laws, Cuſtoms, and Statutes of the Realm: All which are provided for in the † *Statute of Submiſſion*. And when Canons are thus made by his Ratification, it ſubmits alſo, that in certain Caſes, which are declar'd by other Acts, they may be relax'd by his Royal Diſpenſation; and that, as in making Canons, ſo alſo in granting Diſpenſations from them, he ſhall be Supreme. That no Perſons ſhall be elected Biſhops of benefic'd and temporally-endow'd Churches, but who have the King's Letters miſſive, as is provided in * another Statute, or who are of his Nomination. That when Eccleſiaſticks ſit to judge in their Courts by thoſe Laws, all their Proceedings in that Judicature ſhall be ſubject to the King's Prohibition to ſtop their farther hearing of a Cauſe, which, by Allowance of Cuſtom, is of another Cognizance; or to his Commiſſion of *Review* upon Appeals made to him, after they have given Sentence: So that in theſe Courts there is a Subjection and Subordination to the King, both as to the Laws they proceed by, which are the King's Laws, as not paſſing, or being introduc'd, without his Approbation or Sufferance, and as to the Judgments there paſs'd according to them.

† Stat. 25 H. 8. c. 19.

* Stat. 25. Eliz. c. 29.

And

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(*a*) Θεσπίζομεν τοίνυν τάξιν νόμων ἐπέχειν τὰς ἁγίας ἐκκλησιαστικὰς κανόνας, τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν ἁγίων τεσσάρων συνόδων ἐκτεθέντας, ἢ βεβαιωθέντας, &c. Juſtin. Novel. 131. c. 1.

(*b*) Τὰς δὲ θείας κανόνας ὡς ἔλαττον τῶν νόμων ἰσχύειν καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι βέλονται νόμοι---ὅσπερ γὰρ αἱ ἱεραὶ κανόνες κωλύουσι, τοῦτο καὶ ἡμεῖς διὰ τῶν ἡμετέρων εἰργόμεν νόμων, Cod. Juſtin. l. 1. Tit. 3. L. 45.

And becauſe of this *Subordination of the Biſhops and Clergy* in their pure *ſpiritual Juriſdictions*, for the *Civil Sovereign's Addition of ſuch temporal or State-Concurrence*, the King is declar'd *Supreme in all theſe Cauſes*. Thus much is declar'd in the Paſſages already mention'd from the Statutes ſettling the King's Supremacy. And thus 'tis ſaid in another Statute of the *Review of the Inſtitution of a Chriſtian Man*, that King *Henry* the Eighth ſet it forth, as Supream Head of the Church of *England*, becauſe he call'd the *Convocation* together, *to frame and publiſh by his Conſent*. And thus in his (*a*) *Declaration* prefix'd to the Thirty nine *Articles of Religion*, King *Charles* the Firſt ſets forth his Supremacy over the Church, by this Subordination of the Churchmen; and becauſe in making any Canons or Conſtitutions they muſt have his Licenſe for their aſſembling, and their Orders and Agreements confirm'd by his *Approbation*, and executed all with *Subordination to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Land*, for Preſervation whereof they are ſubject to the Temporal Prohibition.

* Stat. 32 H. 8. c. 26.

And in reſpect of both theſe Parts of civil Power, *viz.* both in having this civil Command of ſpiritual Perſons, and this civil Power over ſpiritual Cauſes by reaſon of ſuch ſecular Mixtures, it lyes moreover in having the ſame,

Thirdly, *In Oppoſition and Bar of all other earthly Dependance*, eſpecially of all *foreign Juriſdiction and Appeals*. *He is the one ſupream Head of all, both Spiritual* and *Temporal, next under God*, ſaith the † Statute of *Reſtraint of Appeals*. And the Claim of Supremacy in the Queen's Injunctions, is *ſo, as no other foreign Power ſhall or ought to have any Superiority over them*. And the thirty ſeventh Article of Religion, the Firſt of King *James* the Firſt's Canons, and eſpecially the *Oath of Supremacy*, doth moſt fully diſclaim and exclude all *foreign Juriſdiction* therein. And the *extending of the King's Power of Judicature over all Perſons*, Eccleſiaſticks as well as others, thereby, is *for excluding all foreign Powers from being Judges in our King's Dominions*, as we heard from King *James's Apology for the Oath of Allegiance*.

† 24 H. 8. c. 12.

The foreign Juriſdiction and Appeals particularly aim'd at, is that which was claim'd here by the Popes of *Rome*. They had wreſted from the Crown the foreſaid Sovereignty, both over Eccleſiaſtical Perſons and Cauſes. For as to Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, they claim'd an Exemption for them, as not anſwerable in civil Courts, but cognizable only by themſelves. And as to Eccleſiaſtical Miniſtrations, as back'd by ſecular Benefices, and Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, as mixt in the Eccleſiaſtical Courts with civil Privileges and Juriſdiction, they diſclaim'd Subordination to the Crown, and aſſerted a Supremacy to themſelves herein: For they made themſelves Supream here in *Inveſtitures to Benefices and Preferments*; and to have the chief Power, by their *Legates*, of *calling our Convocations*; of *paſſing and ratifying all our Decrees, Canons, and Conſtitutions*; of *granting Diſpenſations*

(*a*) That we are ſupreme Governour of the Church of *England*, and that if any Difference ariſe about the external Polity, concerning the Injunctions, Canons, or other Conſtitutions whatſoever thereto belonging, the Clergy in their Convocation is to order and ſettle them, having firſt obtain'd Leave under our Broad Seal ſo to do; and we approving their ſaid Ordinances and Conſtitutions, providing that none be made contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms of the Land. *His Majeſty's Declaration before the* 39 *Articles of Religion.*

from them; of *having their Decrees take Place, of the Prerogatives of the Crown, or of the Cuſtoms of the Realm*; of *holding Courts*; and of *receiving Appeals from any of our ſpiritual Courts and Judicatures*, and the like. All which civil Powers over Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, and Subordination of Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes proceeding by the aforeſaid Mixture of ſecular Fortifications, Benefices, and Juriſdictions; the *Statutes*, *Articles*, *Injunctions*, and *Canons* of this Church and Realm about Supremacy, aboliſh in the Popes, and aſſert to the Crown, to which they anciently did and of Right ſhould belong.

So that this *ſovereign civil Power over all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons*, as their *Subjects*; and this *Subordination of all Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes to it*, becauſe of the *Concurrence and Intermixture of the foreſaid civil Privileges and Juriſdictions therewith*; and that *in Oppoſition to the Papal Pretences in theſe Points*; is the *Eccleſiaſtical Supremacy veſted in the King*, by our *Church* and *Laws*. The Pope's *ſpiritual Uſurpation upon this Church* was ſhaken off, by aſſerting to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* the *Britiſh Church's ancient and independent Primacy*: Which did Right to the King too; it being againſt his Prerogative that any Foreigner, who doth not own himſelf to be one of his Subjects, ſhould have any Power in his Dominions. And his *civil Uſurpation on the Crown*, in reſpect to *Eccleſiaſtical Perſons* and *Cauſes* among its Subjects, was thrown out *by aſſerting of the King's Supremacy*.

But when the *Supremacy* ſpeaks ſuch a *civil Power over the Perſons of Eccleſiaſticks*, as they are its *Subjects*, and ſuch *Subordination of Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes thereto*, as they are united to ſecular Benefices and Juriſdictions; yet at the ſame Time, as I have ſhewn, doth it diſclaim all Pretence to *mere ſpiritual Powers*, or *to the ſovereign Diſpoſal of the Powers of Orders*. Of it ſelf it can neither give nor recall them; nor ſtop the Miniſtrations thereof, in any of thoſe Caſes where Chriſt requires them: All it can do there, is to withdraw its civil Incorporation, from thoſe who have theſe mere ſpiritual Powers; and are bound, for the Sake of Religion and of the Souls of Men, to proceed in the Exerciſe thereof: But ſtill that Exerciſe and Adminiſtration which hangs on another's Commiſſion, will go on upon its own Bottom, and muſt be diſcharg'd as it can, under the Oppoſition, inſtead of the former Incorporation of State, or under civil Perſecution.

And this Continuance of ſuch Miniſtrations in ſuch Caſes, notwithſtanding the Depoſition of State, I think may fairly be concluded from the Conceſſions of thoſe who have undertaken to plead for the Authority of *State-Deprivations*, and to preſs them on the ſuffering Clergy at ſuch Times.

We are told by one (*a*) from Mr. *Maſon*, that a *State-Depoſition of a Biſhop is not by Way of Degradation from his Orders, as if he had them not, but of Excluſion from the Exerciſe thereof: And that not abſolutely, as* if he could *exerciſe his Office* no where; *but after a Sort, that he ſhould not do it as to their Subjects, nor in their Dominions.* And by (*b*) another that *a State-Deprivation doth not concern the Character or Eccleſiaſtical Communion, as an Eccleſiaſtical-Deprivation doth; but only concerns the Exerciſe of his Epiſcopal Authority, in any Dioceſe within the Dominions of that State, or enjoying any Eccleſiaſtical Benefice in it.*

Now

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(*a*) Vindication of a Diſcourſe againſt the new Separation, *p.* 11.

(*b*) A Vindication of their Majeſty's Authority to fill the Sees of the depriv'd Biſhops, p. 18, 19, 20.) or as they ſhould be mark'd, p. 22, 23, 24.)

Now, ſince ſuch *State-Deprivation* neither *concerns the Character* nor the *Communion of the Church*, 'tis plain he is a Biſhop ſtill, notwithſtanding their Deprivation; and ſuch a Biſhop, as, without any Fault in Church-Communion, all good Chriſtians may communicate with: And ſince *his Exerciſe of Epiſcopal Powers* is thereby excluded only *from the Dioceſes and Subjects of their Dominions*, it is ſtill the ſame it was, as to all other Places. And what is the Hindrance of exerciſing the ſame ſtill in thoſe Dioceſes, and among that King's Subjects? One Reaſon already cited is, becauſe he cannot exerciſe them in the *incorporate Way*, or *in Enjoyment of any Eccleſiaſtical Benefice*. But beſides, another, I conceive, is ſuggeſted, *viz. Regard to State-Authority*, or *Civil Obedience*. Tho' *neither the Faith, nor the Communion of the Church is* here *concern'd*; yet, * ſays the learned Author laſt men- * P. 20.
tion'd, *the Authority of the State is, which obliges both the Clergy and Laity in theſe Caſes*. So that altho' neither his Powers are thereby vacated, nor their Dependance and Communion with him is broken off on other Accounts; yet, in civil Obedience, it ſeems by his Account, both Biſhops and People, on ſuch State-Deprivation, are bound to acquieſce.

But now, if they are left in full Poſſeſſion of their ſpiritual Powers, and of the Communion of the Church, 'tis plain they cannot be debarr'd of their Miniſtrations in the foreſaid Caſes, nor the People of their Attendance on them, in any Regard to ſecular Inhibitions, or to ſhew Civil Obedience: For we muſt never hear Kings againſt Chriſt, or obey them when they bar us of doing what he bids us do: And *theſe Miniſtrations* he requires and calls for in the aforeſaid Caſes, as I have ſhewn; and alſo for the *Peoples Communion* with, and *Attendance* on them: And it matters not, that they cannot miniſter any longer in the incorporate Way, or under Shelter of Civil Laws, and Enjoyment of Benefices: For true Miniſters of Chriſt, and of Souls, muſt deſpiſe Benefices and ſecular Incorporations, when they come in Competition with his Service, and miniſter his Word and Worſhip at their Hazard, and under Perſecutions.

Beſides, if, as he owns, ſuch Deprivation doth not affect the *Communion of the Church*, it leaves the Subjects of thoſe Dioceſes ſtill under the ſame religious and Church-Principles of Dependance and Communion with their Biſhops, as they were before it: For tho' the State ſhould not meddle therein, the Church has Principles of this Dependance and Communion of its own. Chriſt requires his Church ſhould be one, and that is by adhering to their Biſhops, whom he has made the Heads of Union: And theſe, it ſeems, the Deprivation of State doth not at all cancel, *only the Authority of State, as is* ‖ *ſaid*, ‖ P. 20.
but not Church Communion, being concern'd therein. So that ſuch Biſhops depriv'd by the State, continue ſtill to be Chriſt's Biſhops, and Heads of Union in thoſe Dioceſes, according to his Rules and Principles of Union: And then, how ſhall a mere Command of State diſſolve the Tye made by him, or break Communion betwixt their Biſhop and them? Whilſt Chriſt, by conſcionable Obligations of Church Unity, bids them adhere to their Biſhop, and keep one with him; muſt they give Ear to the State that bids them divide from him? I think, on ſecond Thoughts, he will not make Church-Union, or the Dependance of People on their Biſhops, ſo unſettled or precarious a Thing, as either to have no fix'd and conſcionable Principles,

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ingaging and holding all good Members thereto, of its own; or to have it in the Power of a ſecular State, when it pleaſes to ſet them aſide, and over-rule them.

CHAP. III.

Remarks on the preceding Account of the Force of State-Deprivations, and Inſtances of Deprivations alledg'd to the contrary, conſider'd and clear'd up.

FROM what I have ſaid in the *foregoing Chapters* about the *Power of the Civil State, and the Effect of its Deprivations*, I think it may appear, that *the Biſhops and Miniſters of Chriſt continue ſtill inveſted with their miniſterial Powers, and can receive no Diſcharge from the Exerciſe thereof, in the fore-mention'd Caſes, by any State-Deprivations.*

And of this I obſerve, from what has been hitherto diſcours'd,

First, *That this is not to deny the Civil Power the Cognizance of Biſhops and Miniſters in Civil Matters.* Allegiance, 'tis true, is a civil Matter, and moſt nearly concerns the civil Peace: Indeed, it is not only Civil, but alſo Religious: For when Men are requir'd to ſwear it, and in all Churches to pray conformably to it, ſolemn Oaths and Prayers are moſt ſacred and religious Acts: And Allegiance, in it ſelf, is a moral Duty, for due Payment whereof all ſtand anſwerable to God in the laſt Judgment; as well as a Civil or State-Duty, for which they are anſwerable to the State in Judicatures of this World: But it is ſuch a Matter of Religion, I ſay, as is alſo a civil Matter, ſubject to civil Cognizance, or a Point of State too.

And if this is refus'd to a rightful State, it is not only an Offence againſt Morality and Religion, which ſpiritual Judicatures and Synods may puniſh with Canonical Depoſitions; but alſo an Offence againſt the State, which ſuch rightful State may puniſh by State-Puniſhments, as it may all other State-Offences; and in Eccleſiaſticks, when they are guilty thereof, as in all other Perſons. And among theſe Puniſhments, by *Deprivation*, tho' not of mere ſpiritual Powers, (the State having no Authority to take away thoſe mere ſpiritual Powers which it never gave) yet of all that is temporal in Church-Miniſtrations, ſo as that ſuch Refuſers ſhall no longer hold Benefices and Preferments, or State Endowments: Yea, and even as to thoſe mere ſpiritual Powers, it may make them of themſelves to forbear any farther Exerciſe thereof, to keep State-Favours and Endowments to the Church, when their Deprivation is in a Caſe that concerns only their own perſonal

onal Rights and Privileges, but not the Truths or Cauſe of Chriſt, s was before obſerv'd.

But if at any Time, or in any Kingdom, this ſhould be refus'd to an ſurping State, which has no legal Right, but which calls for this llegiance, Oaths, and ſolemn Prayers, and religious Services, con-ormable thereto, againſt him who has the Right: Then ſuch Refuſal s neither a religious nor a Civil Offence, neither againſt God, nor God's Vicegerent, divine or human Laws; but a due Obedience to oth: And this brings on the Caſe of all the foreſaid Immoralities, amnifying Religion and endangering Souls, wherein faithful Bi-hops and Clergy, whatever they incur by ſtanding to their ſpiritual Miniſtrations, muſt not let them fall in regard to any Deprivation of ſurping Powers: Nay, nor in regard to the moſt rightful States, hould they iſſue out againſt them State-Deprivations, to ſtop their Miniſtrations againſt any ſuch like Immoralites, or other irreligious nd endangering Ways.

And this Limitation of the Regard they ought to have to his De-rivation, *is not to deny the rightful Civil Sovereign any Part of his juſt ower over Eccleſiaſticks*; but only to deny him ſuch a Power as would eave our Saviour Chriſt himſelf, who is his Maſter as well as theirs, o have no Power over them; or ſuch a Power, as ſhould enable him o diſcharge them of what Chriſt has given in Charge to them; to ke away what Powers he confers, or to looſe what he has ty'd on: ut under all this Diſcharge of their foreſaid Miniſtrations, notwith-anding his Inhibitions and Deprivations, it allows the Civil Magiſtrate much Power over their Perſons, to mulct, baniſh, or put them to eath, on juſt Cauſe, as they are his Subjects, as over any others; nd to have Power alſo over the mixt Way of Adminiſtrations, ſo as be able to deprive them, tho' not of all Exerciſe of their ſpiritual owers, yet from holding or exerciſing them with temporal Juriſ-ictions, Effects, and Privileges, after the Way of an incorporate Church: nd to have thoſe other fore-mention'd Prerogatives, of convening ynods, paſſing Canons, ſending Prohibitions to ſtop any Proceſs Prejudice of the Prerogative, or of the Laws, *&c.* which, for the vour and Continuance of thoſe ſecular Mixtures, have accru'd by corporation, and belong to Chriſtian Kings: And theſe Things hich are *allow'd*, are as much as any of them can claim of Eccle-ſticks, as they are *Kings*: And, on the other ſide, thoſe Things hich are *deny'd*, are ſuch, as they would abhor to challenge or de-e, who would own any Subjection to Chriſt, or bound their Pre-nſions as *Chriſtian Kings*.

Secondly, Nor is it *to ſet the Church above the State*, as the *Papal* ſurpation pretended to do: But only to ſet Almighty God, and his leſſed Son Jeſus Chriſt, above it; not leaving Subjects, whether aicks or Eccleſiaſticks, in Compliance with any the moſt rightful tate, to diſobey God; nor Miniſters, to let fall any Services and liniſtrations of Religion, or Cure of Souls, which Chriſt calls them exerciſe; yea, not only when the State is conſenting, but when it in-ſays it, and doth all it can, either to diſable or diſcourage them om it; he not having thought fit to ſtand to the Courteſy of any ivil State, whether or no the Miniſtry of ſaving Souls ſhould be

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proſecuted, and whether he ſhould be ſerv'd, and have a Church on Earth.

But at the ſame Time it ſets God and Religion above their Power; it ſubjects all, both Laicks and Eccleſiaſticks, to the ſame in other Things; allowing every rightful civil State, the chief civil Power over all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons; and the chief civil Power over all Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, ſo far forth, and ſo long, as they are mix'd and compounded with civil Benefices and Juriſdictions; and a civil Power to compel Church-Men, by civil Penalties, to do the Duty of their ſpiritual Miniſtrations; and to hold them under a Neceſſity of *not reſiſting by Arms*, but of ſuffering with Patience under them, when they puniſh and perſecute them, not for breaking, but for faithfully performing of the ſame: And this is to leave the civil Power to be chief in all civil Matters, and to have ſeveral Prerogatives of Sovereignty in ſpiritual, ſo long as they proceed with civil Mixtures; that is, to be ſupreme in all which it can call its own; tho' at the ſame Time it is not to be held ſuperior to Chriſt, nor muſt be thought intruſted with the ſupreme Diſpoſal of the Matters of Religion wherein Men are empower'd of Chriſt by another Sort of Commiſſion.

And from all theſe 'tis plain, that it is no Revival of the *aboliſh'd Papal Uſurpations*: For theſe lay not in the Biſhops aſſerting, as aforeſaid, of their own pure ſpiritual Powers; or of their own indefeaſible Obligations, notwithſtanding any State-Inhibitions and Deprivations to exerciſe them for the Service of Religion and the Church as Chriſt requires they ſhould, in the fore-mention'd and other like Caſes: For this is no more than has been done by the Holy Apoſtles and by all faithful Biſhops and Miniſters, in all Ages: But in their claiming an Independency on the State, in the exerciſe of ſpiritual Powers and Miniſtrations, mix'd and endow'd with the borrow'd Adjuncts of ſecular Benefices and Juriſdictions; and in their profeſſing a Dependance therein upon the Pope, ſeeking to him for Inveſtitures and Confirmations, and making him the laſt Judge by Appeals: And alſo depending on him for convening Synods, for paſſing and confirming Canons, and granting Diſpenſations from them, and for other Matters, which, for their civil Endowments of Churches, were granted to Chriſtian Princes, and by Incorporation accru'd to the Crown: And, laſtly, in their challenging an Exemption of their Perſons from civil Cognizance, ſo as not to be anſwerable in civil Courts, and coercible there by civil Penalties, even for State-Matters and Offences: And the retrenching of theſe Uſurpations, was the Buſineſs of our *Reformers*. But as for the Independence of the Eccleſiaſticks mere ſpiritual Powers, and their Obligations to exerciſe them in any Caſe, as may anſwer the Command of Jeſus Chriſt, and not the contrary Inclination or Inhibition of the civil Magiſtrate, they were as far from intending as from needing to reform it: Yea, ſoon after, they were moſt glorious Aſſerters thereof, in all their Miniſtrations for the Service of Souls, and for the Support of Truth; which they diſcharg'd againſt the Deprivations and Inhibitions of the State as *Confeſſors* and *Martyrs*, during all the Perſecutions of Queen *Mary*'s Reign.

Thirdly, *Nor is this to miſtake, or to over-look the Condition of an incorporate Church*: But only not to over-value the civil Benefits of

Incorporation; and at the ſame Time to under-value their Obligations to Chriſt, to the Miniſteries of Religion, and to the Souls of Men. It is neceſſary that Paſtors and People ſhould keep obedient and true to Chriſt: But it is not neceſſary that they ſhould keep in the Favour of Princes, and continue a Church incorporate: Nay, it is neceſſary they ſhould chearfully take up the Croſs, and be content to be a Church perſecuted, when they can no longer enjoy the ſecular Benefits of Incorporation, without yielding to an irreligious and ill Miniſtration; nor hold on miniſtring to the neceſſary Service of Souls, and of pure Religion, without incurring Perſecution: For then all Church-men of any Fidelity or Conſcience muſt ſhew themſelves Miniſters of Chriſt, not of Princes; and Guides, that watch for Souls, not for Benefices and ſecular Acceſſions: And, like their great Maſter, and all good and holy Biſhops, who were call'd by him, as we all are, to ſpiritual Miniſteries, under whatever Perſecutions of Princes, deſpiſe all State-Favours and Preferments in this World, in Compariſon of fulfilling that ſpiritual Miniſtry and moſt ſacred Truſt which they have receiv'd from the Lord, and whereof one Day they muſt give a moſt ſtrict Account.

And therefore it is a very ill-grounded Reaſoning, which the aforeſaid Author of the *Vindication of their Majeſties Authority*, &c. uſes, to authorize the Deprivation of ſuffering Biſhops at ſuch Times for State-Matters, by a mere Act of State, † thinking it well prov'd, if *it is as certain and evident, as that the Church is and muſt be incorporated into the State*: For in the aforeſaid Caſes, for the Service of Chriſt, and the Sake of Religion, and of Souls, the Church is bound to break with the State, and to lay aſide all Thoughts of continuing incorporated, and ſubmit to be perſecuted: It is then call'd to bear Chriſt's Croſs, for its Stedfaſtneſs in his Service and Miniſtrations; not to ſeek or court State-Favours, by ceaſing to miniſter what is good, or conſenting to miniſter what is ill, in Compliance with Princes. And if, inſtead of being *certain and evident it muſt*, 'tis *certain and evident the Church muſt not* be any longer incorporate, when it cannot purchaſe it but on theſe Terms: Then in all the foreſaid Caſes there is an End of all Arguments to perſwade Acquieſcence, for the Preſervation of the Incorporation of Churches in Chriſtian Kingdoms.

† P. 17.

But tho' this Principle, of *faithfully exerciſing their pure ſpiritual Miniſtrations in the foreſaid Caſes*, without accepting any Diſcharge thereof from mere State-Deprivations, excludes all over-rating of civil Incorporation, or placing the Favour of Princes above the Favour of God, and Benefices and Preferments above the Intereſt of Religion and of Souls: Yet doth it, at the ſame Time, allow to an incorporate State, all that really doth belong to it: And therefore in theſe Miniſtrations, after Deprivation by a rightful State, it claims nothing that came to Church-men by Incorporation: But its ſpiritual Miniſtrations, Chriſt's Church then diſcharges without the Encouragement of State-Benefices and Preferments; without claiming the Convenience of the eſtabliſh'd Places for a free holding of its religious Aſſemblies, or the Guard and Aſſiſtance of any of the fore-mention'd civil Laws, Juriſdictions, or other ſecular Mixtures and State-Acceſſions, for the ſtrengthening and furtherance of its exerciſe of any ſpiritual Functions. And what more ſhould they look at in this *State of Incorporation*, than to ſee, that as they do not let fall any ſpiritual Service, which was not given up, nor can be ſtopp'd thereby; ſo when deveſted thereof,

that they do not challenge any worldly Benefices, Powers, or other Endowments, which are dependant thereupon.

And this is not to make the Claims and Exercise of Ecclesiastical Powers by Bishops and Pastors, *the same in all Points at this Day in an incorporate Church, as they were by the ancient Canons, whilst the Church was separate from the State, under the Gentile Persecutions.* It asserts them the same, as to ministring all that is necessary in Religion, and in Care of Souls; which the Pastors are as much empower'd, and as much oblig'd to look to, under Incorporation as before it: And to be the same also in other Points, given up and accruing to the State at the Incorporation of the Church, as *naming of Bishops, convening them in Synods, ratifying of Canons, dispensing with them,* and the like; after once a rightful State breaks the Incorporation, and puts the true Church from State-Protection and Endowments into a State of Persecution: For then the Church and State are divided again, as they were in the Days of the ancient Canons; and so they may be free, as Bishops then were, to exercise those Powers by the Rule of those Canons, as they can, and as in Prudence they shall see Cause. But whilst the Protection and Incorporation holds, for the Sake whereof it laid down its Claim to those Powers, and suffer'd them to become the States-Prerogatives; the Bishops and Ministers are not to pretend to them: And so whilst the Church enjoys such Incorporation, our own Church, by its *Articles* and *Canons*, disclaims the Exercise of these Powers by it self, and confirms them to the Crown, as I formerly observ'd.

Thus are the Recognitions, which Ecclesiasticks ought to make of the *Supremacy of Princes*, and all the Regard they ought to bear to the *Incorporation of the Church*, fairly consistent with their faithful Discharge of their spiritual Ministrations, after the State has depriv'd them, in the foresaid Cases. They stand bound to Christ there, to exercise the same by manifold Obligations, as I have shewn: And no Deprivations of Princes, tho' they be sovereign Governours of all their Subjects, and have endow'd and incorporated the Church, can disable or discharge them from it.

And from this State of these Matters, it may be easy to clear and take off the Force of *those Instances*, which are brought of *State-Deprivations without the Concurrence of Ecclesiastical Synods*, and to shew they are of no Force in the foresaid Cases.

The Instances chiefly insisted on, * are the *Deposition of* Abiathar by Solomon; and the *frequent*, sometimes *annual Deposition of their High-Priests by the* Romans, when *Judea* fell into their Hands; the *Depositions of the* Patriarchs *of the* Greek *Church by the* Turks; and the *Deprivation of Queen* Mary's *Popish Bishops, by a Commission of State*, pursuant to an *Act of Parliament without a Synod*, at the Beginning of the *Reformation under Queen* Elizabeth.

* Vindication of their Majesties Authority to fill, &c. p. 23, 24, 25, 26.

First, As for *Abiathar*, whom, for *conspiring with* Adonijah, Solomon is said to have *thrust out from being Priest unto the Lord*, 1 Kings 2. 27. it doth not appear that *Solomon* did remove him from *the Dignity and Office of High Priest*, but only from *the Exercise thereof:* For after the Sentence was pass'd upon *Abiathar*, and after *Joab* the General also his Complice and Conspirator, had been *sentenc'd*, and *suffer'd Death*, and *Benajah* was made General in his Place, 1 *Kings* 1. 28, 34, 35. *Abiathar* is still reckon'd as *Partner with Zadock* in the *High-Priesthood*, 1 Kings 4. For so, in the reckoning up of *Solomon*'s Officers, where

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Benajah the Son of Jehojadah *was over the Hoſt*, 'tis added, *and* Zadock *and* Abiathar *were the Prieſts*, v. 4.

And as for the debarring him the *Exerciſe of his High-Prieſt's Office*, that was the natural and inſeparable Conſequent of † *his Baniſhment from* Jeruſalem *to* Anathoth *for his Life:* For the Exerciſe of that Office was local, and fix'd to *Jeruſalem* and the *Temple*. In the *Temple* were all the Prieſts ty'd to officiate, whoſe Miniſtrations he was to direct; and in that was the *Holy of Holies*, * *whereinto once a Year he* himſelf in Perſon, and he *alone, was to enter, and offer the Blood of Expiation*; and there was *the Mercy Seat*, before which he was to ſtand with the *Urim* and *Thummim*, to conſult God upon Occaſion: The Exerciſe of which Miniſtrations, with others, requir'd his perſonal Reſidence, and could not be diſcharg'd by him living in another Place; ſo that the baniſhing him from *Jeruſalem*, by mere natural Conſequent, without need of ſpiritual Juriſdiction, excluded him from the Exerciſe of the *High-Prieſt's Office:* And this Baniſhment *Solomon* inflicted on him as his civil Sovereign, for his trayterous Conſpiracy with *Adonijah*; and on like Cauſe any other lawful Sovereign may do the ſame: And without doubt, he not only conſented to this Amotion, but was thankful for it; and that inſtead of being ſent to *Anathoth*, he was not ſent out of the World, as by Law ‖ *his Fact deſerv'd.* So that *Abiathar* had nothing to conteſt his Caſe, nor any Mind to do it; being juſtly liable to ſuffer ſo much more at the Hand of the civil Power, than it was pleas'd to inflict on him.

† 1 Kings 2. 26, 27. *and* Joſeph. Antiqui. l. 8. c. 1.

* Heb. 9. 7.

‖ 1 Kings 2. 26.

And then as for *Zadock* who held the High-Prieſthood in his Room, and whilſt he was living, that doth not appear to have been by a *new Creation:* For before this Extruſion of *Abiathar*, he had been created Partner, *Vicar*, or *Suffragan* with him in the High-Prieſt's Office in *David's* Time. Thus, in the reckoning up of *David's* Officers, they are put together as filling this Place. Sheva *was Scribe, and* Zadock *and* Abiathar *were the Prieſts*, 2 Sam. 20. 25. And *haſt thou not there with thee* Zadock *and* Abiathar *the Prieſts*, ſays *David* to *Huſhai*, when, in his Flight from *Abſalom*, he ſent him back into the City, *to defeat the Counſel of* Achitophel, 2 Sam. 15. 35. and Chap. 17. 15. And in *carrying back the Ark into the City, David* gives Command to *Zadock the Prieſt* about it, 2 Sam. 15. 25, 27. and the *Text* adds, *Zadock therefore and Abiathar carry'd the Ark of God again to Jeruſalem*, joining them as Partners in this great Act of the Pontifical Charge, *v.* 29. He alſo commits to *Zadock the Prieſt, the Anointing and Proclamation of Solomon*, which was another Act thereof, 1 *Kings* 1. 32, 34, 38, 39. And this is plainly aſſented by *Joſephus*, who * ſays, *That Zadock was firſt created High-Prieſt in the Reign of David:* And therefore, on *Abiathar's Excluſion by Solomon*, that *Zadock* only came in *to have the High-Prieſthood*, and to act therein *alone:* He was then *Sagan*, or *Suffragan*, and *Vicar* to *Abiathar*, as † *Grotius* and ‖ *Vatablus* conceive.

* Antiq. l. 8. c. 1.

† In 2 Sam. 15. 27. & 1 Kings 1. 34.

‖ In 1 Kin. 4. 4.

When *Abiathar* therefore, by his Baniſhment for Life, in juſt Puniſhment for his Treaſon, was incapacitated for any farther Exerciſe of his *High-Prieſt's Office*, on ſuch debarring of his *Pontifical* Exerciſe, there was no new Ordination of another into his Place: But *Zadock*, who had been created his Partner in the Prieſthood before, on his Partner's Loſs of this Exerciſe, was to exerciſe the whole himſelf: So that the Authority of a Deprivation of State, to unmake one and to make another, to be a Biſhop in their Dominions during his Life, is ill-

ill-fetch'd from this Inſtance: For neither doth *Abiathar* plainly appear to have been deſpoil'd of the Honour of the High-Prieſthood, (tho' by Baniſhment for Life, he was of the Exerciſe thereof) by *Solomon*: Nor *Zadock* to have been firſt advanc'd and created High-Prieſt by him; but to have been ordain'd thereto by the ſpiritual Powers of the *Sanhedrim*, to * whom that Ordination and Inveſtiture did belong, in *David*'s Time.

* Vid. Dr. Light. Temple-Service, c. 3 p. 905. Tom. 1. Op.

Beſides,

Secondly, In theſe alledg'd State-Deprivations of the *Jewiſh High-Prieſts*, either of *Abiathar* by *Solomon*, or, after they came under *Roman* Subjection, of the *Chief Prieſts* by the *Roman Procurators*, who made ſuch frequent Changes among them, ſometimes Annual, as † *Joſephus* notes: In all theſe State-Deprivations of *Jewiſh High-Prieſts*, I ſay, *there was only a Change of Perſons*; but *Matters of Religion went on in every Thing the ſame*, and Men were taught the ſame Doctrines, and train'd up in the ſame Practices, and held on in the ſame Prayers, Sacrifices, and Temple and Synagogue-Service, under both: And where it doth not affect the State of Religion, or the Intereſts of Souls, but only their own perſonal Claims and Privileges, God's faithful Miniſters may be free, as has been obſerv'd, to ſecure Protection and civil Benefits to the Church, by not breaking with the State, but acquieſcing under its Deprivations: But what voluntary Deference were thus payable to a Deprivation of State, in a Caſe which doth not touch Religion or the Souls of Men, muſt not be expected in other Caſes which do touch, and damnify, and endanger both? And thus it is in the afore-mention'd Caſes, wherein I have been aſſerting the Neceſſity of holding on their ſpiritual Miniſtrations, and not yielding to be ſtopp'd thereof by any State-Deprivations

† Antiq. l. 18. c. 3.

Thirdly, And this alſo clears the Inſtance of the *Submiſſion of the Greeks on the frequent Deprivation of their Patriarchs by the Turkiſh Governors.* The Benefits of Incorporation which they propoſe to ſecure thereby, are not the moſt tempting; lying not ſo much in being privileg'd and benefic'd by the State, as in not being perſecuted but tolerated under it: And their Submiſſion for keeping on this State-Benefit, ſuch as it is, is not without Detriment to the Church, (tho' their breaking with the State, they fear would be more detrimental), the *Turks*, as learn'd Travellers inform us, (*a*) *making the new Advancements for Money*, to be levy'd on the Church by the *new Patriarch*, to the Countenance and Growth of great Corruption, and to the bringing of the Church in Debt: But as to the Courſe of religious Miniſtrations, they are the ſame under both Patriarchs, Religion, or the Word and Prayers, and Sacraments, are adminiſter'd alike without Alteration; and the Souls under their Charge are fed with the ſame Doctrines both of Faith and good Life, and are nurs'd up in the ſame Practices, and ſerve God in the ſame Prayers and publick Offices in both Caſes: And therefore, thoſe depos'd Patriarchs are not driven, by inſiſting on their ſpiritual Powers and Miniſtrations, to break this partial Incorporation, ſuch as it is, for the Support of pure Faith, Worſhip, and Practice, or for the Intereſt of Religion and of Souls; as I have ſhewn true and faithful Paſtors are in the fore-mention'd Caſes.

Fourthly,

* Dr. *Smith* de Eccleſiæ Græcæ ſtatu hodierno, p. 52, 53. *And Sir* George Wheeler's *Travels*, l. 2. p. 195.

Fourthly, The fourth and laſt Inſtance, is of Queen *Mary*'s *Popiſh* Biſhops, depos'd by a Commiſſion of the Queen's Council, without a competent and lawful Synod, and principally for a State-Crime, viz. *refuſing the Oath of Supremacy*, which was made a Cauſe of Deprivation by a preceding Act of her Parliament, under Queen *Elizabeth*; and of our *Reform'd Biſhops coming into their Sees* upon ſuch Deprivation, during the others Lives.

As to this Caſe of the *Marian* Biſhops, or of other *Popiſh* Biſhops under *Edward* the Sixth, *Two* Things are to be Noted in their Removal and Ejection out of their Dioceſes. *One* is, from the *Temporalities*, the Benefices and Preferments thereof; and theſe temporal Endowments, as I have obſerv'd, are directly ſubject to the temporal Power: So that the *Act of Parliament*, and the *Proceedings of the Council*, and the *Commiſſion of the lawful State*, took away all Claim to the *Temporalities*, and depriv'd them of their Biſhopricks, as they were *temporal Free-holds*.

The *Other* is, from the *ſpiritual Adherence and Dependence of the People upon them, as on Heads of Church-Unity and Communion for religious Miniſtrations*. And this, there was no need for the State to deprive the Popiſh Biſhops of; for they had already depriv'd themſelves of it, by their own Corruptions, both in Doctrines and Devotions. Adulterations of Religion, and corrupt Miniſtrations of the Word, of Prayers, and Sacraments, break the Ligaments, which tye on People to this Adherence to any Biſhops or Paſtors; yea, tho' they were Apoſtles themſelves: *Though we or an Angel from Heaven preach any other Goſpel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be* * Anathema *or accurſed*, ſaith St. *Paul*, Gal. 1. 8. Or inſtead of ſticking to his Communion, break off from it, and have no more religious Commerce with ſuch, than was to be held with thoſe whom the Synagogue or Church had anathematis'd or cut off: Ἀνάθεμα, as he * elſewhere uſes it, and in the *Eccleſiaſtical Style*, ſpeaking of *one Excommunicate, for ſo we Chriſtians are wont to call a Sentence againſt the Speakers of impious Things*, † ſays *Socrates*. When therefore any Biſhops and Paſtors, inſtead of heading Chriſtian Truths, appear at the Head of unchriſtian Errors, the People are diſcharg'd from their Obligation and Dependance upon them, and are to unite themſelves, as they can, to others, who ſtill keep firm to that neceſſary Goſpel-Truth and Worſhip, which they have forſaken, as ſhall be ſhewn more fully ‖ afterwards. And this was done by the *Popiſh* Biſhops, who led the People with falſe Doctrines, and polluted Prayers and Miniſtrations, which left no need of any Thing more to deprive them of the People's Communion and Dependance, theſe *Papal* Corruptions of Religious Miniſtrations being enough to diſcharge and drive them away of themſelves.

So that the reform'd Biſhops, when they were ſet at the Heads of thoſe Dioceſes, call'd none away, nor made them break off from any juſt and due ſpiritual Dependance on their former Biſhops, whoſe own Heretical Doctrines and corrupt Miniſtrations, had made the People ceaſe from depending any longer in Conſcience upon them: They wanted only to be lawfully empower'd, and regularly ordain'd themſelves, by Epiſcopal Impoſition of Hands, as all thoſe reform'd Biſhops plainly were; and the People were free from any Obligations to the old Ones, becauſe of their Errors, and corrupt and dangerous

* Ἀνάθεμα ἔσω.

* Rom. 9. 3. *vid.* Theod. in loc. & Chryſoſt. * ἔτω γὲ, &c. Soc. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 7. c. 34. p. 377.

‖ Chap. 3, & 4. Part 3.

Miniſtrations; and both lawfully might unite themſelves to them, and were in Duty bound ſo to do: And thus, coming to head a People, whoſe Dedendance was broke off from others by their ſpiritual Corruptions and Depravations of Religion, they were no ſpiritual Intruders: And coming into Benefices and Temporalities made vacant by the Deprivation of a lawful State, they were guilty of no civil Uſurpation and Injuſtice: And this is enough to juſtify the Advancement of thoſe firſt Reformers; tho', where Biſhops are orthodox, and depriv'd for their Adherence to Truth and Righteouſneſs, both in their private Practice and publick Miniſtrations, the People are ſtill left ſpiritually to depend on them, and are not to be taken off by any Deprivation, tho' of the moſt rightful State, as in the above-mention'd Caſes.

'Tis true, as to the *Popiſh* Biſhops themſelves, they thought otherwiſe of their own Worſhip and Doctrines, and took them for Chriſtian and Goſpel-Ways and Truths, not for Anti-chriſtian Corruptions: And had they really been what they thought, as they were not, but quite contrary, it had been their Duty to go on in their paſtoral Cures and Miniſtrations, with Perſecutions, for all their Deprivations. And ſo we our ſelves ſhould have thought, at leaſt we all ſeem as if we ſhould, if, by God's Providence, the civil State had gone on to deprive our reform'd Biſhops, for ſticking to the Worſhip and Doctrines of the Reformation, and had ſet up Popiſh Biſhops in their Places: Notwithſtanding which, I ſuppoſe both our faithful Prelates and People, inſtead of ſilently acquieſcing, would have gone on miniſtring and communicating in the reform'd Worſhip and Doctrine of this Church.

But whatever they thought of theſe Things, or how conſonant or diſagreeing ſoever their Actings were to their own Apprehenſions in this Caſe, it ſuffices for Juſtification of our reform'd Biſhops Advancement to their Sees, without their being depriv'd by competent and lawful Synods, which is objected as a Thing moſt exceptionable therein, and as ſeeming moſt to deviate from Eccleſiaſtical Rule, that in reality *they were not Orthodox:* And that for this Want of Orthodoxy, without any need of Recourſe to the Authority of mere State-Depivations, to take off People from a ſpiritual Adherence and Communion with their Biſhops, the People, before they could have a Synodical-Deprivation, were looſe from them, and at Liberty to unite themſelves to the Orthodox Reformers in their Room.

CHAP. IV.

Of Deprivations by Synods in the foreſaid Caſes.

AND thus I think, it may ſufficiently appear, how the manifold Obligations, which are ſhewn above to lye on faithful Biſhops and Miniſters, not to ſuppreſs, but to exerciſe their ſpiritual Miniſtrations in the foreſaid Caſes, are not ſet aſide, or barr'd, by any Inhibition

ibition or Deprivation, tho' of the moſt lawful civil State: They will o it with more Eaſe and worldly Encouragement, when the State olerates, and much more when it fortifies and furthers them therein; ut they are not at Liberty to give it off, but muſt go on exerciſing the ame, when it is more troubleſome, and when the State gain-ſays, and uts them under Perſecution for ſo doing.

And thus it is where the State will act apart, and proceed *without a ynod* in depriving Biſhops, and in diſcharging the Eccleſiaſtical Comunion and Dependance of the People, ſpiritually related and united o them.

But Deprivation of Biſhops, who are ſpiritual Powers, is more rdinarily by a *Synod of Biſhops*, who are a ſpiritual Judicature. Great eaſon there is, for the Deprivation of Biſhops, to proceed in this ourſe. The civil State, indeed, comes in, by Reaſon of civil Acceſſions and Endowments, which ſtrengthen and encourage the ſpiritual iniſtrations: But theſe civil Acceſſions are but Acceſſaries and Apendages, and their ſpiritual Powers are the Principal in their Miniirations, and in Church-Communion and Dependance on them: And herefore the removing of their Miniſtrations, and of the Communion nd Dependance of the Church thereupon, is never ſo fitly and fully ttempted, as by ſpiritual Judicatures, who, being ſpiritual Perſons, ave more directly to do with Church-Communion and ſpiritual owers: And accordingly, this has ſtill been the Courſe of the moſt ious Princes, who have reſerv'd the Deliberations about Religion and hurch-Matters, and the Depoſitions of Biſhops, (which ſo cloſely ffects Church-Communion) to *Convocations and Synods of Biſhops and lergy*. And when theſe proceed to Sentence, it more directly affects he concern'd Parties: Church-Communion and Church-Governors eing more directly under the Churchmen's Cognizance; and not only adirectly, and by the Bye, as it may engage the depriv'd Perſons, hen not bound to it otherwiſe, to yield and acquieſce in voluntary ompliance for civil Intereſts.

But ſuppoſe a Concurrence of both theſe Powers and that the Deivation of the rightful State is confirm'd by Synodical Concurrence; et I obſerve, in the laſt Place, that *this Deprivation by Synods is not ufficient to bar or diſcharge Biſhops or Miniſters from the foreſaid Exerciſe f their ſpiritual Miniſtrations, in the above-mention'd Caſes.*

Biſhops and *Metropolitans* are not more ſubject to and dependant on *ynods*, than *Preſbyters* and *People* are on their *Biſhops:* Our Lord himelf, and his holy Apoſtles, having appointed Biſhops in his Church, nd call'd for our Subjection and Obedience to them: But this Subniſſion of Prieſts and People to their Biſhops, is with a Salvo to their oly Religion, and its Articles and Intereſts: And if any Biſhops go gainſt the Truths, or Laws of Chriſt, or againſt the Intereſts of Souls, nd of true Religion, we are not to follow them, or to depend on hem therein. To ſtick to any neceſſary Chriſtian Doctrines, Worſhip, r Practices, Chriſt's faithful People and Miniſters muſt break even with their own Biſhops; holding even them *Anathema*, as * St. *Paul* * Gal. 1. irects, when they would lead them contrary *to the Doctrine of the* 8. *poſtles*, as I noted before, and ſhall ſhew more fully † afterwards: And ſo muſt they with any other Biſhops, or Number and Synods of † Part 3. Biſhops, in like Caſe. c. 3, & 4.

All Exerciſe and Adminiſtration of Church-Authority and Juriſdiction is ty'd to Rules; not only to Rules of the Church's own making,

or *Eccleſiaſtical Canons*; but above all, and in the firſt Place, to the Rules laid down by Chriſt himſelf: And all the Validity of Church-Acts in Way of external Judicature in Synods, or otherwiſe, is ſo far as they go by them, or do nothing againſt them.

Thus it is in *decreeing Rites and Ceremonies*, or *determining Controverſies of Faith*; wherein, tho' the *Church has Authority*, yet is it thus limited, and has no Authority, *as our Church* * declares, *to ordain any Thing contrary to God's Word.* Even *general Councils*, are bounded by this Limitation, and *Things ordain'd by them*, † ſay the Thirty Nine Articles again, *as neceſſary to Salvation, have neither Strength, nor Authority, unleſs it may be declar'd, that they are taken out of the Holy Scriptures.*

* Art. 20.

† Art. 21.

And thus it is alſo in *Matter of Cenſures*, or Eccleſiaſtical Sentences judicially paſt therein upon Perſons, whether Laicks or Eccleſiaſticks. We, in the ‖ Exerciſe of our Apoſtolical Power, *can do nothing againſt the Truth*, or in puniſhing and cenſuring any for faithful Obſervance thereof; *but* all our Power is *for the Truth*, and to be exercis'd in its Behalf, by puniſhing and *not ſparing*, not thoſe who ſtand to, but thoſe who defect from it, 2 *Cor.* 13. 8. When *the Church* ſpeaks to us in external Judicatures, *we muſt hear it*, as our Lord * orders: But we muſt hear it ſpeaking under Chriſt, never againſt him: So that if it Excommunicates any for ſticking firm to any Part of his Holy Religion. with whom, for that very Adherence ſake, he requires his faithful Followers to hold Communion; or, if it deprives or diſcharges any Miniſters from Adminiſtring the ſame, in any Caſe where he has charg'd them to keep on that Miniſtration: Its Power here is ſet up againſt him; and its Acts have no Power to bind thoſe who are concern'd in them.

‖ Ver. 2.

* Mat. 18. 17.

Thus it is, *when it ſhall Excommunicate any for adhereing to any neceſſary Chriſtian Doctrines, Worſhip, or Practices.* For all, who would hold to Chriſt, muſt neglect ſuch Cenſures, and, tho' any Church or Synod throws ſuch Perſons out of its Communion, they are joyfully to welcome and receive them into theirs: For when our † Lord authorizes and gives *Validity to Church-Cenſures*, ſaying, *they ſhall be bound in Heaven*, and bidding us look on all who *will not hear the Church, as Heathens and Publicans*; he limits this Validity to thoſe Cenſures which paſs upon Men, not for any Parts of Righteouſneſs, but for real Offences. *If thy Brother treſpaſs againſt thee, and will not hear thee, tell it unto the Church:* So that ſome real *Offence* or *Treſpaſs*, muſt ſtill be the Ground of the Proceſs, *Mat.* 18. 15, 17. It muſt be, for *not hearing the Church*, when it calls us to his Truths and Precepts, not when it ſets up to carry us from them: For there, if it uſe Cenſures, it acts of it ſelf, and not by his Commiſſion: It opens or ſhuts by an *erring Key*, and muſt not expect, that what is ſo *bound or looſed on Earth*, ſhall be *ratify'd in Heaven.* By ſuch perverſe Cenſures the Church only deprives it ſelf of the Communion of faithful Chriſtians, but doth not deprive them of Communion with Chriſt, or with one anothe. (*a*) *The unjuſt Excommunications of the Jewiſh Sanhedrim*, when they caſt Chriſt's Diſciples out of their Synagogues, *only eſtranged or cut off themſelves*, *ſays* Photius, *but* (*b*) *brought thoſe Diſciples ſo much nearer to their Lord and Maſter. And ſo now*, ſays he, *when the Imitators of the* Jews *excommunicate the Followers of the Apoſtles, they* thereby (*c*) *only*

† Mat. 18. 17, 18.

(*a*) Ὥσπερ τὰς τῦ δεσπότυ μαθητὰς, &c.

(*b*) Ἐκείνυς μᾶλλον τῷ διδασκάλῳ καὶ δεσπότῃ προσώκειωσαν, &c.

(*c*) Συνήψαί τε μᾶλλον ϗ συνήνωσαν, &c. Photius Patr. Conſtant. Epiſt. Michaeli Metropol. Mitylenes, Epiſt. Photii 116. p. 157.

only conjoyn and unite them the more to those divine Apostles, to whom they are more closely and exactly knit, both in Faith and Life, by the Communion of Sufferings: But they miserably cut off themselves both from their Doctrine, and from our orthodox Faith.

And therefore instead of bemoaning themselves under such Excommunications, and seeking to have them taken off, by complying with the Church, our blessed Saviour fortifies his true Followers against them, and bids them, not only patiently to rest under them, but triumphantly to rejoice therein. *They shall put you out of the Synagogues*, says he to them, and cautions them *not to be offended* thereat, when it should happen, or not to fall off from him or his Ways, to recover the Liberty of the Synagogues again, John 16. 1, 2. *When they shall separate you from their Company*, by *Excommunications* and *Anathema's*, *and shall reproach you, and cast out your Name as evil for the Son of Man's Sake: rejoyce ye in that Day, and leap for Joy; for, behold! Great is your Reward in Heaven; for in the like Manner did their Fathers unto the Prophets*, Luke 6. 22, 23. And thus, the holy Apostles and faithful Adherers to God's Truth, and Worship, and good Christian Practices, did in all Times, when, for such Adherence, they fell under the *Anathema's* of *Synods*, or the *Excommunication* of *Churches*, during the Papal, or any other former or later Persecutions; they joyfully receiv'd such Sentences, and always own'd one another, and held Communion in Adherence to God's Words and Ways among themselves, when they were cast out of the Communion of such corrupt and apostatizing Synods or Churches.

And 'tis the same, when it shall *deprive* or *discharge any faithful Bishops* and *Ministers* from supporting such necessary Doctrines, Worship, and Practices, *by their Ministrations*, as Christ requires: For then, notwithstanding such Deprivations and Discharge, by Churches and Synods, CHRIST's faithful Ministers must hold on ministring, and his faithful People must hold on communicating and adhering to them therein. Thus, as our LORD † Notes, *their Fathers had Separated and cast out the old Prophets*, from propheſying *in their Company*, or Assemblies: Who still went on preaching and ministring the Word, which they were sent out to publish: And thus the *Sanhedrim*, that great Synod of the *Jewish* Church, discharg'd the *Apostles* from ministring Christianity, or *preaching any more in Christ's Name*; who told them, they could by no Means desist thereupon, but must hold on their Ministration, being *to obey God rather than Men*, Acts 4. 18, 19, 20.

† Luke 6. 22, 23.

Thus also several Synods depriv'd *Athanasius*, and the other *orthodox Bishops*, who were the stout Asserters and Maintainers of the *Divinity of our Lord* against the *Arians*. Such was the Synod of *Tyre*, and such also was the Synod of *Antioch*, whose *Deprivations of Athanasius*, and the other orthodox Bishops, were a Blow made at the *Nicene Faith*; tho' their *Canons* being good, and according to primitive Usage, were by orthodox Councils afterwards taken into the *Book of Ecclesiastical Canons*, out of which, (*a*) several of them are repeated *verbatim* in the great Council of *Chalcedon*, and are there among the Canons of other Synods, (*b*) taken in to be Canons of the Universal Church: And such likewise were the Deprivations of other Synods, assembled in that Cause afterwards.

(*a*) As Can. Antioch. 4, 5, 16. *vid.* Con. Chalced. Part 2. Act 4. p. 324, & p. 319. & Part 2. Act 11. p. 406. Tom. 3. Conc. Ed. Bin. (*b*) Concil. Chalced. Can. 1.

Now under theſe Synodical Deprivations, the great Buſineſs of thoſe ſuffering Biſhops was to ſhew, that whatever other Immoralities or perſonal Crimes were pretended againſt them, (as ſeveral were moſt impudently pretended, againſt all Ground and Reaſon) yet in Reality and Truth, their Deprivations were *for the Cauſe of the Faith*, or for their Firmneſs in maintaining the *Divinity* and *Conſubſtantiality of Chriſt with the Father*. This *Athanaſius* and *Paulus* plead for themſelves, teaching, (*a*) *That their Depoſitions were not for any other Cauſe, but for the Subverſion of the orthodox Faith*, as is related by (*b*) *Socrates* and (*c*) *Sozomen*. And what they made appear to the Emperor *Conſtans*, was, That they ſuffer'd, (*d*) *not for the Crimes or ill Lives they were accus'd of, as the Sentence of Depoſition did contain, but for their thinking and teaching differently from the Synods, their Depoſers, about the Faith.*

And when it was once clear to any Perſons or Churches, that they were depriv'd for the Cauſe of the Faith; they were not hinder'd by any Authority of external Judicature, in the Synods their Depoſers, but readily receiv'd and communicated with them, as Chriſt's true Biſhops ſtill in thoſe Places: For, notwithſtanding theſe Synodical Deprivations, *Athanaſius* was all the while own'd and adher'd to by the *faithful Ægyptians*; as *Paulus* alſo was by the *faithful Conſtantinopolitanes*. And when they came to *Rome*, on their giving full Satisfaction in this Point, *Julius* the Biſhop of *Rome receiv'd them to Communion. Hearing the Cauſe of each*, * ſays *Sozomen*, *and finding them all to agree in the* Nicene *Faith*, which he ſaw *undermin'd* and *ſtruck at* by their Deprivers, *he receiv'd them to Communion, as being of the ſame Belief with himſelf.*

* Hiſt. Eccl. l. 3. c. 8. p. 507.

This Reception of *Athanaſius* and others, who ſtood depriv'd by the Synods of *Tyre* and *Antioch*, &c. to his Communion, was before the Synod of *Rome*, wherein the *Orientals* ſhould have juſtify'd their Proceedings, had acquitted and receiv'd them: For before the Synod was held at *Rome* in the *Cauſe of Athanaſius*, Pope *Julius* gave Notice of the Time appointed for it, to the Eaſtern Biſhops, who had been *Depoſing Athanaſius at Antioch*, and ſubſtituting *Gregory* in his Place; writing to them, *to ſend ſome of their Number to clear the Juſtice of their Sentence* and Proceedings in that Cauſe. This is plain from *Athanaſius*, who ſays, † *it was held after the Letters ſent by* Euſebius, *and after both the* Euſebians *and he himſelf had been cited to appear at it.* And alſo from Pope *Julius*'s ‖ Letters to them, *on the Requeſt and at the Concluſion of the* Roman Synod, wherein he mentions the *Return of his Preſbyters* Elpidius *and* Philoxenus, who *were* * *ſent with the former Letter*, and *the Anſwer they had brought him from* Euſebius *and the* Oriential Biſhops. But before this firſt Letter, to notify the Time appointed for the *Roman* Synod to the *Orientials*, *Julius*, on plain appearance, that their Sufferings were not for any other pretended Crimes, but only on Account of the orthodox Faith, had embrac'd *the Communion of* Athanaſius, and the other depos'd Biſhops. For *Sozomen* † relates, that *on his receiving them to Communion, he wrote that Letter to the* Orientals, taxing *their unjuſt Sentences and Attempts upon the* Nicene *Faith*, and *calling them to the* Synod *to be held at* Rome there *to juſtify their Proceedings againſt them.* And in the Letter which the *Orientals* ſent back to him, which he receiv'd, as I have now ſhewn before

† Apol. 2. Arian. adv. ſub Init.

‖ Id. p. 739.

* Id. ad Solit. p. 816.

† l. 3. c. 8. p. 597.

(*a*) Ἐπὶ καταλόσει τῆς πίστεως, τὰς καθαιρέσεις γίνεσθαι. (*b*) Lib. 2. c. 20. (*c*) L. 3. c. 11. (*d*) Οὐκ' ἐγκλημάτων ἕνεκεν, οὐδὲ βίου, ὡς αἱ καθαιρέσεις εἶχον, ἀλλὰ τῆς περὶ τὸ δόγμα διαφωνίας. Soz. l. 3. c. 10. p. 511.

before the Sitting of the *Roman* Synod, and which was read to the Bishops therein assembled; they * *complain of his having communicated with* Athanasius, *and his Adherents, which*, they said, *was a Reproach cast on their* Synods, *and an Abrogation of their Sentence.* So that his Disregard of the Synodical Deprivations of *Athanasius*, and the other orthodox Bishops, depos'd in the Synods of *Tyre* or *Antioch*, was not on Account of their having been regularly revers'd by any superior external Judicature; but it was, as having been of no Force and Effect in themselves, because passing on Christ's faithful Pastors for their Fidelity and Firmness to the true Christian Faith.

* Soz. ib. p. 508.

Besides, when the Synod at *Rome* sate in the Cause of *Athanasius*, and the other orthodox Bishops, and synodically admitted them to Communion, I do not see how, in the regular Way of external Judicature, this could take off the Deprivations by the fore-mention'd Synods: For the Synod at *Rome* was inferior in Number of Bishops, consisting, as *Athanasius* † says, only of *about fifty Bishops*; whereas the Synod of *Tyre*, besides the *Ægyptians* who came along with *Athanasius*, consisted of *sixty Bishops met there from divers Places*, says *Socrates*; and the Synod of *Antioch*, which again depos'd him, and the other orthodox Bishops, consisted of *ninety seven*, as *Sozomen* † reports. And moreover, the Synod of *Rome* consisted of Bishops who liv'd more remote and farther off, and were Subjects of another Prince, viz. *Constans*; whereas the Synods which depriv'd them, consisted of the neighbouring Bishops, some of them *Comprovincials* to the accus'd Parties, and were Subjects of their own Emperor, viz. *Constantius*, whose Censure may seem more concluding on the Fellow-Bishops of their own Empire: So that *Julius*, and his fifty Bishops in the *Roman* Synod, could not reverse the Depositions of those former Synods, in regular Way of outward Judicatures.

† Ep. ad Solit. p. 818.

* L. 1. c. 28.

† L. 3. c. 5. p. 501.

But yet finding whatever other Things were pretended, that in Reality they had been depos'd in those Synods for their Firmness to the *Nicene Faith*; in Prejudice whereof there lyes no Power of deriving in any Synods, before any superior or more general Council had revers'd their Depositions in regular Way of external Judicature, they took Part, and communicated with *Athanasius* and the other depriv'd Bishops: And this the *faithful Ægyptians*, both Clergy and People, had done, without any Regard to the Deprivation of those Synods, all the Time of *Athanasius*'s forc'd Absence from them; and are applauded by Pope *Julius* for the same: For in his * Letter to the Church of *Alexandria*, after the Synod of *Sardica*, on the Restitution of *Athanasius* to his See, he extols them, *for their firm and constant Adherence to the right Faith, and to him their Bishop*, who had been so *glorious a Confessor* and Maintainer thereof, all the while he was violently torn from them, and another obtruded on their Church in his Room.

† Ap. Soc. Hist. Eccl. l. 2. c. 23. p. 109, 110, 111.

And like to this has been the Practice, I think, of all Times: For all as Errors and Corruptions in Doctrine, Worship, and Practice, prevail'd, and became general in any Places, on any considerable Opposition made to them by Christ's faithful Ministers, to silence Gainsayers, they have had the Establishment of Synods; and these Synods have anathematiz'd the Truth, condemn'd and depos'd the Preachers, and excommunicated and cast out the Adherents and Practisers thereof: But yet the Preachers and Ministers of God's Worship and Truth, have all held on their Ministrations, and God's faithful People have stuck

to them therein : And under all the Depoſitions and Excommunications of Councils or Churches, they have kept Communion with one another in theſe neceſſary Truths and Ways of God, which corrupt and apoſtate Councils have anathematiz'd, Or elſe, under that Power of Error which has ſo often tyranniz'd over the Truth, more eſpecially in the *Arian* Perſecutions, and in the ſeveral Steps and Advancements of the *Papal* Corruptions, the pure Worſhip and Doctrine of Chriſt had periſh'd, and all Face of a true and unadulterated Church had long ſince fail'd from off the Earth.

This, I ſay, in Caſe of Depoſitions, or other Cenſures, *for the Cauſe of the neceſſary Truths, or Worſhip of Jeſus Chriſt.* In Deprivations for other Things, or on Pretence of mere perſonal Crimes, the Caſe, I grant, may be otherwiſe : For in them, tho' the Sentence be unjuſt, it is a perſonal Wrong, and affects the Sufferers themſelves : And in private Sufferings, 'tis reaſonable to bear much for Order's Sake, and to be ty'd up to Ways of Order for Redreſs : So that ſuch Sufferers ſhall be bound to reſt under the judicial Injuſtice, 'till they can have it revers'd in like Sort as it was laid on, *viz.* in Way of *Judicature*, or by *regular Appeals :* And accordingly in all Depoſitions, for ſuch private or perſonal Crimes, this is requir'd by the *ancient Canons. If a Biſhop, Preſbyter, or Deacon,* ſay the *Councils of* * *Carthage* and † *Sardica*, (and *the ſame Determinations, (a)* ſays *Balſamon, are to be taken as meant of Laymen too) be depos'd, on Pretence of his Idleneſs and Neglects ; let him not dare,* ſay they, *to go on, or to aſſert his former Right of Communion, during the Time of his Excommunication, (b) 'til his Cauſe has had a new Cognizance and Examination, or been heard over again :* And *if, before ſuch Re-hearing, he preſume to do otherwiſe, he ſhall be judg'd* ſay the Fathers, at *Carthage, thereby to have given Sentence of Condemnation againſt himſelf.*

* Held An. 419.
† Held An. 347.

But in Depoſitions or Excommunications for doctrinal Truths and ſpiritual Miniſtrations, there is not only a Wrong to themſelves, but a Wrong to Religion: And there they muſt go on for the Sake of Goſpel-Worſhip and Doctrines, which are Chriſt's Cauſe, tho' they would be content to ſuffer and ſit ſtill, ſo far as it is their own : And accordingly, the Council of *Conſtantinople*, entitled, *Prima & Secunda*, excepts the Caſe of * *Heretical Prelates promoting or puſhing on any Hereſies,* when it *requires Inferiors to ſtay for a Synodical Cognizance before they break off Dependance from their Prelates, in all other Caſes.*

Tho' Synods therefore are the moſt venerable Eccleſiaſtical Judicatures here on Earth, yet is all the Obligation and Authority of their Deciſions or Sentences within this Compaſs. They have *no Effect*, or Force, *againſt the Truth*, as St. *Paul* * ſays, or againſt any for adhering to it : So that they are to affect none who have Chriſt and his Truth plainly on their Side ; nor do their Judgments and Definitions bar thoſe who are concern'd to take Notice of them, from examining and judging for themſelves, whether they ſtrike at any Part of Chriſtian Truth and Religion, before they pay Obedience to them. I grant, there ough

* 2 Cor. 13. 8.

(a) Τὰ ἐνταῦθα διορισθέντα Χάριν πρεσβυτέρων καὶ διακόνων ἐκλαπτέον καὶ εἰς τὰς λοιπὰς κλήρους ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ λαικὰς, Balſ. ad Can. 12. Concil. Sardic.

(b) Πρὸ τῆς διαγνώσεως τοῦ πράγματος, ἑαυτῶ οὐκ ὀφείλει ἐκδικεῖν τὴν κοινωνίαν, Concil. Sardic. Can. 14. Ἐαν ἐν τῷ καίρῳ τῆς ἀκοινωνησίας, πρὸς τὸ ἀκουσθῆναι, εἰς κοινωνίαν τολμήσαι, αὐτὸς κατὰ ἑαυτοῦ τῆς καταδίκης τὴν ψῆφον ἐξενηνοχέναι κριθῆ, Con. Carth. Can. 32.

(*) Διὶ αἵρεσίν τινα παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων συνόδων ἢ πατέρων κατεγνωσμένην κανονικῆ ἐπιτιμήσει οὐκ ὑποκείσονται πρὸ συνοδικῆς διαγνώσεως ἑαυτοὺς τῆς κοινωνίαι ἀποτειχίζοντες, Conc. Conſt. 1 & 2 Dict. Can. 15.

ought to be great Deference to their Determination; and all private Perſons are to uſe great Modeſty and Care in judging after them; and need to look, that the Blow and Deſtruction thereby made, to any neceſſary Truth or Practice of our holy Religion, be very plain, before they over-look and diſregard what they order: But ſtill, judge they muſt, becauſe in all their Belief and Practice in theſe Things, it is not any implicit Dependance on Men, or a blind Obedience to any human Sentence or Deciſion; but Obſervance of the Truth it ſelf, or of what Chriſt has appointed in his Word, that muſt juſtify them: And therefore, if on an humble and diligent Examination, and by plain Evidence, it appear, that in their Definitions of Articles, or Cenſure of Perſons, they ſtrike at the Truth, and ſeek the Overthrow of any Part of Religion, their Acts are to be eſteem'd as of no Effect; and all concern'd Parties, both Clergy and People, are to go on doing the ſame, in religious Miniſtration and Communion, as if there were no ſuch Thing. More juſt and authoritative Synods they will be like to ſeek; and appeal from theſe, in a regular Way, to others more general, which, in external Way of human Judicature, ſhall reverſe their unjuſt Sentences: But ſuffering all in the Cauſe of Truth and Religion, they will not deſiſt in the mean Time, but go on, notwithſtanding any ſuch *Synodical Anathema* or *Deprivation*, in true ſpiritual Miniſtrations and Communions.

PART

PART III.

Of SCHISM.

CHAP. I.

Of the Nature of Schism.

And of the Schism of particular Members from their own Church, in throwing off Subjection and Dependance on their own Bishops.

BY what I have offer'd about the Authority and Effect of *State-Deprivations*, yea, or even of the *Depositions of Synods* too, I think it may appear, how *the faithful Ministers of Christ are not disabled*, or *discharg'd* by any such Deprivations, *from the Exercise of their spiritual Ministrations*, whereto they stand bound by so many Obligations, in the forementioned Cases.

But besides the *Deprivation of State*, some think the *Maintenance of Unity in the Church*, when that is like to be broken thereby, ought to stop them of that Exercise: And therefore, for a farther clearing of their Duty in those Cases, I shall proceed,

Secondly, to shew, *That the Preservation of external Communion and Peace in the Church, ought not to debar or put by, their due Discharge thereof.*

Admit, say some, that it were their Duty to go on in their Ministrations for the Service of Religion and of Souls, in those Cases where this can be done in Maintenance of Unity, and whilst the Church continues one; yet, what will you say, if such Ministration must unavoidably make or keep up a Schism? Do not we all own that to be one of the greatest Banes to Religion, and a most sinful and mischievous Thing? And if otherwise they ought to be held on, ought not such Ministrations to be let fall, rather than a Schism shall be made or kept up in the Church thereby?

That

That there will be a Schiſm in the Church, in ſuch Caſes, is moſt pparent: And that Schiſm is moſt dreadful to the Church, full of uilt, as it is both the Breach of Unity, and the Bane of Charity, nd an In-let of continual Miſeries and Diſturbances, is no leſs ap- arent. But in preſſing the Conſideration thereof upon particular erſons or Parties, for Prevention or Redreſs, it is to be enquir'd, irſt, *Who makes it?* That will ſhew who ought to mend it; but if ey will not, it may be enquir'd, *next*, *Who elſe can cure it?* Or what e Sufferers, in Love of Peace, and preferring the Publick before emſelves, ſhould give up for the Cure thereof, that they may duly ize external Unity, but not over-value it? Or if, thro' the Error or flexibleneſs (which God avert) of thoſe who are the Authors ereof, it be already made, and cannot be remedy'd, all are to con- der, *laſtly*, *how they are to carry themſelves towards the Makers of it*, nd *with whom they are to hold Communion.*

To clear theſe Points, I ſhall ſay ſomething,

I. *To the Nature of Schiſm, to ſhew when a Schiſm is made, and by whom.*

II. *To thoſe Things which may be a juſt Ground to diſunite and break off, either from any Perſons or Churches, without Blame of Schiſm; ſome Things not being to be borne, nor others to be parted with, for the Love of external Peace and Union.*

III. *To the Communion of good Chriſtians under a Schiſm, and how they are to carry it towards Schiſmaticks.*

Firſt, I ſhall ſay ſomething to *the Nature of Schiſm, to ſhew when a hiſm is made, and by whom.*

Schiſm lyes in *Breach of Union*, or in *making two, or many, out of e.* (a) *Schiſms*, ſays St. *Cyprian*, *which cut or break the Unity, or tear d divide that which ſhould be kept together as one Body. By Schiſm*, as . *Chryſoſtom* (b) notes, *one Church is broken into many Churches, and e Unity thereof is aboliſh'd.* Accordingly the Members are call'd upon, *be joyn'd together in the ſame Mind*, and *in ſpeaking the ſame Things*, *at there be no* (c) *Schiſms*, 1 Cor. 1. 10. Not to ſet up an Inde- ndance among themſelves, and act ſeparately; but *with mutual pendance* and *Conjunction*, *that there be no Schiſm in the Body*, 1 Cor. . 25. And χίσματα *Schiſms*, are uſually render'd *Diviſions*, as 1 Cor. . and chap. 11. 18,

This Union, which Schiſm breaks, is the *Union of a Society*: For e Church is a Society of Men, aſſociated and incorporated together r the Work and Purpoſes of Religion. 'Tis call'd a * *Family*, or *Houſhold*, or *City*, which are all Words expreſſive of Society. St. ul ſtiles it, *The City of the living God*, Heb. 12. 22. And tells the riſtians at *Epheſus*. that they are (d) *Fellow-Citizens with the Saints*, ph. 2. 19.

* Eph. 3. 15.

† Eph. 2. 19.

This

(a) Schiſmata quibus ſcinderet Unitatem, *Cyp. de Unit. Eccl. p.* 105, & 119. --In Schiſmatis Partes riſtri Membra diſtrahere, & Catholicæ Eccleſiæ Corpus unum ſcindere ac laniare nituntur, *Id. Ep.* 44. 6. (b) Homil. 3. in 1 ad Cor. c. 1. v. 10. on Μὴ ᾖ ἐν ὑμῖν χίσματα.
(c) χίσματα. (d) Συμπολῖται τῶν ἁγίων.

This Church, or ſpiritual City, wherein Chriſtians are incorporated into one Body, is not only the Church of one Place or Country, wherein all the Members may embody and aſſociate under the ſame Governors, as the Church of *Rome*, *Alexandria*, or *Antioch*: But the Collection of all particular Chriſtian Societies, or the whole Number of independent Churches, exiſting in all Times, and diffus'd thro' all Places: For all theſe our Saviour has ordain'd to be one Society, or ſpiritual Body: Of them he ſpeaks, or of *all that do* or *ſhall believe on him*, when he *prays to his Father that they all may be one*, Joh. 17. 11, 20, 21. And of them St. *Paul* ſpeaks, when he ſays both of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, diſtributed into ſo many diſtinct Churches, that *by the Croſs of Chriſt, they are all reconciled to God in one Body*, Eph. 2. 16. And when he ſays of Baptiſm, which, being duly receiv'd in any Church, makes a Man free of all other Chriſtian Churches, that *by one Spirit we are all baptized into one Body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles*, 1 Cor. 12. 13. And of the Unity of this Church, or Collection of all Believers, do thoſe Scriptures ſpeak, which repreſent all that are *in Heaven* and all that are *in Earth*, as *one whole Family*, Eph. 3. 15. As *one Houſhold*, 1 Tim. 3. 15. and Gal. 6. 10. or as *one City*, Heb. 12. 22. Whence accordingly all, who are at any Time in this World are ſaid to *have their (a) Citizenſhip* or *Corporation in Heaven*, Phil. 3. 20. And all who are admitted into Chriſt's Church here, to be (b) *Fellow-Citizens with the Saints*, and (c) *Domeſticks* with *Prophets* and *Apoſtles*, and with all others, who are gone to God before, Eph. 2. 19. *What is the one Body*, (d) ſaith St. *Chryſoſtom* on the Words of St. *Paul*, *there is one Body?* *'Tis all Believers of every Place*, ſaith he, *both thoſe who now are, and who formerly have been, and who hereafter ſhall be.*

As to the Union of theſe ſpiritual Bodies or Societies, both the Members of each particular Church muſt keep Unity, or make one Society with their own Church; and every particular and independant Church with its Members, muſt keep Unity, and make one Society with all other particular and independant Churches. The Members keep Unity with their own Church, by *due Dependance and Subjection*, or by keeping ſubject and dependant on their own lawful Biſhops: And one particular Church keeps Unity with all other independant and Siſter Churches, by *fraternal Communion*, or *the Communion of Saints in the holy Catholick Church* profeſs'd in the *Creed*; that is, by their Readineſs to unite with their religious Aſſemblies, to own their Members, and to ratify their Church-Acts, as if they were their own, or had been ſped by themſelves.

And this Way of fraternal Communion, as well as the other of keeping under the ſame viſible Governors by due Dependance and Subjection, is a Way to unite them, not only as a *Sect*, who all hold and profeſs the ſame Doctrines and Opinions, but alſo as a *Society*, or as *one Body*: For by this Bond of fraternal Communion they ſtand oblig'd, not only to *Unity of Doctrine*, as Men of the *ſame Sect*, but to *Unity, as of internal*, ſo of *external Society* and *Incorporation*, as *Fellow-Citizens:* For ſuch are the Obligations, of *receiving mutually each others Members as their own free Denizens*; of *admitting their baptiſmal Claims* and *Church-Privileges*; of *ratifying of their Church-Acts and Cenſures*; of *aſſociating with* their *Church-Services and Aſſemblies*; and of *ſtanding together* as *one Body and Brotherhood*, for the ſame *common Tenets* and *religious Intereſts*, as if they were incorporated under the ſame *external Heads*, or were the Members of the ſame particular

(a) Πολίτευμα. (b) Συμπολίται. (c) Οἰκεῖοι. (d) Chryſoſt. Hom. 10. in Ep. ad Eph. c. 2.

ticular Church. And this is to unite them in the great Things of Society; particularly of a *Spiritual Society*, which lyes mightily in *Communion in Spiritual Acts* and *Offices*. And accordingly, *Uniting in the same Sacraments*, which are the Highest Acts of Church Communion, is set out for a Way of Uniting all in *one Body*, or *Corporation*. *We being many, are one Body, by being all Partakers of that one Bread.* 1 Cor. x. 17. And *we are all baptized into one Body*, 1 Cor. xii. 13. So that all Christian Churches, who under * *one common Father*, as † *Domesticks*; or under ‖ *one Lord* and *King*, as * *Fellow-citizens*; are incorporated upon *one Charter* or *New-covenant*, to live by the *same Laws*, and out of the † *same Hopes*, and in Enjoyment of the *same Church-rights and Privileges*; and have one *common Form of Incorporation*, to *Naturalize* or *Enfranchise* them thereinto, *viz.* ‖ *One Baptism*; are to transact as *one Society*, by *keeping up one fraternal Communion among themselves.*

Now both this *Union of Subjection*, towards their own Church and its Lawful Heads; and of *fraternal Communion*, towards all other equal and independant Churches; all good Christians are bound to keep up, unless some Obstacles happen in either, which are of Force to put a Bar thereto, or give Discharge thereof. And such Obstacles, either in our own Bishops, or in other equal and independant Churches, are *Heresy*, when once openly profess'd by them. Or, their *fixing unlawful Terms of Communion*, putting sinful Things into their sacred Offices, or not allowing any to Communicate with them, without believing, or professing some false Doctrine, or partaking with them in some evil Worship or Thing. Or, *Tyrannical Usurpations on their Brethrens Liberties*, not admitting other Churches to their Communion, unless they will give up their own Rights and Freedoms, and become their Subjects. When such Exceptions lye against any Bishops, or against any Churches, they have lost their Claims of Union. But all *Church-Members* are bound, I conceive, by all the numerous, and earnest Commands, of *keeping Unity*, to continue subject to their Lawful Bishops; as all Churches are by the same, to keep up Communion with other Churches; if they cannot produce any such just Obstacles in bar thereof.

Now *Schism*, is *a sinful Breach of this Union of Church Society.* Either, in *the Members of any particular Church*, when they unjustly *break off their Subjection and Dependance upon their own Church.* Or, in any *Particular Churches*, when they unduly *break off Fraternal Communion with other Churches, denying to Assemble with them, or Communicating with such, as stand Excommunicated by, or have made a Schism from them.*

First, One Great way of *Schism*, is in respect of *Particular Members*, when, against the Gospel Duty and Commands of Unity, they unduly *throw off their Subjection and Dependance upon their own Bishops, and break off from the Unity of their own Church.*

One way of Uniteing Societies, or Bodies of Men, is *by uniteing them under the same Heads.* They are all *one Body*, and Members one of another, as keeping under, and being United to the *same Head and Governour.* Thus, of the Association of *Man and Wife*, which is the Original Society, and makes a Family, which is the Ground-work of all other Societies, it is said, that *they two are one*, Eph. v. 31. because *the Husband is the Head of the Wife*, ver. 23. And so likewise of * *Christ and his Church*, that *they are one*, Eph. 5. 31, 32. because *he is the Head of his Church*, ver. 23. And one Way, whereby, as St. *Cyprian* observes, our Lord * Eph. iv. 4, 15, 16.

* Eph. iv. 6. and c. iii. 15. † Eph. ii. 19. ‖ Eph. iv. 5.
* Eph. ii. 19. † Eph. iv. 4. ‖ Eph. iv. 5.

sets off the *Uniting of his Sheep, as one Flock*; is by uniting them under himself, as (*a*) *the one Shepherd*, Joh. x. 16. 'Tis the Joint-union and Dependance, on one Master of the Family, which makes one House; and on one General, which makes one Army; and on one KING, which makes one Kingdom. And so on one and the same Church-heads and Governours, which makes one particular Church. For the Apostle compares the *Union of many Persons*, into *one Church* or *Politick Society*; to the Union of *many Members*, into *one Natural Body*, 1 *Cor.* xii. Which Union, is made by the Adherence and Dependance of the Members, on the *Natural Head*: For the several Members, are no longer one Body, nor one with each other, after once they are cut off, and parted from it. *As to the Unity, we take a Body, when the Apostle says there is one Body, for that which is under one Head. So that, if there be but one Head, there is but one Body*, saith * St. *Chrysostom*.

* Hom. 10. in Ep. ad Eph. c. 4.

THE *Union of the Church* therefore, as *one particular Society*, which *Schism* breaks, consists chiefly *in keeping united to Church-Heads and Governours*. Church Rulers, are the *Heads*, which make the several Parts one with another; or, as the Scripture sometimes speaks, the *Joynts and Ligaments*, which tye the respective *Members*, and compact the whole Body together. *The whole Body* of the Church, saith St. *Paul*, *is fitly joyned together, and compacted by that, which every Joynt, i. e.* each Pastor or Church-Governour, *supplies*. Eph. iv. 16. *And we are all the Body of Christ, and Members in particular*, as he says again, as we are *under the same Governours* which he has set over that *Body*, having *in the Church* set, as *first Apostles*, so after them *Governments*, *viz.* Bishops and Presbyters, for the standing Governance and Administration thereof, 1 *Cor.* xii. 27, 28.

MORE particularly, the *Heads of Union* in any *Church-societies*, are the *BISHOPS in their respective Churches*. (*b*) *They are the Head of the Body of the Church*; *as Presbyters and Deacons are as the Hands thereof*, as *Zonaras* observes on the 55 and 56 *Canons of the Apostles*. For, since the Death of the *Holy Apostles*, the Bishops are the chief Spiritual Heads, and the ordinary and standing Governours of Christ's Church. They, above all others, are *those* * *Guides* or *Rulers*, whom the Members of the Church are call'd *to remember and obey*, Heb. xiii. 7. 17. The ‖ *Angels of the Churches*, unto whom, as the Heads thereof, our Lord directs himself, when he sends the several *Letters to the Churches*, Rev. ii. 1, 7, 8, 11, *&c.* They stand to head the Members of *Christ*, and to unite and compact them together, under him *the chief Bishop*; appearing at the Head of their respective Churches, as his *Deputies*, who represent his Person, and supply his Place; acting, * *in the Person of Christ*, as St. *Paul*; or *vice Christi*, *in his Place or Stead*, as † St. *Cyprian*; whom we ought to respect, *as the Lord himself*, as St. *Ignatius* (*c*) says.

* ἡγέμενοι.

‖ Rev. i. 20.

* 2 Cor. ii. 10.

† Ep. 59. p. 129.

So that for Church-members *to keep the Union of any Church, is to keep subject and dependant on him, who is the lawful Bishop thereof*. Thus, St. *Ignatius* makes (*d*) *Mens Return from Schism to the Unity of God, to lye*

(*a*) Ad quam unitatem redigens Ecclesiam Suam, denuo dicit, & erit unus Grex & unus Pastor, *Cyp. Ep.* 69. *pag.* 182.

(*b*) Οἱ μὲν ἀρχιερεῖς κεφαλὴ τῆς τῆ ἐκκλησίας σώματος λογιζόμενοι, οἱ δὲ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ διάκονοι χειρῶν σώζοντες τόπον, Zon. in Can. 55. & 56. Ap. Vid. & Can. Ap. 34.

(*c*) ὡς αὐτὸν τὸ κύριον, Ignat. Epist. ad Eph. pag. 21.

(*d*) Πᾶσιν ἓν μετανοοῦσιν [μεσισμῷ] ἀφίει ὁ κύριος, ἐὰν μετανοήσωσιν εἰς ἑνότητα θεοῦ καὶ συνέδριον τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, Ignatius Epist. ad Philad. pag. 43. Ed. Voss.

in

their Return to the Subjection and Conſiſtory of their lawful Biſhop. They ake the Church or one Body, who hold on Communion, and keep ne with him, and with thoſe Presbyters and Deacons, who adhere him, and officiate under him, *The Church*, ſaith (*e*) St. *Cyprian*, *is a eople united to their Biſhop, or a Flock adhering to their Shepherd. Whence u may know, the Biſhop always to be in the Church, and the Church to go ong with the Biſhop.* And they break off from the Unity of the Church, ho break off from him; and they go to ſet up another Church, if they go ſet up another Biſhop againſt him. (*f*) *If any are no longer with the Biſhop,* ys the ſame St, *Cyprian, they are no longer of the Church.* And *to* (*g*) *conſent the ſetting up of another Biſhop, is the ſame, as to conſent to the ſetting up of nother Church*, ſays he to thoſe *Confeſſors at Rome*, who had agreed to the ſetng up of *Novatian* againſt *Cornelius*. This is the *one* Biſhop, at the Head of s Clergy and People to unite and keep together a *Chriſtian Church*, all the blations whereof are to be in his Communion, and with his Allowance, the *one Altar* among the *Jews*, was to keep together the *Jewiſh Church*. or they were to have but (*h*) *one Altar of Burnt offering* at *Jeruſalem*, hither *all were to come for Sacrifice*; and were *forbid to ſet up an Altar* ny where elſe. And becauſe of his being ſet for the ſame Purpoſe of nity, as that was; therefore is the Biſhop and his Communion, (*i*) cald *unum Altare*, the *one Altar*; and making an *Anti-Biſhop*, is called tting up *aliud Altare*, *another Altar*, in the Antient Language.

AND therefore in preſſing the great Duty of *Unity* on the Ancient hriſtians, the Fathers enjoyn them moſt ſtrictly to ſtick to their Biops. This is done by St. *Cyprian:* and before him by *Ignatius*, that leſſed Martyr and Contemporary of the Apoſtles. (*k*) *Take care all of u*, ſays he, *to follow the Biſhop*; —*whereſoever the Biſhop appears to be, here let the Multitude be with him: Like as whereſoever Chriſt goes, the atholick Church goes too.* (*l*) *Let my Part be with thoſe*, ſays he again, *ho keep ſubject to the Biſhop; yea, let my Soul be pawn'd for theirs, As any as are God's and Jeſus Chriſt's, keep with the Biſhop*, (*m*) ſays he in nother Place, preſſing them to Union, and warning them againſt Schiſm. nd becauſe th e*Church* is to be but *one*, therefore there is to be but ne Biſhop in a Church, for the Members all to adhere to, or for the ody to aſſociate and unite with. This was, and ought to be the *Eccleſiaſtical Rule*, as was (*n*) affirmed by *Cornelius*, ſaying, *there ought to e but one Biſhop in a Catholick Church:* And as is alſo declared † *by he Great Council of Nice.*

Now, as the *Union of any Churches*, lyes mainly in *keeping united to the iſhops:* So *Schiſm*, which is a Breach of Union in thoſe Churches, will ye chiefly *in breaking off unduly and dividing from them.* Eſpecially, in

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(*e*) Illi ſunt Eccleſia, Plebs Sacerdoti adunata, & Paſtori ſuo Grex adhærens. Unde ſcire debes, Epiſpum Eccleſia eſſe, & Eccleſiam in Epiſcopo, *Cyp. Ep.* 66. *p* 168.—Eccleſia ſuper Epiſcopos conſtituur, *Id. Ep.* 33. *p.* 66.

(*f*) Et ſi qui cum Epiſcopo non ſint, in Eccleſia non eſſe, *Cyp. ubi ſupra Ep.* 66. P. 168.

(*g*) Vos--alium Epiſcopum fieri conſenſiſſe, *id eſt*, quod nec fas eſt nec licet fieri, Eccleſiam aliam onſtitui, *Cyp. Ep.* 46 *p* 89. *So, of* Novatianus *ſetting up his* Pſendo-Biſhops *in other Churches, he ſays*, Humanam conatur Eccleſiam facere, poſt Dei Traditionem, *viz. After thoſe Ordain'd in the Churches by poſtolical Succeſſion*, Id. Ep. 55 p. 112. Ed. Ox.

(*h*) Deut. xii. 4, 5, 13, 14. (*i*) Ignat. Epiſt. ad Philiad. p. 41. & Cyp. de Unitate Eccl. p. 116. & Ep. 3. p. 83.

(*k*) Πάντες τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ ἀκολουθεῖτε, ὡς Ἰησοῦς χριστὸς τῷ πατρὶ--ὅπου ἂν φάνῃ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος ἔκει τὸ λῆθος ἔστω. Ὥσπερ ὅπου ἂν ᾖ χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία, Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrnæos. p. 6.

(*l*) Ἀντίψυχον ἐγὼ τῶν ὑποτασσομένων τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ, πρεσβυτέροις, διακόνοις, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν μοι τὸ μέρος γένοιτο κεῖν ἐν θεῷ. Id. Ep. ad Polycarp. p 14.

(*m*) Ὅσοι γὰρ θεοῦ εἰσίν καὶ Ἰησοῦ χριστοῦ, οὗτοι μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσὶν, Ep. ad Philiad. p. 40.

(*n*) Ἕνα ἐπίσκοπον ἐν καθολικῇ ἐκκλεσίᾳ εἶναι δεῖν, Ap. Euſeb, l. 6. c. 43. † Can. 8.

setting up of opposite Bishops, or in making a *second Bishop* in a Church against a *former Orthodox* and *Rightful Bishop yet living and claiming,* which makes a most plain, and consummate Schism. For, in the same Church, two opposite Bishops, are two opposite Heads. And two Heads, will make two Bodies; those who set up the New One against the Old, as likewise all they who afterwards come over to him, making a New Body under him; which apparently destroys Union, and makes two out of one. And thus, we see it doth in all Societies. If an Opposite General, is set up by a mutinous Party; it divides the Army; or if an opposite King is set up in a Realm, it makes a Sedition, and divides the Kingdom. Or, if the same is done in a College, a Family, or other Societies, as well as in a Church, opposite Heads do unavoidably make opposite Bodies, and visibly destroy the Unity of any Society, by breaking it into two Societies, or into as many, as there shall be opposite Heads thereof.

ACCORDINGLY, the Ancients place the *Schism of Church Members,* in *Breaking off from Rightful Bishops,* or *Setting up others in the same Church against them.* Thus, in the (o) *Apostolical Canons,* the *Schism of Presbyters, of other Clergy, or Laicks, is express'd by their setting up another Altar, and assembling separately, in Contempt of the Bishop.* So also the *Council of Carthage* declares concerning any (p) *Presbyters,* who should *do the same, after they had been sentenced* and *segregrated by their Bishops,* that therein they are *Makers of Schisms.* And the *second General Council* rejects Men as *Schismaticks,* (q) *tho' they give out that they confess the Right Faith, if they assemble and hold Congregations, in opposition to their Canonical Bishops.* (r) *Hence,* says St. *Cyprian, come Schisms and Heresies, because Men envy and contemn their Bishops.* (s) *They have risen, and do rise from this,* viz. *from some proud Persons presumptuous Contempt of the Bishop, who is one, and presides over the Church.*

ESPECIALLY, if they set up an Anti-Bishop, and oppose a *second* Bishop to the *first,* or to one Canonically Ordained already, and rightfully possess'd of the same Church. This was the Case of *Novatianus,* whom the *three Italian Bishops,* which he call'd to *Rome* for that purpose, ordained *Bishop of Rome against Cornelius,* who was already the Rightful and Canonical Bishop of that Place. This Setting up of Anti-Bishops, St. *Cyprian* tells them, is erecting *an* (t) *Adulterous Head,* (a second Bishop being no more to be admitted to the same Church, than a second Husband to the same Wife, whilst the former lives) and a *spurious* or (u) *an adulterate Chair.* And bids them know, that (w) *after once a Bishop is lawfully made, and ordained in any Church, they can no ways set up another Bishop against him in the same Place.* He calls it erecting † *unlawful Paiesthoods,*

(o)—Καταφρονήσας τῦ ἰδίυ ἐπισκόπυ, χωρὶς συναγάγῃ κ) θυσιας ἥμιον ἕτερον πῆξῃ, Can. 31. Ap.

(p) Ἡγήσατο ὀφείλειν κεχωρισμένως ἅμα τῷ θεῷ προσφέρειν, ἢ ἄλλο ἀνοσιθῦν θυσιαστήριον ἀνδὲν —χίτμα ποιήσῃ, Can. 10. Conc. Carthag.

(q) Περὶ δὲ τύπυ, κ) τὶς τὴν πίστιν μὲν τὴν ὑγιῆ προσπεμένας ὁμολογεῖν, ἀποχίζέντας δὲ κ) ἀπσυναγάγοντας τοῖς κανονικοῖς ἡμῶν ἐπισκόποις, Concil. Constant. Can. 6.

(r) Hinc ad Hæreses & Schismata prosilitur, dum obtrectatur Sacerdotibus, dum Episcopis invidetur, cum quis aut queritur non se potius ordinarum, aut dedignatur alterum ferre præpositum, *Cyp. de Zelo & Livore p.* 223. Hæc sunt initia Hæreticorum, & Ortus atque Conatus Schismaticorum, *&c.* ut illi placeant, & præpositos superbo tumore contemnant. Sic de Ecclesia receditur, *&c. Id. Ep.* 3. *p.* 6.

(s) Inde Schismata & Hæreses obortæ sunt, & oriuntur, cum Episcopus, qui unus est, & Ecclesiæ præest, superba quorundam præsumptione contemnitur, *Cyp. Ep.* 66. p. 167.

(t) Adulterum Caput, *Ep.* 45. *p.* 86.

(u) Adulteram Cathedram, *Id. Ep.* 68. *p.* 177.

(w) Agnoscant atque intelligant, Episcopo semel facto. & Collegarum & Plebis Testimonio & Judicio comprobato, alium constitui nullo modo posse, *Cyp. Ep.* 44. *p.* 86.

† Illicita Sacerdotia, *Ep.* 69. *p.* 180.

and

and oppoſing againſt the *True Altar and Holy Sacrifice*, a (x) *Falſe* and (y) *Profane Altar, and* (z) *Sacrilegious Sacrifices.* And he aggravates the *Novatian Schiſm*, by ſaying, they had (a) *not only broke off from the Biſhop and Church*, but *had proceeded againſt the Orainance of God, and Catholick Unity, to ſet up againſt him another Biſhop, an adulterous and contrary Head.* And on like *ſetting up of Anti-Biſhops, after others were firſt in place*, (b) *Optatus* charges *the Donatiſts with Schiſm afterwards.* Theſe Setters up of oppoſite or Anti-Biſhops, firſt break off themſelves from their own Biſhops, before they can ſet another up againſt him. And being broke off from their Biſhop, they are broke off from the Church, which is *in Epiſcopo*, as I ſhewed before, or *goes along with the Biſhop*; thoſe Members only making the true Body, which adhere and keep to the Head; and thoſe (c) *ceaſing to be any longer of the Body, who are ſeparated from the Head.* And therefore theſe *oppoſite* or *Anti-Biſhops*, and *oppoſite Altars*, that *bleſſed Martyr* ſtill ſays are (d) *foris*, and (e) *extra Eccleſiam*, and have * receded *ab Eccleſia*; that is, *are not within*, but *without the Church.*

* *Ep.* 43. *p.* 84. & *Ep.* 3. *p.* 6.

Now from this Account of Church-Union in any particular Churches, and of Schiſm, which lyes in the unjuſt Breach thereof, I ſhall obſerve theſe three Things.

1. *Firſt*, That when a ſecond, or oppoſite Biſhop, is ſet up in any Church againſt a former Orthodox one, who is ſtill Biſhop thereof, *the Anti-Biſhop, and they who ſet him up and adhere to him, make the Schiſm.* For the other, with his Adherents, as the ſame Head and Members, abide ſtill where they were, and are ſtill the ſame Church. But the Anti-Biſhop and his Followers, *are gone out from them*, which (f) *Optatus* gives us a plain Proof againſt the *Donatiſt* Biſhops, that *the Schiſm lay at their Doors.* They have broke themſelves off, and by erecting themſelves into an oppoſite Head and Body, make a new and oppoſite Church. (g) *Conſenting to ſet up another Biſhop, they conſented therein to ſet up another Church*, as I obſerved before from St. *Cyprian.* So that they rend that Body, which, by keeping wholly to one Biſhop before, was but *one*, into ſeveral Pieces, and break one Church into *two* Churches.

This, I ſay, they do, if the former Biſhop is *Orthodox.* For if he is Heretical, Hereſie, as I ſhall ſhew, diſſolves the Union, and cancels the Obligation of Adherence between ſuch Head and Members. They are bound to own him as their Head, and to be one with him as his true and genuine Members, whilſt he is at the Head of Chriſtian Doctrines, and neceſſary Truths; but not when he falls off from them, into damnable Hereſies and Unchriſtian Errors.

And if he is ſtill the *rightful Biſhop of that Church.* If he *valuntarily quits his Right*, and Relation to them, and gives it up by his own Reſignation, they are no longer bound to adhere to him. For theſe Unions

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(x) Falſa Altaria, *Ep.* 69. *p.* 180.
(y) Prophanum Altare, *Ep.* 3. *p.* 6.
(z) Sacrificia Sacrilega, *Ep.* 68. *p.* 177. & *Ep.* 69. *p.* 180.
(a) Non tantum radicis & matris ſinum atq; complexum recuſavit; ſed etiam gliſcente & in pejus crueſcente diſcordia, Epiſcopum ſibi conſtituit, & contra Sacramentum ſemel traditum Divinæ Diſpoſitionis & Catholicæ Unitatis, adulterum & contrarium Caput extra Eccleſiam fecit, *Ep.* 45. *p.* 86.
(b) Majorinum poſt Ordinationem Cæciliani ordinaverunt, Schiſma facientes. — Conſequens erit eoſdem fuiſſe Authores Schiſmatis, *Optat. l.* 1. *pag.* 40. *Ed. Par. Albaſp.*
(c) Si qui cum Epiſcopo non ſint, in Eccleſia non eſſe, *Cyp. Ep* 166. *p.* 68.
(d) *Ep.* 3. *p.* 6. & *Ep.* 55. *p.* 104. (e) *Ep.* 43. *p.* 48. & *Ep.* 45. *p.* 86.
(f) Schiſma apud Carthaginem a veſtris Principibus factum. — Non enim *Cæcilianus* exivit à *Majorino* Avo tuo; ſed *Majorinus à Cæciliano*, Optat. Milev. *l.* 1. *p.* 83. *Ed. Par. Albaſpin.*
(g) Alium Epiſcopum fieri conſenſiſſe, id eſt, quod nec fas eſt, nec licet fieri, Eccleſiam aliam conſtitui, *Cyp. Ep.* 46. *p.* 89.

and

and Dependances, are contracted by the Consent of Mens own Wills, and are kept up betwixt these Heads and Members, not by natural, but voluntary Communications. So that, if a Bishop throws up his own Relation, and will no longer preside over them, as Head of a Church; they are no longer bound, to keep in Dependance and Subjection, or to stick to him, as Members thereof. Or, if he loses it against his Will, by a just Sentence and Deprivation, that also discharges the Members from their Union and Dependance, and sets them free to receive, and to unite themselves to another in his Place. But if neither *Death* has put an End to his Relation, nor *he has thrown it* up by his own Resignation, nor is *deprived* thereof by the *finishing of a Regular Process* and *Synodical Sentence* against him; he is still the Bishop of his CHURCH, and will bar and keep out any other Person from being ordained a Bishop over them. (*h*) *A Bishop can by no means be constituted in that Church, whose own Bishop is yet alive, and stands vested with his proper Honour, unless of his own accord he renounce his Bishoprick.* And as to making a Vacancy by Deprivation, *it behoves first, that the Cause of him, who is to be cast out of his Bishoprick, be canonically examined, and the Process against him be fully brought to an End. And then, after he is canonically deposed, another may be promoted to his Bishoprick,* say the *Fathers* in the *Council of Constantinople.*

BUT if even a Synod of Bishops shall deprive an Orthodox Bishop of any Church, for adhering to the Truths, or Commands of Christ; he is Christ's true Bishop still in that Church, and his faithful Peoples spiritual Head, for all that unjust Sentence. For Christ stands by him, who stands by his Doctrines and Precepts; and unjust Depositions on these Accounts, have no more Validity in his Sight, than unjust Excommunications for the same Accounts have, as has been already shew'd. But, if there is no Interposition of Synods, but a mere Deprivation of State, that will much less do it. For there is a spiritual Subjection and Dependance of People to their Bishops, especially to such as suffer for adhering to Christian Truths or Precepts, which the civil State cannot break or dissolve. Christ himself, by his Institution, has made a spiritual Relation between them, and antecedently obliged his People to this Union and Adherence to them, as they are *vice Christi*, his *Ministers* and *Vice-gerents*, as St. *Cyprian* * says. Kings and Civil States, may come afterwards, and tye this Spiritual Union and Adherence, faster on, by temporal Dependances and Enforcements. And what they lay on, they may take off again. But the Spiritual Relation and Obligations, do not depend on them, but on Christ himself. Religion lays them on, and leaves it not in the Power of any Prince, to cancel or discharge them. They stood fixed, whilst the Church was separate from the State, before any secular Powers came in to protect it; and will still continue, if they turn all their Power, to persecute and oppress it. Nor has our Lord left it to their Courtesy, whether there shall be any Spiritual Relation betwixt his People and their Pastors, whether they shall keep up their Spiritual Relation and Dependance, and he shall have a Church on Earth, or no; as is before discoursed more at large.

* Ep. 59. p. 129. Ed. Ox.

(*h*) Τοῦτο δεῖσαι ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι, τὸ μηδενὶ τρόπῳ ἐπίσκοπον καταστῆναι ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἧς ἐπὶ πρώτως ζῇ, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ συνίσταται πιμῇ, εἰ μὴ αὐτὸς ἑκὼν τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν ἀφαιρήσεται. ζητεῖσθαι πρότερον τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ μέλλοντος ἐπισκοπῆς ἐκδικεῖσθαι κανονικῶς ἐξητασμένην εἰς πέρας ἀγαγεῖν, εἶθ ὕστερον, μετὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ καθαίρεσιν ἕτερον ἀντ' αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐπισκοπὴν προβιβάζεσθαι, Concil. Constanu. 1 & 2 Dist. Can. 16.

THE

THE Learned Author, of the *Vindication of Their Majeſty's Authority in lling the vacant Sees*, * owns the Advancement of *George the Cappado-* * p. 19, 20.
an into the Place of *Athanaſius*, to have been *Schiſmatical*, and *an Uſur-ation and Breach of Catholick Communion.* The Setting up of this Anti-iſhop, was by a *Deprivation of State.* For *Conſtantius took away the hurches from Athanaſius* and his *Adherents*, which is the State-way of epriving Biſhops; and gave them to *George the Anti-Biſhop* and his *Ad-rents.* Nay, he ſends an *Edict*, to the *Senate and People of Alexan-ia*, * requiring them *on their Allegiance*, (inſtead of ſticking to him as * Athan. Epiſt. ad Conſtan. Imp. p. 695. & Ep. ad Solit. p. 843.
eir Spiritual Head, with the Affection and Dependance of Members;) ith their *united Force, to perſecute Athanaſius.* And *made it criminal any Perſons*, as *Sozomen* † relates, *to harbour or conceal him.* And cordingly, the *Imperial Miniſters* and *Præfects*, violently drove *him* and e *Orthodox* out of the Churches; and, by extream Force, put *George* and e *Arians*, in poſſeſſion thereof: And, having placed this *Anti-Biſhop* up- † Hiſt. Eccl. l. 4. c. 10. p. 549.
his Throne, with all ſecular Cruelties and barbarous Uſage, compell'd e Clergy and People to acknowledge and ſubmit to him. It was alſo ought about by *Deprivation of Synods.* For after the *Sardican Synod*, hich reſtored him, *Athanaſius* had been again depoſed, both by the *Sy-d of Arles*, and afterwards by the *Synod of Milan*, wherein, beſides a w from the *Eaſt*, *above three hundred Biſhops of the Weſt* met, as *Sozo-n* * ſays, *and condemned him.* And the ſetting up of *George* againſt * L. 4. c. 9.
m after this, was in a Synod, *viz.* the *Synod of Antioch*, † which *decla-d the Uncanonicalneſs of his Reſtitution, and ordained George*, as a for-r Synod at that Place had ordained *Gregory* before, *to be Biſhop of A-anaria in his Room.* Theſe, indeed, as the Author of *the Vindication* * * p. 19. † Soz. l. 4. c. 8. p. 546.
ggeſts were *Heretical Synods.* And *Dionyſius of Alba*, *Euſebius of Ver-es*, *Paulinus of Tryers*, *and Rhodanus*, and *Lucifer*, who at *Milan pro-ed againſt their Proceedings*, declared, that, thro' *Athanaſius*, *the Em-or and the Arians his Enemies*, *were ſtriking at the Catholick Faith*; *ich the Event of Things*, and *the Proceedings* afterwards in the *Synods Ariminum and Seleucia*, *verified*, as *Sozomen* * obſerves. But in way * L. 4. c. 9. p. 545.
external Judicature, the Deprivation, tho' of *Heretical Synods*, muſt leaſt carry with it as much Plea, as Depoſition by *no Synods* can pre-d to; there being more ſhew of Eccleſiaſtical Authority, in Acts of retical Synods, than in none at all.

BUT for all this Depoſition, both by the Imperial Edicts, and Syno-al Sentences, ſince the true Cauſe thereof was his Firmneſs and Conſtan-to the Catholick Faith, *Athanaſius*, as the foreſaid Author owns, ſtill t on his Spiritual Relation, and the People their Spiritual and Religi- Obligations to, and Dependance on him. So that *George*, as he * *p. 19, 20.
s, was an *uſurping Invader*, *a Breaker of Catholick Communion*, and a g-leader of a *Schiſm in the Catholick Church*, when he ſet up againſt . And the ſame it would be, in the Caſe of any other Biſhop depri- by the like Authority, for his Fidelity and fixt Adherence, to any er Truths, or Laws of *Chriſt.* For his faithful Biſhops muſt ſtick to , in all other Points of Chriſtian Truth and Practice, as well as in the hodoxy of the *Nicene Faith.* And that againſt the Deprivations, of all *r States* and *Synods*, as well as of the *Arians.* And their ſticking to iſt in theſe Points, can give no Liberty to their Clergy and People, reak off from them. Their Stedfaſtneſs therein, muſt tye all faithful mbers faſter to them; but can never be expounded, as a conſcionable harge of their Spiritual Obligations, and Dependance on them.

IF a Schiſm is made in a Church then, by a Defection from the right-Orthodox Biſhop thereof, laid aſide, either by a Civil State or Ec-aſtical Synod, only for his faithful Adherence to the Doctrines, or

Laws

Laws of *Christ*; or by turning over to an Anti-Bishop, set up against him: 'Tis plain, the Anti-Bishops, with their Makers and Adherents, make the Schism. They were all Members of the one Body, whilst they kept subject and united to the Rightful Bishop, who is the Head of it. But when they broke off from him, they divided themselves from the Body; and formed themselves under an opposite Head, into a new and opposite Body. But he, and his Adherents, still preserve the Unity of the true Body. The Breakers off, make the Division; but they preserve their Union. As *those Branches* do, (*i*) which *still grow to the Tree*, when others are broke off from it; and *those Streams*, which *still communicate with the Fountain*, when others are stopt; and *those Rays*, which *keep connected to the Sun*, when others are interrupted. Which Similitudes, St. *Cyprian* makes choice of, to set off the *Unity of the Church*, and to shew that they preserve this Union, who keep *to the same Head and Origine*. What they do therefore in these Cases, by sticking to each other as they did before, when others break off, is not to make the Schism, but only not to follow and run into it. And they are no more chargeable with the Division for this, than the General and his faithful Souldiers would be in an Army, for not going over to the Mutineers; or than a King and his Loyal Subjects would be in a Kingdom for not turning over and submitting to the Rebels. But as the Anti-Bishops and their Party make the Schism, by departing from the lawful Head and true Body, they must amend it by returning to it: And they stand answerable to God, so far as I see, for all the Guilt, and sad Consequences and Effects thereof, if they refuse to do.

2. *Secondly*, THE *Unity of any Church doth not go with the greater Numbers:* but when a Schism is made by a Defection of Members from their spiritual Head, and setting up of Anti-Bishops, the Schism, is still the same, how numerous soever the Members are that break off. For breaking off from their rightful Head and Governour, as I have shewn, makes the Schism: And then, the Greatness of the Number of those who do so, can only make it a greater Schism. Number in Schism, or in any other ill Thing, may add Confidence, and leave less Hope of reclaiming those who are engag'd therein. For *Multitude*, as the *Antient Author of the* * *Comment* on St. *Matthew*, printed among the Works of St. *Chrysostom*, observes, is the *Mother of Sedition, and of Contumacy and Incureableness therein*; *whereas Paucity*, or Smalness of their Number, *the Mistress of Discipline*. But it doth not lessen the Guilt, nor alter the Nature of it, but Schismaticks are answerable for their Schism, tho' they never so many of them.

* In Mat. Homil. 1. in cap. 1. ver. 7. in verba *Solomon genuit Roboam.*

THAT which makes any Meeting of Orthodox Christians, offering a regular and establish'd Service, to be *in the Unity of the Church*, their meeting under one, *who officiates therein according to their own Bishop's Approbation and Allowance*. For the *Unity of the Body* lyes in *keeping with him*. And the Catholick and Canonical Rule, as I shall * afterwards shew, of keeping one with them, is by *celebrating all Publick Offices and Divine Service, with their Allowance and Approbation*. So that where any Presbyters, or Deacons perform the establish'd Offices,

* Part 3. Chap. 5.

(*i*) Eccclesia quoque una est, quæ in multitudinem latius incremento fœcunditatis extenditur: modo solis multi radii, sed lumen unum: Et rami arboris multi, sed robur unum tenaci radice fundatum: Et cum de fonte uno rivi plurimi defluunt, numerositas licet diffusa videatur exundantis copiæ largitate, unitas tamen servatur in origine. Sic in Ecclesia, *tho'* radii, rami, & rivi, *be most numerous*, tamen Caput est & Origo una, & una Mater Fœcunditatis successibus copiosa, *Cyp. de Unit.* p. 108.

cord

ording to the Mind of their own Orthodox and Rightful Biſhops; hey officiate in the Unity of the Church, though it be but to a few, nd to thoſe met in Corners. And where any others celebrate their Of- ices, without the Licence, and againſt the Approbation of their own Orthodox and Rightful Biſhops; they officiate in a Schiſm, though it be mong the fulleſt Congregations, and with ſecular Encouragements, and n the publick Authorized Churches. The having their Orthodox and rue Biſhops Approbation and Concurrence, makes them no Schiſma- icks, and their Meetings no Conventicles, when *Conventicle* notes, not *ſmall*, or *ſecret*, but *a ſchiſmatical Aſſembly*; as it always doth, when t is a Word of Infamy and Reproach. *(k) The Canon counts it a Con- enticle, when any Miniſter in a private Oratory, againſt the Allowance nd Approbation of him, who is chief Prieſt in the Country*, ſays *Balſamon* n the *Canon forbidding Miniſtrations contrary to the Biſhops Mind and Approbation.*

AND it has not been ſo ſtrange a Sight in the World, as every good Mind would wiſh it had, *to ſee Schiſmaticks from the Body make a more Numerous Party, than thoſe, who keep united to it.* In the Diviſion of *Iſ- ael* from *Judah*, under *Jeroboam*, the *Iſraelites*, who fell off from the *One Altar at Jeruſalem*, to *other Altars of their own erecting*, were guil- y of the Schiſm: 'Tho they who ſtuck to that one Altar, were but *two Tribes*; and thoſe Defectors who broke off from it, were *Ten*. The *Arians*, as they were *Hereticks* for ſubverting the true Faith; ſo likewiſe were they all *Schiſmaticks*, by breaking off from the Communion of their Rightful Biſhops, as of *Athanaſius* at *Alexandria*, of *Paulus* at *Conſtan- inople*, of *Lucius* at *Adrianople*, of *Aſclepias* at *Gaza*, of *Marcellus* at *An- yra*, &c. and by enjoyning all every where to break Communion with hem, and to receive and communicate with thoſe Anti-Biſhops, whom hey had ſet up againſt them. And in the *Patriarchate of Alexandria* more particularly, the *Meletians*, who before had made a Schiſm in that Church, fell into their Party; as (*l*) *Schiſm, to maintain it ſelf*, too often, yea *always*, ſays St. *Jerom*, *takes up with, aud ends in Hereſie.* But heſe *Arians* who made the Schiſm, were abundantly more Numerous, han thoſe faithful Chriſtians, who kept to the Unity of the Catholick Church; *the whole World at one time groaning*, as * St. *Jerome* ſays, *and admiring to ſee it ſelf turn'd Arian*, Again, the *Donatiſts* were noto- iouſly guilty of the Schiſm made in the *African Churches*. But yet, when they over-run *Africk*, they could glory and vaunt themſelves in heir Diffuſedneſs, and in the greatneſs of their Number. So that Schiſm s compatible, with the greateſt Numerouſneſs of Adherents, if that Number is of Men combined together againſt their Orthodox Right- ful Biſhops; and the Unity of the Church, wirh the ſmalleſt Numbers, f that Number is of Members, that conſtantly adhere to them.

* *Hierom.* adv. *Lucifer.* p. 8. b. Ed. Col.

AND this may likewiſe appear from thoſe *Similitudes*, of the Unity betwixt the *Head* and *Members*, the *Tree* and *Branches*, *&c.* whereby the Ancients ſet out the *Unity of the Church.* For be the Branches more or fewer which keep united to the Body, they make the Tree. And be the Members few or many, which ſtick on to the Head or living Trunk, they make the Body. And ſo, be their Numbers great or leſs do the Adherers to the Orthodox Rightful Biſhop, make the *one Church.*

(*k*) Παρασυναγωγὴν ὁ κανὼν ἤγειλαι τὸ ἱερυγήσαί τινα ἐν οὐκτείῳ οἴκῳ παρὰ γνώμιλω τὸ κατὰ χώραν Ἀρχιέρεως, Balſamon in Can. 31. Concil. in Trullo.

(*l*) Nullum Schiſma non ſibi aliquam confingit Hæreſin, ut recte ab Eccleſia receſſiſſe videatur, *Hierom. Comment. in Ep. ad Tit. c.* 3. in verba Hæreticum hominem, *&c.*

INDEED, as the Root has the Branches; so the Bishop, has the Clergy and People, virtually in himself. That is, as he gets Proselytes, he can make them Christians; and out of these, he can Ordain Presbyters, and Deacons; So to (*m*) *head a Body of Clergy and People professing Christianity, which*, according to the Sense of the Primitive Fathers, *is a Christian Church*. And thus a Bishop, though appearing only with a few Members about him, will make a Church; and is qualified duly to spread it, and to make it more numerous: As the blessed Apostles did, when they set up at first to gather Churches; and as the first Bishops did also, who *were taken out of the first Converts*, and *Ordained* at the Head of them, *to be Bishops of those who* (*n*) *should afterwards believe*. So that the reducing of an Orthodox Rightful Bishop, to a comparatively little Number of Adherents, will not hinder him and his Followers from making up the *one Body*, and being the *one Church*. And as such, our Lord will *give Ear to them*, as St. *Cyprian* observes, though they be *but two or three gathered together in his Name*, rather than to a greater Number of Schismatical Dividers. To this *Promise of his Presence*, with *two or three*, or such small Numbers, *our Lord premises*, says * he, that these *two or three* be in the Unity of the Church, and preserve *the Concord of Peace*. (*o*) *And shews himself thereby, to be more with two or three such Petitioners, than with a great Number of Schismatical Dividers.*

*De unit. p. 112.

AND if *Number of Adherents* will not, much less will any *Places of Assemblies*, make such Members, as are broken off from their Orthodox Rightful Bishops, to have the Unity of the Body with them, or to be the *one Church*. For since the Anti-Bishop, with his Followers, are all Members broke off from their true and lawful Head; they must needs be a Schism, though they assemble in the most Authorized Places, and Publick Churches. And since, in the Orthodox and Rightful Bishop with his Adherents, we see the Members keeping united to their Head, they must needs retain that *Unity of the Body*, though driven to seek shelter in the Wilderness, or to meet in Corners. Such little Flocks, are still the one Church; though, like the first Christians, in the Persecution raised against them by the *Jews*, they are kept out of the *Temple* and all the publick *Synagogues*, and must be content to celebrate Divine Service, and hold their Religious Assemblies, * *in upper Rooms*.

* Acts i. 13, & xx. 7, 8.

3. *Thirdly*, THEREFORE in *Pressing of Ecclesiastical Unity* on the Consciences of Men, *the Preachers of Peace and Unity must press them to keep united to their own Orthodox and Rightful Bishop, not to unite themselves to any other Bishop set up against him*. For the Unity, which they are bound in Conscience to keep up, is an Unity under him; so Unity, if rightly urged, will bind all to him, but rend none from him.

NO Precepts occur more frequently in the *New Testament*, than those requiring *Love* and *Brotherly Charity*, and *Peace*, and *Unity* among Christians. And these are meant to tye them to each other, not only in their private Capacity and Converse; but as they are incorporated into a Spiritual Society, and, as so many * *live Stones* are to be cemented and compacted into *one Holy Temple*; or, as so † *many Members*, are to be knit tagether and built up into *one Body* Politick, or Church. They are

* 1 Pet. ii. 5.
† Rom. xii. 4, 5. & 1 Cor. xii. 12.

(*m*) Ecclesia in Episcopo, & Clero, & in omnibus stantibus sit constituta, *Cyp. Ep.* 33. *p.* 61. *And speaking of* the Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία ὐ καλεῖται, says St *Ignatius*. Ep. ad Trallian. p. 48.

(*n*) Τῶν μελλόντων πιστεύειν, Clem. Ro. Ep. 1 ad Cor. p. 89. Ed. Ox.

(*o*) Ostendit magis esse se, cum duobus aut tribus unanimiter orantibus, quam cum dessidentibus plurimis, *Ib. p.* 113.

call'd

call'd to Charity and Peace in one Body, as St. *Paul* ſays, *Col.* iii. 14, 15. And the Chriſtian *Charity*, is to be a Charity that keeps Unity of Society, that *edifies*, and doth not divide the Church, 1 *Cor.* viii. 1. on which Account he ſays, that where the Members are acted by the Virtue, and ſhew *the Care of Charity, there will be no Schiſm in the Body*, 1 *Cor.* xii. 25, 26. Its Work, is to compact, and *joyn together the Members, the Body edifying it ſelf in Love.* Eph. iv. 16.

AND to do this, or to keep them in united Coporations or Societies, they muſt keep them united, not only to one another, but to their Orthodox and Rightful Biſhops in the *firſt* Place. That *Peace*, which muſt ſecure their Peace as an incorporate Society, muſt firſt bind them to be at Peace *with them.* And that Union, which muſt keep them one Society, muſt keep all dependant on, and united to them; and ſuffer none to break off, or divide from them. And that *Love* and *Charity*, which is to be the Ligament of a *Politick Body*, muſt bind the *Members to the Head*, or the *Subjects to the Governours*; and bar all Factious Combinations againſt them, or Defection to any others.

AND therefore the Scripture Precepts, of *Love*, and *Brotherly Charity*, and *Peace* and *Unity*, muſt *never be pleaded to draw Men off from their own Orthodox Rightful Biſhop, but to make them cleave faſt to him.* And to call Men to unite with an Anti-Biſhop, is not to call them to keep theſe Precepts, but to tranſgreſs them. And thus 'tis often repreſented by St. *Cyprian.* He (*p*) tells *the Contemners of their own Biſhops*, and *Adherers to oppoſite Biſhops*, that they have none of that *Charity* which St. *Paul* requires, and without which * he declares to the *Corinthians*, that they would receive *no Profit by dying Martyrs*; becauſe (*q*) *they have not kept to the Unity of the Church.* And gives the (*r*) *Setters up* of oppoſite and *profane Altars*, to underſtand, that ſo *they rebel againſt the Peace of Chriſt, and againſt the Ordinance and Unity of God.* That *they thereby* (*s*) *break the Bond of the Lord's Peace, and violate Brotherly Charity, and rend Chriſtian Unity.* And to thoſe *Confeſſors at Rome*, who had ſided with Schiſmatick *Novatian* againſt *Cornelius*, he ſuggeſts, how (*t*) *therein they had ſeparated themſelves from the Flock of Chriſt, and from his Concord and Peace.* So that the Breach and Overthrow of theſe Chriſtian Duties, of *Fraternal Charity*, *Peace*, and *Unity*, muſt not be charg'd on any, for adhereing to their true Head, and orthodox rightful Biſhop, but are juſtly chargeable on the other Side.

* 1 Cor. xiii. 3.

AS to the *firſt Way of Schiſm* therefore, *viz. in particular Members breaking off unduly from the Unity of their own Church*, and from their *due Subjection and Dependance on their own Biſhops*, to omit other Inſtances thereof, 'tis plain a *Schiſm* is then made, *when Biſhop is ſet up againſt Biſhop in the ſame Church.* And the Makers thereof, are the *New* or *Anti-Biſhop* and *his Adherents*, if the former Biſhop is *Orthodox*, and has not clogg'd his Communion with any *unlawful Terms*, or with requiring a *throwing up of Rights* and *Libertys*, and a *Submiſſion* to *Unrighteous* and *Uncanonical Uſurpations.* Yea, though ſuch former Rightful Biſhop, ſtand deprived By an Act of State, or even of a Synod; if what he is

(*p*) De Unit. Eccleſ. *p.* 113, 114. & *Ep.* 55. *p.* 114.

(*q*) —Exhibere ſe non poteſt Martyrem, cui fraternam non tenuit charitatem, *De Unitate Eccl. p.* 113.

(*r*) Sic Altare profanum foris collocatur, ſic contra Pacem Chriſti & ordinationem atque unitatem Dei rebellatur, *Ep.* 3. *p.* 6.

(*s*) Hinc Dominicæ Pacis vinculum rumpitur, hinc Charitas fraterna violatur, hinc Unitas ſcinditur, dum obtrectatur Sacerdotibus, *&c. Cyp. de Zelo & Livore, p.* 223

(*t*) —Dum voſmetipſos a Chriſti Grege, & ab ejus Pace & Concordia ſeparatis, *Cyp. Ep.* 46. *pag.* 89.

deprived for; be his Firmneſs in ſticking, either to the Doctrines, or to the Laws and Commands of Chriſt; and what the other is ſet up for, be his Eaſineſs in tranſgreſſing and forſaking them. So that in Religion they are Schiſmaticks, though the State eſpouſe them, and ſet them up for the civilly eſtabliſhed and endowed Church. As the *ten Tribes* were in *Iſrael*, though the civil State formed that Schiſm; and the *Arians*, when they broke off from their Rightful Orthodox Biſhops, albeit they had the Emperors to back them; and the *Engliſh Schiſmaticks*, when, in the Days of *the Great Rebellion*, they fell, not off only from their Biſhops, but from Epiſcopacy it ſelf, and were ſettled and upheld therein by the Uſurpers of that Time; and as the *Anti-Epiſcopal Church of Scotland* at this Day are, notwithſtanding all that Eſtabliſhment the ſecular Arm has given them. Yea, and nevertheleſs Schiſmaticks, though they can glory over the other, in having by far the greater Numbers; and in having ſole Poſſeſſion of the Publick Churches, and Places of Aſſemblies. And as the Anti-Biſhop and his Party, in ſuch Caſes make the Schiſm; it lyes on them, and they muſt be applied to, to mend it. And the Goſpel-Precepts, of *Charity*, *Peace*, and *Unity*, if they are truly preſs'd, muſt be urg'd to make his own Adherents ſtick to the Rightful Biſhop, and to bring thoſe Members, who are broken off, to return to him: but are not truly enforced, but corruptly miſapply'd and perverted, even to call for what they directly forbid, if they are urged for uniting with the other Side.

BUT whoever are guilty of making a Schiſm, it would be a moſt pious and praiſe-worthy Part in any that ſhall cure it. And in the ſuffering Side moſt of all, if, by over-looking their own perſonal and private Claims, and maſtering all private Reſentments, as mortified and moſt publick ſpirited Men, they can make an End thereof by letting fall their own Pretenſions. And why, will many good Minds, and ſincere Lovers of Peace ſay, ſhould they not do this for the Love of Peace, and for Religion's ſake and the Churches? Their Adverſaries, indeed, can not have the Face to ask it. And others, who may move better therein, would be modeſt in preſſing Liberality on Loſers, and not go too far in urging them, who have ſuffered ſo much already from the Invaders, as if they had not taken enough from them, to fall upon themſelves and throw them what remains. Yet they think it would be a noble Pitch in Vertue full of Glory and Goodneſs, if of themſelves they would prefer Publick-Weal before private Paſſions and Advantages, and be full of Care for others, when that needs to be ſhewn in caring leaſt for themſelves. Which Heavenly-mindedneſs and Publick-ſpiritedneſs, and Mortification to private Intereſts, God and the Church, they conceive, muſt needs take moſt kindly at their Hands.

BUT as to this, the ſuffering Biſhops cannot take this Way of Cure, *by giving up their Claims*, where they are bound in duty to inſiſt on them. And that they are bound to do, as I have already ſhewn at large, in the forementioned Caſes. By their quitting there, they would ſurrender the Souls of their Charge, to become a Prey to Wolves and Seducers, and to be trained up in wicked and corrupt Doctrines, Prayers, and Practices. And this is, not to be true to their Paſtoral Truſts. 'Tis, not faithfully to diſcharge their Cure of Souls, but perfidiouſly to throw it off. So that be they never ſo mortified, and negligent of themſelves, and zealouſly ſtudious of Unity and the Churches Peace; yet in Fidelity to Chriſt, and to the People whom he has entruſted to their Charge, they muſt hold on their ſpiritual Relation, I conceive, and diligently diſcharge it the beſt

beſt they can at ſuch times; and not deſert, but ſtick to the Church, over which the Holy Ghoſt hath made them *Overſeers*.

BESIDES, the Exerciſe of their Spiritual Miniſtrations is loudly call'd for in ſuch Caſes, and bound on them and the ſuffering Clergy their Brethren, by all the Powers and Characters of the Miniſterial Office; as I think may fully appear from what I have ſaid on that Point before. And not only the Continuance of their former Relation, as the true Biſhops ſtill of thoſe Places; but this very Exerciſe, muſt in Conſequence keep up a Schiſm in the Church, at ſuch times. For this Exerciſe of their Miniſtrations, muſt be *in ſeparate Bodies*. The State, incorporating and eſpouſing the Anti-Biſhops and their Adherents, will give them the Publick Churches: and Depriving and Perſecuting the other and their Followers, will alſo be ſure to keep them out thereof. So, their Miniſtrations, if they go on Miniſtring at all, as 'tis plain they ought, muſt be in ſeparate Places and Aſſemblies. Yea, and by different Ways of Exerciſe: the ſpiritual Adminiſtrations of one, being purely ſpiritual, in the Way of a deſtitute and perſecuted; but thoſe of the other, being mixt, in the way of an incorporate and endowed Church.

AND therefore in all the foremention'd Caſes, where the ſuffering Biſhops are ſtill bound, for the Intereſt of Religion and of Souls, to inſiſt upon their Epiſcopal Claims and their Relation to their Churches, and, with their Brethren of the other Clergy, ſtill to go on in a faithful Diſcharge of their Miniſtrations; this Way of Cure, can have no Place. But as the Anti-Biſhops, by breaking off from them, and from thoſe Chriſtian Principles and Practices whereto they ſtand firm, have made the Schiſm; ſo they alone, by a penitential Return, are capable to mend it: It not admitting of Remedy in thoſe Caſes, and under ſuch State of Things, from any other Hands.

AND this may be ſufficient, as to the true and ſuffering Biſhops, and ſhew how little the Arguments, from the Deſireableneſs and Duty of Union, will affect them in thoſe Caſes. When the Church is Rent by ſuch a deplorable Schiſm, as the precedent Diſcourſe ſhews *who make it*; ſo this, I think, is enough to ſhew *who can mend it*, and to whom alone the Lovers of Peace and Unity are to apply themſelves for Remedy at ſuch times.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

Of the Schism of Particular Churches from other Sister-Churches, by their rejecting of Fraternal Communion therewith.

BESIDES this *first* Way of Schism, *viz.* of *particular Members breaking off unjustly from the Unity of their own Church, by throwing off their due Subordination and Subjection to their own Bishops:* There is a *second*, as I observed above, *viz.* of *particular Churches breaking off unjustly from the Communion of other Sister-Churches.* And this is *by rejecting Fraternal Communion with them, denying to worship God in their Assemblies, or to admit their Members to worship in ours, or communicating with those who stand Excommunicated by them, or have made a Schism from them.*

OUR Lord, is not only for having the *Christians of every Place* or Country, to *keep Unity with their own particular Church:* but also, as I noted before, for having *all particular Churches, to keep up the Unity of one Body among themselves. All his Sheep he has gathered into one Flock, Joh.* x. 16. All the Assemblies both of *Jews* and *Gentiles*, he has *reconciled to God in one Body*, Eph. ii. 14, 16. *calling* all his Followers, to profess Christianity *in one Body*, as St. *Paul* says, *Col.* iii. 15. Accordingly, *Baptism*, which makes them all Christians, lists or inrolls them all in one Corporation, *we being all baptised into one Body*, 1 Cor. xii. 13. And the *Holy Eucharist*, which is the other Great Sacrament and solemn Undertaking of Christianity, confederates them into one spiritual Corporation, *we being all made in* that *to drink into one Spirit*, 1 Cor. xii. 13. and, *tho' many, being one Body*, as *partaking therein of one Bread*, 1 Cor. x. 16, 17. This Union of all Christians and Christian Congregations, into one Society under *Jesus Christ*, makes that *Body the Church*, whereof *he is the Head*, Col. i. 18. which the Scripture sometimes expresses, by *the Temple*, Eph. ii. 21. or *spiritual House*, 1 Pet. ii. 5. or *one Family and Houshold*, Eph. ii. 19. &c. iii. 15. as I observed above. And which is that *one Holy Catholick Church*, betwixt all the Parts whereof the *Communion of Saints* is to be maintained, as all Christians profess in the *Creed*.

This Union of all particular Churches *as one Body* under himself, our Lord has appointed to be kept up *by all the Members thereof*, as Occasion is; but chiefly, by *the Union and Accord of the Bishops and Pastors*, who are the respective Heads of those particular Churches.

This whole Church is made *one Body*, by *one Spirit*, Eph. iv. 4. so the Unity thereof, is call'd *the Unity of the Spirit*, v. 3. And one great Means of the Spirit's keeping up this Unity, is by the Ministration of *Pastors and Teachers, which he gave as Gifts*, for *the Edifying*, or Compacting and Building up all Christians into *this Body of Christ*, *v.* 8, 11, 12. To these Pastors, the Spirit has given *different Offices*, Rom. xii. 4. One, having the Office of *ministring*; another, of *teaching*; another, of *ruling*, *v.* 6, 7, 8. Or *different Administrations*, 1 Cor. xii. 5. *setting some in the Church* in the Station of *Apostles*; *some*, of *Teachers*; *some of Governments*, *v.* 28. placing some in higher, some in lower Stations, *according to the Measure of that Grace* or *Office*, (the Word *Grace* being often

often * uſed to expreſs *Miniſterial Powers*) which he ſaw fit to commit to them, *Eph.* iv. 7, 11. But all thoſe *different Offices*, are ſet for keeping all Chriſtians *in one Body*, Rom. xii. 4, 5. and all the *Diverſity of Miniſtries*, is to continue them *the Body of Chriſt*, and to cement *the Members*, who *are many*, into *one Body*, 1 Cor. xii. 27, 28. and *v.* 12. 20. and all the *Variety of Gifts* (*i. e.* of *Offices*, *v.* 11.) or Diſtributions of higher or lower Stations, are for *edifying* or laying together the Members into *this Body*, and for preſerving the *Unity* thereof, *Eph.* iv. 4, 8, 12. * Rom. xv. 15, 16. Eph. iii. 7, 8

THE *Head of this Body*, is *Jeſus Chriſt* himſelf. And from *Chriſt the Head all the Body is knit together*, ſays St. *Paul*, by *thoſe Joynts and Bands which miniſter nouriſhment*, *i. e.* by the Paſtors, who are ſet to feed it, Col. ii. 19. *From Chriſt the Head*, ſays he again, *the whole Body is fitly joyn'd and compacted together, by thoſe Joynts which make Supplies according to their meaſure*, or according to their ſeveral Stations in *the Work of the Miniſtry*, Eph. iv. 15, 16. And on Account of this Uſe, of their uniting all Chriſtians under Chriſt the Head into this one Body, or all the ſeveral Societies of Chriſtians into one Church; when this one Church is compared to a *Natural Body*, they are repreſented as the *Joynts*, and as the *Bands* or Ligaments, which unite and compact the Members, as they are by St. *Paul* in theſe Places.

AND thus it was in the Opinion of the *Ancient Church*, who placed the Unity of all Churches, in the Unity and Accord of all the Biſhops thereof. (*a*) *The Catholick Church, which is one*, ſaith St. *Cyprian*, *is cemented or coupled together, by the Glue or joynt Accord of its Biſhops Adhering mutually to one another.* (*b*) *All faithful People, are joyn'd together into the ſolid Unity of one Body, by the glue of this Concord.*—And to (*c*) *fall from this Concord, and ſeparate from the College of Biſhops, is to ſeparate from the Bond of the Church*, as he elſewhere ſays.

TO keep up this Unity in the whole Church, they believed all BISHOPS ſtrictly obliged to keep Unity among themſelves. *We* (*d*) *Biſhops, who preſide in the Church, ought above all Men to keep firmly united, that we may maintain the Epiſcopate it ſelf, one and undivided.* They looked upon *the Biſhops of all the ſeveral independant Churches*, to be as *ſo many Members of one great Fraternity or College.* (*e*) *Optatus* calls them, *the College of Biſhops.* And before him, St. *Cyprian* ſtiles them, (*f*) *the College and Corporation of Prieſts*; and calls *all other Biſhops, his Collegues*. Particular Biſhopricks, are all Members of one another, and (*g*) *all together*, as he ſays, *are to make but one* Great *Epiſcopate.*—And among this multitude of Biſhops, (*h*) *as there is but one Church, ſo there is but one Chair. And* (*i*) *as three Perſons in the ſacred Trinity, make up but one*

(*a*) Eccleſia, quæ Catholica, una eſt,—cohærentium ſibi invicem Sacerdotum glutino copulata eſt. *Ep.* 66. *p.* 68. *Ed Ox.*

(*b*) —Chriſtus unus, & una Eccleſia ejus, & Fides una, & Plebs in ſolidam Corporis unitatem concordiæ glutino copulata, *Id. de unit. Eccl. p.* 119.

(*c*) Se ab Eccleſiæ vinculo atque a Sacerdotum Collegio ſeparat, *Id. Ep.* 55 *p.* 112.

(*d*) Quam unitatem firmiter tenere & vindicare debemus, maxime Epiſcopi, qui in Eccleſia preſidemus, ut Epiſcopatum quoque ipſum, unum atque indiviſum probemus, *Cyp. de unit. Eccleſ. p.* 108. *Ox.*

(*e*) Quia Collegium Epiſcopale nolunt habere nobiſcum commune, *&c. Optat. l.* 1. *p.* 34. *Ed. Parſpin.*

(*f*) —A Sacerdotum Collegio ſeparat, *&c. Cyp. Ep.* 55. *p.* 112.

Copioſum eſt Corpus Sacerdotum, ſi quis ex Collegio noſtro hæreſin, *&c. Id. Ep.* 68. *p.* 178. *Ed Ox.*

—Epiſcopatus unus Epiſcoporum multorum concordi numeroſitate diffuſus, *Cyp. Ep.* 55. *p.* 112.

—Chriſtus unus, & una Eccleſia, & Cathedra una, *Ep.* 43. *p.* 83.

—Nam dum ad Trinitatis iuſtar, cujus una eſt & individua Poteſtas, unum ſit per diverſos Antiſtites Sacerdotium, *Symmachus Papa Ep.* 1. *ad Eonium Arelatenſem Epiſc. pag.* 675. *Tom.* 3. *Concil. Bin.*

God,

God, wherein the Power of all three is one, and undivided: So doth all the great Diversity of Prelates, make up but one Priesthood, says *Symmachus*.

Now this Unity, the Bishops and Pastors keep up among several Churches, not *by the Subjection of all other Bishops, to some one*, or *more, set up above all the rest*. Particularly, not by the paramount Authority and Jurisdiction of the *Bishop of Rome*, which is neither to be found in Scripture, nor is agreeable to the Accounts thereof, nor to the Belief and Practice of the Primitive Church, nor to the Universal Diffusedness designed for Christ's Church, under all the Divisions of Kingdoms, and Interruptions of secular Accord and Coresspondence here on Earth.

But *by maintaining Fraternal Concord* and *Communion among themselves*. They cement into *one Episcopate, concordi numerositate, by their Concord under this Numerosity*, as we are * told by St. *Cyprian*. (*k*) *They are Bound or Coupled into one Body, by the Glue of mutual Concord*, as he says again. Which *Ecclesiastical Concord* and *Fraternal Communion*, lyes *in owning each other, and all the Christians of their several Churches, as Brethren and Members*; and in *ratifying the great Acts of Society* pass'd among them, as if they had been pass'd among themselves. And in having this Communion, not Arbitrary and Discretionary, which may be fixt at Will upon their own Terms, and either kept up, or rejected, as they please: But a Communion kept on out of bounden Duty, and by Rules, being to give Account to Christ the chief Bishop for the Breach thereof.

* Ep. 55. p. 112.

To this it is requisite, that they *profess the same true Faith and Christian Worship*. This is the Foundation of all other Communion among them. The *one Body*, being made up of those, who hold to the *one Faith*, Eph. iv. 4. and the Communion in this Body, being required between those, who communicate in this one Faith and Worship, as shall be shewn more fully * afterwards.

*Chap. 3 4.

And among all Orthodox Bishops and Churches, who profess the true Christian Faith and Worship, the Rules of Communion and Correspondence, required by *Christ* for keeping up this Unity of his Body, are such as these:

1. That *all Orthodox Bishops and Churches, receive each others Members, as if they were their own Members*. All the Members of Christ's Church, are Fellow-Citizens, or enfranchised Denizens, whersoever they come; and upon any new Change of Place or Christian Country, have no need of a new Naturalization. They ought to find a Home in all Churches, and may claim their Baptismal Privileges, or the Benefits of the Christian Corporation or Society, and can not justly be repulsed or denied the same, as being free of the whole Body. For *Baptism*, which makes them Members, by the Institution of Christ incorporates them all, not only into those several Churches or Congregations where they receive it, but into the whole Body or Fraternity. *We are all Baptized whether we be Jews or Gentiles, into one Body*, says St. *Paul*, 1 Cor. xii. 13. And accordingly no Church must exclude them, as * *Strangers* or *Foreigners*; but own and receive them as *Fellow-citizens*, as † *Members*, as ‖ *Domesticks*, as (*l*) *Brethren*, and of the *same* (*m*) *Family* with themselves. And this is necessary, to maintain that *Brotherhood* which *Christ* has constituted among all his *Members*; every *Christian*

* *Eph.* ii. 19.
† *Ro.* xii. 5. 1 *Cor.* xii. 27.
‖ Οἰκεῖοι θεῦ, *Eph.* ii. 19.

(*k*) Copiosum est corpus Sacerdotum concordiæ mutuæ glutino atque unitatis vinculo copulatum. *Cyp. Ep.* 68. *p.* 178.

(*l*) Acts xi. 29. & xv. 23. and vii. 15. Rom. xvi. 14. 2 Cor. xi. 9. 1 Thes. iv. 10.

(*m*) Eph. iii. 15.

ing *Brother* to another; ſo that *Brother*, is uſually (*n*) put to ſignifie a *Chriſtian* in the Holy Scripture.

THEY muſt alſo own and receive *their Orders*, when they have been lawfully call'd to *ſpiritual Powers*, and to *the Work of the Miniſtry*, in their own Churches. For *Ordination*, as well as *Baptiſm*, is not only in reſpect to the Church of ſuch a Place, but to Chriſt's Church at large. Limitations there are, as to the Exerciſe of theſe Powers, as may make for the Preſervation of Order and Union. And in Care of Unity and Peace, Biſhops and Prieſts of any Church muſt obſerve theſe, in acting Epiſcopally or Sacerdotally, whilſt they converſe in other Churches. But having any where received a Lawful and Canonical Ordination, they are to be owned as Miniſters of Chriſt whereſoever they come, and need no more to be *Ordained*, than other Members need to be *baptized* over again.

So that they are Schiſmaticks, and break this *Unity of the Body*, appointed to be kept up between all particular Churches and their Members, who reject the Members, or Canonical Miniſters, of any other Orthodox Churches. As they do, who Unchurch them, or deny Communion to their Members, unleſs they will ſubmit to unrighteous Claims and Uſurpations, or joyn in unlawful Worſhip, or erroneous Doctrines; or who reject their Lawful and Canonical Miniſters, unleſs they will receive new Orders: which are ſo many Breaches of that *Brotherhood*, which Chriſt has Ordained among Churches, and are the making of a Schiſm in the *Catholick Church*.

2. ALL Orthodox Biſhops and Churches, are to *refuſe each others Schiſmaticks, and Excommunicates: as if they were their own Schiſmaticks or Excommunicates.* And upon their *Reconciliation*, and *Re-union to their own Churches, to let them in, and receive them again, as if they had been immediately reconciled, and re-united to themſelves.* Which Ways, of mutually receiving, or rejecting, of priviledging or debarring Members; make that *Unity of Diſcipline*, which by Order of Chriſt, and according to the Senſe and Belief of the Primitive Fathers, is one great Way, of compacting the vaſt Number of Chriſtian Societies into *one Body*, or of keeping up *the Unity of Chriſt's Church.* (*o*) *All we Chriſtians, are incorporated or made one Body*, ſays *Tertullian*, *as by the Belief of the ſame Religion, and the Covenant of Hope*, ſo *by the Unity of Diſcipline.* And when any other Biſhop or Church has done any thing, (*p*) *We are all thought to have done the ſame, by appearing aſſociated and united in the ſame Conſent of Cenſure and Diſcipline*, ſay the *Clergy of Rome* to St. *Cyprian.*

1. THEY are *to refuſe each others Schiſmaticks, as if they were their own Schiſmaticks.* For, as the holding on *civil Communion with Traytors*, is *judged Treaſon*: So is holding on *ſpiritual Communion with Schiſmaticks*, judged *Schiſm.* They muſt take part, and keep one with the Church. And ſo, whilſt the Breach laſts, muſt diſclaim and keep off from thoſe ſeparate Members, who ſtand divided and broke off from it; *avoiding thoſe that cauſe Diviſions*, as St *Paul* orders, *Rom.* xvi. 17. Accordingly, St. *Baſil* lets the *Neocæſareans* know, when they ſeemed

(*n*) Rom. xiv. 10. 1 Cor. v. 11. & vii. 15. Rom. xvi. 23. 2 Theſ. iii. 6.

(*o*) Corpus ſumus, de conſcientia Religionis, & diſciplinæ unitate, & ſpei fœdere, *Tert. Apol.* 39.

(*p*) Idem enim omnes credimur operati, in quo deprehendimur eadem omnes cenſuræ & diſciplinæ conſenſione ſociati, *Cler. Ro. ap. Cyp. Ep.* 30. *p.* 56.

about to break and divide from him, and from his Church of *Cæsarea*, that (*q*) *if any avoided, or broke off from his Communion, they would be broke off withal from the Universal Church, which held Communion with him.* (*r*) *We ought not to have Communion in Prayers, with any Heretick, or Schismatick,* says the *Council of Laodicea.* (*s*) *Nor ought they, who are not of the Assemblies of one Church, to be received or allowed to assemble in another Church,* says the *Council of Antioch.* (*t*) *If he, who is not to be received in one Church, be received without commendatory Letters in another, let both him who is Received, and his Receivers be excommunicated,* says the *Apostolical Canons.* (*u*) *Whosoever,* says St. *Cyprian,* speaking of the *Schism of Felicissimus,* who had schismatically broken off and *divided* from himself, *shall joyn himself to his Conspiracy and Faction, may know that he can no longer communicate with us in the Church, since he thereby voluntarily chuses rather to separate himself from the Church.*

THEY are *to refuse each others Excommunicates, as if they were their own Excommunicates.* For *whatsoever* is this way regularly *bound in Earth,* our Lord declares *shall be ratified,* or stand *bound in Heaven,* Mat. xviii. 18. and Jo. xx. 23. And if it is confirmed in Heaven it must stand good, and not be twharted or reversed by any of his Followers here on Earth. When the Members among any Societies of Christians, for their * *disorderly walking,* and † *not hearing of the Church,* are cast out thereof; they are thrown, not only out of the Church of that Place, but out of Christ's Church at large, whereof all other Churches are Members; or out of all Christian Churches, into the State of *Heathens and Publicans,* as our Lord says, *Mat* xviii. 17.

* 2 Thes. iii. 6.

† Mat. xviii. 17.

ACCORDINGLY, *Synesius* Bishop of *Ptolemais,* in his Sentence of Excommunication, denounced against *Andronicus* and *Thoas, and their Complices,* says (*w*) *Let no Temple of God be open to them, but let every Religious Place or Chappel, be shut against them,* And St. *Basil* bids the *Neocæsareans take heed,* how they *break Communion with him,* (*x*) *because, after once he should exclude them, no other Catholick Churches, which all owned him, and held Communion with him, would any longer own, or communicate with them.* Till they are regularly absolv'd and reconciled again, all other Bishops and Sister-Churches, are bound to refuse and repel such Excommunicates, as they come to their Knowledge. Thus *Synesius* requires of all *Sister-Churches,* and of all Christians, to *shun the Communion of* Andronicus *and* Thoas, *and their Adherents.* And (*y*) *'tis not lawful to communicate with Persons out of Communion,* says the *Council of Antioch.* (*z*) *If any, either of Clergy, or Laity, is excommunicated by his own Bishop, let none else receive him to Communion, till his own*

(*q*) Ὥστε ὁ μὴ πρὸς ὑμᾶς κοινωνίαν ἀποδιδράσκων, μὴ λανθανέτω ὑμῶν καὶ ἀκρίβειαν πάσης ἑαυτὸν ἐκκλησίας ἀπορρήγνυς, Basil. Ep. 75. Vers. fin.

(*r*) Οὐ δεῖ ἀιρετικῷ ἢ χισματικῷ συνεύχεσθαι, Concil. Laod. Can. 33.

(*s*) Μὴ ἐξεῖναι ἐν ἑτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὑποδέχεσθαι τὸς ἐν ἑτέρᾳ ἐκκλησίᾳ μὴ συναγομένους, Concil. Antioch. Can. 2.

(*t*) Εἰ ἀφορισμὸς, ἤτοι ἀδεκτος. ἀπελθὼν ἐν ἑτέρᾳ πόλει δεχθῇ ἄνευ γραμμάτων συστατικῶν, ἀφοριζέσθω, καὶ ὁ δεξάμενος καὶ ὁ δεχθείς, Can. 12. Ap.

(*u*) Sed & quisque se Conspirationi, & Factioni ejus adjunxerit, sciat se in Ecclesia nobiscum non esse communicaturum, qui sponte maluit ab Ecclesia separari, *Cyp. Ep.* 41. *p.* 80.

(*w*) Μηδὲν ἀνοιγνύσθω τέμενος τῷ θεῷ, ἅπας αὐτοῖς ἱερὸς ἀποκεκλείσθω καὶ σηκὸς, καὶ πρόβολος Synes. Ep. 58.

(*x*) Ἐπειδὰν παρ' ἡμῶν μὴ δεχθῇ τις λοιπῶν ὑμᾶς ἐπιγνώσεται, Basil. Ep. ad Neocæsarianos Nu. Ep. 75.

(*y*) Μὴ ἐξεῖναι κοινωνεῖν τοῖς ἀκοινωνήτοις, Conc. Antioch. Can. 2.

(*z*) Εἴ τις ὑπὸ τῦ ἰδίυ ἐπισκόπυ ἀκοινώνητος γένοιτο, μὴ πρότερον αὐτὸν παρ' ἑτέρων δεχθῆναι (μὴ ὑπ' ὤπῳ δεχθείη τῷ ἰδίῳ ἐπισκόπῳ,) ἢ συνόδυ γενομένης καταδέξοιτο ἑτέραν ἀπόφασιν, Conc. Antioch. Can. 6. vid. & Conc. Sardic, Can. 13.

Bishop

Biſhop has received him again, or a Synod has cleared him, ſay the FATHERS of that Council again. And (a) *concerning thoſe, either of the Clergy, or Laity, who are excluded from Communion by the Biſhops which are in every Province, let the Sentence be valid according to the* (b) *Canon, which decrees, That they, who are caſt out by ſome, ſhall not be admitted by others,* ſays the *Great Council of Nice.*

THUS, when any Perſons, or Churches are ſchiſmatically, or by means of juſt Cenſure and Penalty, out of Communion with one Orthodox Church; by the Rules of Catholick Communion and Accord among Churches, according to the Mind of Chriſt, and of the Primitive Church, ought they to be out of the Communion of all Orthodox Churches. And if any, either Chriſtians, or Churches, will ſtill hold on Communion with ſuch Perſons; by the foreſaid Rules of Union, and the Canons of the Catholick Church, they are thereby made like unto them, and turn Makers of a Schiſm, and are to loſe the Benefit of Communion themſelves. (c) *If any,* ſays *Syneſius,* in his *Excommunicatory Sentence of Andronicus,* &c. *ſhall contemn our Church, as being the Church of a ſmall City, receiving thoſe whom it has caſt out, as if Obſervance were not due to it, by reaſon of its Poverty: Let him know, that he thereby makes a Schiſm in the Church, which Chriſt is for having kept one. And whether he be Biſhop, Prieſt,* &c. *he ſhall be the ſame to us, as* Andronicus *himſelf is.* (d) *If any one ſhall Communicate with one out of Communion, he himſelf ſhall be ſhut out of Communion,* ſay the *Apoſtolical Canons.* * *If any Biſhop, or Presbyter, receive to Communion, thoſe who are deſervedly caſt out of the Church for their Crimes, he ſhall be liable to like Puniſhments,* ſays the *Council of Carthage.* (e) *And if any Biſhop, Prieſt, or other of the Clergy, appear to communicate with Perſons out of Communion, he ſhall alſo ſtand excommunicate himſelf, as one who confounds the Canons and Order of the Church,* ſay the Fathers in the *Synod of Antioch.*

* Concil. Carth. Can. 9.

The Reaſon of all this is, becauſe Chriſtians, as I ſaid, and as the *African Fathers* obſerve, though *diſperſed over the moſt diſtant Places and Countries,* are but *one Society*; and, though *multiplied* into the *greateſt Number of Aſſemblies,* yet all theſe make but one Body. (f) *We ought to ſignifie to each other what is acted in any of our Churches,* ſays *Alexander* Biſhop of *Alexandria,* in his *Synodical Epiſtle to all Churches* upon his *Depoſition of* Arius *and his Adherents; that whether one Member or Church ſuffer or rejoice; all the other Members or Churches, may ſuffer or rejoice with it,* or give matual Support, and confirm each others Acts and Sentences. And this, *becauſe the Catholick Church is but one Body, and we are commanded in the Holy Scriptures, to keep up therein the Bond of Unanimity and Peace.* And *Syneſius* threatning the Receivers of thoſe, whom he and his Church had put under Excommunication, taxes

** Præloq. ante Can. 33. Conc. Afric.

(a) Περὶ τ ἀκοινωνήτων, &c. κρατέτω ἃ γνώμη κατὰ τ κανόνα τ διαγορεύοντα, τὰς ὕφ' ἑτέρων τροβλημένας, ὑφ' ἑτέρων μὴ προσίεσθαι, Conc. Nic. 1. Can. 5.

(b) Can. Ap. 12. 13.

(c) Εἰ δέ τις ὡς μικροπολίταν ἀποσκυβαλίσει τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ δέξεται τὰς ἀπεκβλήτους αὐτῆς, ἐκ ἀνάγκη τῇ πεπτῃ πείθεσθαι· Ἴσω χίσας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἣν μίαν ὁ χριστὸς εἶναι βέλεται. Ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτος, εἴτε λαϊκός ἐστιν, εἴτε πρεσβύτερος, εἴτε ἐπίσκοπος, παρ' ἡμῖν ἐν Ἀνδρονίκου μοίρᾳ τετάξεται, Syneſ. Ep. 5. 8.

(d) Εἴ τις ἀκοινωνήτῳ συνεύξηται, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀφοριζέσθω, Can. 10. Ap.

(e) Εἰ δὲ φανείη τις τῶν ἐπισκόπων, ἢ πρεσβυτέρων, ἢ διακόνων, ἢ τις τῶν κανόνος τῆς ἀκοινωνήτοις συνεύχεσθαι, καὶ τοῦτον ἀκοινώνητον εἶναι ὡς ἂν συγχέοντα τὸν κανόνα τῆς ἐκκλησίας, Conc. Antioch. Can. 2.

(f) Ἑνὸς σώματος ὄντος τῆς καθολικῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐντολῆς τε οὔσης ἐν ταῖς θείαις γραφαῖς τηρεῖν τὸν δεσμὸν τῆς ὁμονοίας καὶ εἰρήνης, ἀκόλουθόν ἐστι γράφειν ἡμᾶς, καὶ σημαίνειν ἀλλήλοις τὰ παρ' ἑκάστοις γινόμενα, ἵνα εἴτε πάσχει, εἴτε χαίρει ἓν μέλος, ἢ συμπάσχωμεν, ἢ συγχαίρωμεν ἀλλήλοις, Ep. Synod. Alexand. ap. Soc. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 1. c. 6. p. 10.

them therein, as I have obſerved, (g) *for making a Schiſm in the Church, which Chriſt is for having kept one.* The ſeveral Orthodox and Regular Churches of Chriſtendom, are all Members one of another. And from that Communion, which ought to be among Members of the ſame Body, what belongs to one, belongs to all; and what is broke off from one, is broke off from all. (h) *The Canon,* ſays *Balſamon,* (ſpeaking of the ſecond *Canon* of the *Council of Antioch,* which forbids the *communicating of other Churches,* with thoſe who *communicate not with their own Church,*) *ſays, all Temples and Oratories, whereſoever they are, make but one Church.* And therefore, if any Perſon is caſt out of the Church, and regularly ſhut out of the Temples, and Oratories of the Orthodox, in one Country; he ought to be ſhut out of the Temples and Oratories of all, and not to be received to Communion by the Clergy of other Countries.

AND like Regard, all particular Churches are bound to have, to each others *Reconciliation and Re-union of Members,* as to their *Separation* and *Excluſion* of Them. As in *Binding,* ſo alſo in *Looſing,* our Lord ratifies the Acts of his Officers and Vice-gerents, in all Churches. *Whatſoever you ſhall looſe or remit on Earth, the ſame ſhall be looſed or remitted in Heaven,* Mat. xviii. 18. *and* Joh. xx. 23. And in *relaxing* or *remitting Cenſures,* as well as in laying of them upon Offenders, among their reſpective Charges, Orthodox Biſhops *act in the Perſon of Chriſt,* as St. *Paul* ſays, 2 Cor. ii. 10. or as *Judices vice Chriſti, Judges that ſit in Chriſt's Place,* as * St. *Cyprian* notes of Them. *Till their own Biſhop has received Them, or a Synod has cleared Them, no other Biſhop muſt receive Them to Communion,* ſays the † *Canon of Antioch* before cited. And after he has once received Them into his Communion, no other Biſhops muſt reject Them from Theirs. They are then re united again to the Body, and are *Brethren* and *Members*; and as ſuch, muſt be admitted to the *Communion of Saints,* by all other Orthodox Members of the ſame Body and Brotherhood, in all Places.

* Ep. 59. p. 129. Ed. Ox.

† Can. 6 Concil. *Antioch.*

AND thus again they are *Schiſmaticks,* and break that *Unity of one Body,* which Chriſt hath appointed among all Churches, *who unduly receive and aſſociate, with any other Orthodox and Lawful Churches Schiſmaticks, or Excommunicates.* If they would keep one with all Orthodox Churches, as they muſt look upon all, who are duly United to them, as United to themſelves; ſo muſt they look upon all, who are duly ſeparated and broke off from them, as ſeparated and broke off from themſelves. And to do otherwiſe, is to break this *one Communion* which is to bind all Orthodox Chriſtians into one Body, and to make a Schiſm in the Catholick Church.

AND in further Care and Proviſion, for the Maintainance of this Catholick Accord and Communion among all Churches, by the *Ancient Rule* of the Church, all Orthodox Biſhops and Churches, were *to keep up an Intercourſe by Communicatory Letters. Since the Catholick Church is but one Body, and we are commanded in Scripture to keep up the Bond of Unanimity and Peace therein, the Conſequence hereof is, that we write or ſignifie to each other what is tranſacted in any of our Churches, that all*

(g) Ἴσως χίσας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἣν μίαν ὁ χριστὸς εἶναι βέλεται.

(h) Φησὶν ὁ κανὼν μίαν ἐκκλησίαν εἶναι τὰς ὁπωσδήποτε οὔσας εὐκλησίας, οἴκους καὶ ναούς. Καὶ κἂν κάποτε λυσί τινες κληρικοὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀφορισθέντος συνεύχεσθαι, κἂν ἀπὸ ἐπάρχου ὦσιν ἐπαρχίας. Balſam. in Can. 2. Concil. Antioch.

the reſt, as Members, may bear their Part in the ſame; ſays *Alexander* Biſhop of *Alexandria*, in his * *Synodical Epiſtle* which I cited before. And (*i*) *Siricius of Rome, and together with him, the whole World is united in one Communion and Society with us, by the Intercourſe of Communicatory Letters*, ſays *Optatus* of the *Church of Africk*, as it ſtood divided from the *Donatiſts*.

* Ap. Soc. l. 1. c. 6. p. 10.

By theſe Letters an Account was given to other Churches, of *any Biſhop's Advancement*, when he was ordained Biſhop of his Church: or of his *own Faith*, to ſhew that he and his Church were Orthodox; and ſo duly qualified for Union with other Orthodox Churches, and fit to be owned as Members of the Body, and admitted as Partners, in the *Communion of Saints*. And of their own Members, or Miniſters, their Schiſmaticks, or Excommunicates; that among all, who ſhould come to them from thence, other Churches might know, whom they were to receive, and whom they were to reject, as either of the ſame, or of a different Body with themſelves. And alſo of any other Church-Acts, or Concerns, wherein they could eitheir claim the Ratification, or deſired the Concurrence, or needed the Aid, Council, or Support, or could bear the Burdens, help the Wants, or congratulate the Well-fare, or Proſperity of one another.

Now as to theſe *communicatory Letters*, certifying each others Members, or Miniſters, Schiſmaticks, or Excommunicates, *&c.* the Catholick Rule of the Ancient Church was, That *no Strangers or Foreigners, ſhould be admitted to the Communion of any Church, without them.* If they who came, were *Clergy-men*; they were to bring *Commendatory Letters*, teſtifying their Orders: Or, if *Laity*, *Pacifical* and *Communicatory*, declaring they were in Communion with their own Churches. * *No Stranger or Foreigner, ſhall be received without pacifical Letters*, ſay the *Council of Antioch*. And (*k*) *no Foreign Biſhops, Prieſts*, or *Deacons, ſhall be received without commendatory Letters*, ſay the *Canons of the Apoſtles*. (*l*) *If there come any ſtrange or unknown Clergy, let them not by any means, be any where received to officiate in another City, without their own Biſhop's Letters commendatory*, ſays the *Great Council of Chalcedon*.

* Μηδένα ἄνευ εἰρηνικῶν δέχεσθαι τῶν ξενῶν, Concil. Antioch. Can. 7.

And the *Granting of theſe Letters, was reſerved to the Biſhops. Without their own Biſhop's Letters commendatory*, is the Expreſſion of the now cited *Canon of Chalcedon*. And (*m*) *others under the Epiſcopal Order, are reſtrained from granting them*: Even thoſe *Country Presbyters*, whom *Balſamon* on the Canon calls (*n*) *Protopapas*, and who, as (*o*) *being in the Country, where the Biſhops were not uſually at Hand to write them*, had more Pretence of granting them, as *Zonaras* intimates. And who elſe, but the Biſhops of the ſeveral Churches, ſhould be capable to grant theſe Letters? For, (*p*) *ſince the Church ſtands*, and is *fixed upon*

(*i*) Damaſo Siricius hodie, qui noſter eſt ſocius: cum quo nobis totus Orbis commercio Formatarum una Communionis ſocietate concordat, *Optat. l. 2. p. 48. Ed. Par. Albaſpin.*

(*k*) Μηδένα τῶν ξενῶν ἐπισκόπων, ἢ πρεσβυτέρων, ἢ διακόνων, ἄνευ συστατικῶν γραμμάτων προσδέχεσθαι, Can. 6. Ap. vid. & Can. 42. Laod.

(*l*) ξένους κληρικοὺς καὶ ἀγνώστους, ἐν ἑτέρᾳ πόλει δίχα συστατικῶν γραμμάτων τοῦ ἰδίου ἐπισκόπου, μηδαμῶς μηδαμοῦ λειτουργεῖν, Concil. Chalced. Can. 13.

(*m*) Μηδὲ πρεσβυτέρους τοὺς ἐν ταῖς χώραις κανονικὰς ἐπιστολὰς διδόναι Concil. Antioch. Can. 8.

(*n*) Πρωτοπαπάδας. (*o*) Οὗτοι οἱ πρωτεσῶτες τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν διδόασιν, ὅ μηδέποτε πρεσβύτεροι, ἐδὲ ἐν ταῖς χώραις, ἔνθα μὴ συχνάζει ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, Zon. in Can. 8. Conc. Antioch.

(*p*) Ut Eccleſia ſuper Epiſcopos conſtituatur—nec Eccleſiæ nomine Literas facere debent, *Cyp. Ep.* 33. p. 66.

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the Bishops, as St. *Cyprian* tells the *Lapsi*, *it is not for any without the Bishop to write Letters*, as they had done to himself, *in the Name of the Church.*

BUT more especially was the Grant thereof reserved to the *Primates* and *Metropolitanes*, who were to write and receive *Synodical Letters*, and to keep up Communion between the *Churches of several Provinces*. Thus St. *Basil* expresses *his Communion with all Churches*, (q) *by all Churches sending communicatory Letters to him, and receiving the same from him.* And on the Deposition of *Marcianus at Arles*, (r) St. *Cyprian* desires *Stephen Bishop of* Rome, *to signifie to him who was substituted in his Place, that he might know to whom he should send the Brethren, and direct his communicatory Letters.* And this, the *Synod of Antioch* gives as a Reason, of their writing to *Dionysius of Rome*, and *Maximus of Alexandria, and to all other Bishops*, on their placing of *Domnus* in the *See of Antioch* upon the *Deposition of Paulus Samosatenus: Which*, say (s) they, *We therefore signifie to you, that you may write your communicatory Letters to him, and receive the like from him.* So that none, who were out of Communion with their own *Bishops* and *Metropolitanes*, could be allowed to communicate any where else.

(q) Πέμπουσι τε πρὸς ἡμᾶς γράμματα, καὶ πάλιν δέχονται παρ' ἡμῶν, Basil. Ep. 75. Vers. fin.

(r) Significa plane nobis quis in locum Marciani Arelate fuerit substitutus, ut sciamus ad quem Fratres nostros dirigere, & cui scribere debeamus, *Cyp. Ep.* 68. p. 179.

(s) ἐδηλώσαμεν τε ὑμῖν ὅπως τούτῳ γράψητε, καὶ τὰ παρὰ τούτου κοινωνικὰ δέχησθε γράμματα, Ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 7. cap. 30.

CHAP. III.

Of just Grounds to break off Communion, Particularly of making Impious and Unlawful Things, or unrighteous Usurpations and Incroachments, the Terms of their Communion.

FROM what I have said in the *Two* preceeding Chapters, without Inquiring further into any lower Degrees and Instances thereof, I think it may competently appear, *what Schism is*, and *who the Persons are that may justly be charged therewith:* Either as *breaking off from their own Church*, by unjustly throwing off, and dividing from their own Orthodox and Lawful Bishops; or, as *breaking off from other Churches*, by unjustly refusing Communion to their Members, or by unjustly Granting it to their Schismaticks, or Excommunicates. And more particularly, That they are Guilty of this Great and Dangerous Sin of Schism, who unjustly turn Subjects to, or side with Anti-Bishops set up over them, against their own Orthodox and Lawful Bishops. Yea, that such Defectors to the Anti-Bishops, make the greatest Numbers; or are

ſet up by the Civil State, as the civilly eſtabliſh'd or endowed Church. And that all other Churches, and their Members, are guilty of the ſame, who ſhall own and come in to them, and admit them into their Communion, and keep on Communion with them.

I ſay they are Schiſmaticks, who by any of theſe Ways ſhall break off from others unduly, and without juſt Cauſe.

BUT ſome Things, are a *juſt Ground to break off*, either Dependance and Subjection to our own Biſhops, or Communion with other Churches: *Some Things*, as I come next to ſhew, *not being to be born, nor others to be parted with, for the Love of External Peace and Union.* And when theſe can be juſtly and duly Alledged for ſtanding off, 'tis always juſtifiable, and commonly neceſſary, to break Communion. However to break off Reſorting to their Aſſemblies; though at the ſame Time, we ſhould ſtill allow their Members to reſort to Ours. For this latter, many times may be allowed longer, where it can be done without Scandal; eſpecially, before the Church has proceeded judicially to cenſure and excommunicate the offending Parties: As it was allow'd to the *Romaniſts*, and accepted by Them, for ſeveral Years in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign; and alſo to the *Diſſenters*, in later Days. And if there are ſuch Pleas for breaking off, either from any Perſons, or Churches, there is no Breach of Goſpel-Union, nor Blame of Schiſm, in ſuch Caſes. And of theſe, I ſhall now,

2. IN the *Second* Place give ſome Account, That when we ſee any Perſons or People, breaking off, either Subjection to their former Biſhops, or Eccleſiaſtical Concord and Fraternal Communion with other Churches, we may underſtand where Schiſm is, and where it is not to be Charged; and be more clear in ſeveral Matters of Importance in this Argument.

NOW ſuch juſt Ground there is for the Members of any Church to break off Communion, either with their own Biſhops, or with other Churches, when they can alledge either ſome Things *againſt the Terms of their Communion*, or others *againſt their Perſons and Doctrines*. 'Tis a juſt Ground te break off from them, if *they make Impious and unlawful Things*, or *unrighteous Uſurpations and Incroachments*, *the Terms of their Communion*. Or, though nothing of this can be alledged againſt the Terms, *if Hereſie can be juſtly Objected to their Perſons*.

THESE, I ſay, are *juſt Grounds*, and *give a Liberty*, *to break off from the Communion of any Perſons or Churches*. And I chuſe rather to expreſs it, by this *giving them a Liberty*; than by *impoſing on them a conſcionable Neceſſity*, to do ſo. For ſome Grounds, give a Liberty to break Communion, either with their own Biſhops, or with other Churches, which do not in Conſcience neceſſitate Men; as *Unrighteous Uſurpations* and *Incroachments*, when they are made the Condition thereof. For though Men need not ſubmit to them; yet, if they are pleaſed to do it, they ordinarily may do ſo without Sin, and ſuffer ſuch Incroachments in their own Wrong.

BESIDES, the Duty of uniting with any particular Perſons, or Churches, is bound upon us by certain Things, or Qualifications, in thoſe Perſons, or Churches, which oblige us to their Communion and Dependance. And, as the Being and Preſence of thoſe Things and Qualifications, binds it on; ſo doth the Failure thereof, unbind the ſame, and let Men at Liberty to go off from them.

I ſay to go off from them, not to go off from all, and hold on communicating with none. For when they are no longer bound to communicate,

nicate, with ſuch particular Biſhops, or Churches; yet are they ſtill bound thereto with others, or under a general Obligation to Communion. I mean, where they have Opportunity for the ſame, which is preſuppoſed to all Obligation of actual Excerciſe and Diſcharge thereof, by this, like as it is by all other *Affirmative* Duties. The *Communion of Saints* profeſſed in the *Creed*, obliges us to communicate as we have Opportunity, in all Chriſtian Offices, with all true Chriſtians, who ſtill retain thoſe Qualifications I ſpoke of. Though it leaves us free to ſtand off from any others, who have faln from them; and tyes us up no further to communicate with them.

1. *Firſt*, 'Tis always a juſt Ground to break off from them, if *they make impious or unlawful Things, the Terms or Conditions, of their own Members, or of others, keeping on Communion with them.* I do not ſay it is the only Ground, having mentioned others, but it is always a juſt Ground thereof: And thus it is,

2. When they *put impious, or unlawful Things, into their ſacred Offices, and mix ſinful Matters in that Body of Prayers, or Adminiſtration of Sacraments, which they call others to communicate with.* What Allowances may be made herein, for a generally corrupt State of the Church; and how far, in Neceſſity and Want of others, good People may be at Liberty ſtill to reſort to ſuch, I ſhall conſider afterwards. But ſuch Mixture of Sin and Prophanation, in what they are called to commnicate in, I think ſets People looſe, and leaves them no longer bound to them.

For the Communion, which all Chriſtians are obliged to ſeek in the *Catholick Church*, is the *Communion of Saints*. This *Saintſhip*, though it be not always in *Reality*, muſt at leaſt be always in *Profeſſion*. The *Perſons* muſt all be *profeſt Saints*, whom we communicate with. And the *Things* and *Offices*, muſt all be of *profeſs'd Saintſhip*, which we are call'd to communicate in. And ſuch, thoſe publick Offices are not, that have any groſs Sins or Wickedneſſes, which are all ſo many Prophanations, for the Matter of them.

This Saintſhip, wherein this Communion is to be held, lyes more eſpecially in *Faith*, and *Worſhip*. And where they fail in either of theſe, we are not bound to Communion with any Aſſemblies. It is ſo plainly, where they fail in point of *Faith*. For *Hereſie*, which is a Corruption of Faith, will ſet us looſe, as I ſhall ſhew * hereafter, from the Communion of any Perſons, or Churches. And *Corruptions of Worſhip*, are to the full, not only as offenſive, but as openly diſhonourable to God, who is not more aſperſed or provoked by a falſe Belief and Confeſſion, than by a corrupt and wicked Worſhip: So that among thoſe, whoſe Buſineſs in Religious Aſſemblies, is to ſee God honour'd and to ſeek that he may be appeas'd, any groſs Sins made the Matter of Worſhip, which are a Corruption of Worſhip, will do the ſame. They not only ſet God's faithful People free, to ſtand off from ſuch corrupt Offices; but oblige his faithful Paſtors, to ſtand up for him, and to miniſter or afford better, out of a juſt Senſe of the Peoples Needs, and Jealouſie for God's Honour, as I * ſhew'd before.

* Chap. 4.

* Chap. 4. Par. 1.

Beſides, our chief Obligations to unite our ſelves to any Religious Aſſemblies, is, as they are *Aſſemblies for Worſhip*. *We*, as ſo many *live Stones*, are joyn'd together and *built into a Spiritual Houſe, to offer up Spiritual Sacrifices*, as St. *Peter* ſays, 1 *Pet.* ii. 5. Yea, and as they are *purely for Worſhip*; not partly for worſhipping, and partly for prophaning God: there being Obligation enough on the Servants of God, to meet together to ſee him publickly honoured, but none to ſee him publickly prophaned. And therefore we are not obliged to make Part of ſuch

ſuch Aſſemblies, as put up ſinful Matters, and groſs Wickedneſs, in their publick Offices. For Worſhip is a Profeſſion of Honour and Reverence. But Sin and Wickedneſs, are Profeſſions of Irreverence and Reproach; and ſo are not Worſhip, but Profanations. So that the Obligations incumbent on God's Servants, to meet there, where Offerings are to be made that are for his Honour, yea only ſuch as are for his Honour, will not bind them; but, if they can ſerve him any where elſe, rather forbid them to meet there, where theſe Profanations are.

THUS is the Matter of Religious Meetings, or the *Worſhip and Service there performed*, the chief Thing that carries the Obligation to them. I ſay the *chief*, but not the *only* Thing. For we are Members of a Church, as well as Profeſſors of a Religion; and as Chriſtians, are incorporated into a Society, as well as inſtructed in a Doctrine. And both theſe bind us to Religious Aſſemblies. For, as good Chriſtians, we ought to meet there, to ſhew our Adherence to the Church as a Society, or our Union to it as Members; as well as to put up Prayers to God by *JESUS CHRIST*, or to pay our Religious Worſhip and Service. That is, our Chriſtianity obliges us to meet together, both to preſent our Religious Oblations and Acknowledgments to Almighty God, and to do it in Dependance on our Lawful Paſtors, or in the Unity of the Church.

BUT this Obligation to theſe Meetings, as thereby keeping Union with the Church as a Society, is but a *Secondary* Obligation: and that of paying truly Chriſtian and acceptable Worſhip, is the firſt and chief therein. For the End, why Chriſtians were formed into a Society; was to keep up the Profeſſion and Payment of that Holy Doctrine and Worſhip, which are neceſſary or peculiar to them, as they are a Sect or Religion. And the Members are bound to ſtick to it, whilſt it ſtands upon this Doctrine and Worſhip, not when it ſtarts off from it. It is the Religion, which recommmends the Church. And we are to chuſe our Church or Aſſemblies, for the Religion's; not our Religion, for the Churches ſake. So that their falling off from pure Chriſtian Worſhip and Doctrine, which are neceſſary to the Religion, to its honouring God, or our Acceptance by it; looſens the Bond of Union to any Aſſemblies, and ſets Men free to joyn with any others regularly empowered, who ſtick faſter to them.

AGREEABLY to all this, we find *Faith* and *Worſhip* ſpoke of, as the *Great Ligaments*, that are to bind and unite us to any Church. Of the Ligament of *Faith*, I ſhall treat in its proper place. And as for *Worſhip*, which lyes partly in *Confeſſions of Faith*, but more eſpecially in *Prayers* and *Sacraments*, it is a Ligament too, and Prayers and Sacraments are ſet off, as compacting us into *one Body*, or cementing us into one *ſpiritual Houſe*. Thus, of *Prayers*, St. *Peter* ſays, we are ſet together as *one ſpiritual Houſe*, to ſend up *ſpiritual Sacrifices*, 1 *Pet.* ii. 5. And of the *Sacraments*, it is declared, that *we are all baptized into one Body*, 1 Cor. xii. 13. and that *we are one Body*, by *partaking all of one Bread*, 1 Cor. x 17. and by *having been made all to drink into one Spirit*, 1 Cor. xii. 13. therein referring to the one *Loaf*, whereof we all eat, and to the one *Cup* whereof we all drink, in the *Holy Euchariſt*.

NOW as that *Faith*, which is to unite and bind us to any Churches or Aſſemblies, is not any *Erroneous* or *Heretical* Tenets, as I ſhall ſhew anon, but the *Orthodox* and *Right* Faith: So is that *Worſhip*, which is to do the ſame, not any *ſinful* and *profane*, but a *truly Chriſtian and Holy Worſhip*; or ſuch an Oblation of Prayers, and Adminiſtration of Sacraments, as Chriſt has inſtituted and appointed, and will not reject

and punish, but accept of. It must be a *Worship*, not only *in Spirit*, opposite to the Way of Carnal Sacrifices, and the Numerousness of *Jewish* Ceremonies and external Rites: but also *in Truth*, opposite to all false, superstitious, or otherwise sinful Ways, which really are not Worship but Prophaneness. For in Christianity, *the true Worshipers*, as our Lord says, are they who *worship God in Spirit and in Truth*, Jo. iv. 23, 24. Yea, as he adds, *the Father seeketh such to worship him*, *v.* 23. And if he seeketh such Worshipers, his devoted Servants, who have no other Aim, but to find him, and to be found by him, must seek out such Assemblies, where such Worship is paid to him. And thus also St. *Peter* says of those *Sacrifices*, the Joynt-communion wherein is to bind us together into *one spiritual House*; that they must be such *spiritual Sacrifices*, as are *acceptable to God through Jesus Christ our Lord*, 1 Pet. ii. 5.

So that the *Unity in Worship and Prayers*, which we are bound to keep with other *Christians*, or *Assemblies*; is only whilst they meet to put up *Holy Prayers*: Coming in among them as *live Stones*, to make Part of their *spiritual House*, whilst they *offer up such Sacrifices*, as may be *fit to find Acceptance*, as we heard from St. *Peter*. And thus the *Peace*, which St. *Paul* orders us to *pursue*, is *with those, who call upon the Lord out of a pure heart*; not with those, who, as the *Gnosticks* were like enough to do, prophaned him by a sinful Worship, or impure Petitions, 2 *Tim.* ii. 22. And *the Bond of* external *Peace*, is where we may lawfully *keep the Unity of the Spirit*; which is not to be kept in sinful Offices, but only in pure ones, *Eph.* iv. 3. or where, in *following after the Things which make for Peace*, we may withal follow such Things, *wherewith we may edifie*, not corrupt and ensnare one another, *Rom.* xiv. 19.

Particularly, as to the *Pastors*, who are the Heads of those Assemblies, one chief Character of theirs as they are set over us, and chief Ground of our Dependance and Obligations to keep under them, is as they are *Ministers of Prayers*. And that, as they minister such Prayers, as are fit to serve the necessary Ends and Purposes of all Prayer; that is, to Worship and Honour God, and to Benefit us, or to bring down Blessings from Him. And if we, who must seek out for Prayers, are tied to them as Ministers of Holy and Acceptable Prayers: That Obligation towards them ceases, when, instead of Administring such, they fall to minister Profane ones.

And thus there is a just Ground to break off, or a Liberty of Separating from Assemblies even of Rightful Pastors, for *pure Christian Administrations*. Not for Purity from *mere Defects*, or for Administrations *more Edifying*; which is the *Pretence of* our *Anti-Episcopal Dissenters:* but for Purity from *Sin* and *wicked Mixtures*. That is, that they may have a Worship and Religious Service, without Mixture, either of *Idolatry*, or of *Immorality*. That they may meet with nothing to reproach, or dishonour God therein; or to disturb, and wound a Pious Affection, when they should be most helped and encouraged in Exercise thereof, being come to serve and worship Him. When they are thus barr'd out, by any wicked Mixtures; unless Necessity, and Want of better drive them to make shift therewith, they are no longer tied to resort to such Offices, but are free to seek out for better at the Hands of any other regular and authorized Pastors, and ought to communicate with them if they can have them. For *sinful Prayers*, are a *sinful Sacrifice*, as the *Oblations of blemished, of blind, and lame, and sick for Sacrifice* were among the *Jews*, *Mal.* i. 8. and *Levit.* xxii. 19, 20, 22. and *Deut.* xv. 21. And whatever Toleration it might meet with, in want of better; yet, *if any Man hath in his Flock a Male*, or one fit to make a legal

and perfect Offering, *curſed be he*, ſaith the Prophet, *that voweth, and ſacrificeth to the Lord a corrupt Thing*, Mal. i. 13, 14.

But the Ground of this breaking off, is higher ſtill, if,

2. THEY do not only put *impious and unlawful Things, into their Sacred Offices or Confeſſions; but admit none to Communion, in any of the good Parts, unleſs they particularly Concur in theſe corrupt ones too.* The former, ſets Men looſe, that they lawfully may, and, where they have Opportunities of better, ought to break off from them: But this, drives and neceſſitates them, that they muſt do ſo, and can not, for the Supply of any Neceſſities, ſtay to aſſociate and aſſemble with them. And thus it is, when any Biſhops will admit no Members, or when any Churches will admit no other Churches to communicate with them, unleſs they will agree, to believe, or profeſs ſome falſe Doctrine; or partake and go along with them, in thoſe particular and unlawful Matters or evil Worſhip, wherewithal they have clogged and corrupted their Communion.

NOW when this is the Caſe, nothing can legitimate Communion with ſuch Biſhops or Churches. For though it is the Duty, and ought to be the Deſire and Care of all good Chriſtians. to keep up the external Unity of the Church, both under their own Biſhops, and with other Churches: Yet *muſt not this ever carry them, to unite, or to go along with them, in ill Things?* To be one with them in theſe Matters, is to partake with them in their Sins; which is not the Unity and *Communion of Saints* or *Chriſtians*, but of the *Ungodly*, or of *Evil doers*. In ſuch Points, the more united any Society is, the worſe it is. Such is the Union of all *Infidel Churches*, who unite in utterly denying, and oppoſing the Chriſtian Faith. And of *Hereticks*, who incorporate under their ſeducing Heads, to undermine or pervert it. Yea, even the *infernal Spirits*, are *united Polities*, without which *Satan's Kingdom could not ſtand*, as our Saviour * ſays; being aſſociated, and knit together to deſpite God and all that bears his Image. But all this Union or Agreement of Men, in damnable Errors or Wickedneſs, is only combining againſt God and their own Souls. And our Bleſſed Lord came not to bind up, but to break ſuch Combinations, which the World was then full of. *I came not to ſend Peace, but rather Diviſion*, ſaith he, that is, to call People to break off from Error and Wickedneſs, and to divide from the Adherers to ungodly Ways, *Luk.* xii. 15. So that the Lamentableneſs of Mens not going all one Way, is true there, where the Generality go the right Way. But when they are going wrong, in ways of Guilt and Deſtruction, to unite in Sin and Miſery is a deplorable Thing, and there 'tis beſt, when they moſt divide and ſtand off from them.

*Matt. xii. 26.

NOR may they be wanting to their Duty in ſome Points, to keep on united to them in others. They muſt not purchaſe Unity, by ſinful Omiſſions; or buy Peace, with the Loſs of Innocence. And therefore, as obſerved, the Watchmen muſt not be wanting in giving neceſſary Warnings, nor Faithful Miniſters let fall their Miniſtrations, in the foreſaid Caſes, on pretence of preſerving Unity, or preventing Schiſm in the Church.

2. *Secondly*, IT is another juſt Ground to break off from them, if *they make unrighteous Uſurpations and Incroachments, the Terms and Condition of their Communion.* Both Biſhops, and Churches, may turn tyrannical and arrogant Uſurpers upon their Brethrens Liberties, not admitting their own Members to their Communion, without acknowledging and ſubmitting to their Unjuſtly and Illegally aſſumed Powers; nor o-

ther Churches, unleſs they will give up their own Rights and Freedoms, and become their Subjects. And when they will allow Communion to none, unleſs they are content to purchaſe it at ſuch Rates; good Chriſtians may paſs them by, and unite themſelves to other Churches, where they will be more juſtly and fairly dealt with. The Communion of Chriſtians, is a *Communion of Brethren*, upon *Brotherly Terms*; not of *Captives*, who muſt ſubmit to any *Terms*, or bear what Hardſhips and Incroachments are put upon them by their Conquerors. They are not bound to purchaſe Unity, by enſlaving of themſelves; or any Brethrens Communion, by receiving their Yoke, and giving up their own Rights and Liberties, as the *Church of Rome* demands all other Churches, both of the Eaſt and Weſt, ſhould do to purchaſe Hers. And thus St. *Paul* declares he would not give up their Liberties, when *falſe Brethren* turn'd Invaders thereof; *viz.* The *Judaizers* in their preſſing the *Circumciſion of Titus, to whom he gave Place by Subjection, no not for an Hour*, when they ſought *to bring them into Bondage*. Gal. ii. 4, 5.

CHAP. IV.

Hereſy a juſt Ground to break off Communion.

THE laſt Ground which I ſhall mention, of breaking off, or of being ſet looſe from the Communion, either of Biſhops, or Churches, is, though none of the foreſaid Obſtacles can be pleaded againſt the *Terms of their Communion*, if yet,

3. *Thirdly*, HERESY *can be juſtly objected to their Perſons, and Doctrines.* Church Members, are not bound to keep dependant on the Perſons of their Biſhops; nor one Church, to keep Communion with other Churches, if once they defect from the true Worſhip and Doctrine of Chriſt. This *Worſhip* and *Doctrine*, are the *Ground* and *Foundation*, of *Chriſtian Society* and *Unity*. The Church is a *Body of Men*, aſſociated for them. And muſt be *one Society*, by keeping united under their Biſhops, or aſſociated with other Churches in them. They muſt keep one, in ſtanding together upon this Bottom, not in going off, or departing from it.

FOR clearing theſe Matters, it is to be obſerved, that our Saviour's *firſt* End in coming into the World, was *to publiſh a Religion. I am come a Light into the World*, ſaith He of Himſelf, *Jo.* xii. 46. *I muſt* * *preach the Goſpel, for therefore am I ſent.* Luk. iv. 43. On this Account, he calls himſelf *the Way, the Truth, and the Life.* Joh. xiv. 6. And tells *Pilate*, that *for this End was he born, and for this Cauſe came he into the World, that he ſhould bear Witneſs unto the Truth.* Joh. xviii. 37. And this Truth or Religion, lies in his Doctrine of Worſhip, Faith, and Practice: Or, in his Teaching all his Diſciples, what Way they are to worſhip God; what they are to believe concerning him, or other Things which concern their Eternal Salvation; and what they are to do for him.

* Mat. ix. 13.

Now

Now this Doctrine, was like to be moſt advantagiouſly profeſs'd, and this Worſhip to be beſt paid, if it were not left to ſingle Perſons, or to ſcatter'd Families, to do it ſeparately by themſelves: But had its ſeveral Profeſſors incorporated, into one regular Society and united Body, for the joynt Profeſſion and Performance thereof. Such Regular Society, would hold it out, by more orderly and effectual Miniſtration; and keep Men to it, by the Authority of Diſcipline; and be a common Help and Spur, to excite and aid each other mutually, and carry them on; and a Cover and Shelter, to back and embolden them therein. A Regular Society, or *Church* incorporated for the Profeſſion thereof, St. *Paul* * ſays *is a Pillar, and Ground*, or † *Stay*, to publiſh and ſupport it. Accordingly, when Religion was left to be born out by ſmaller Societies, and ſometime even by ſingle Families, as in the *Patriarchal Age*; we ſee it was ſometimes almoſt loſt, and always made a very ſmall Progreſs. But when a whole Nation was incorporated into one Church, for the Profeſſion and Payment of it, as it was among the *Jews*; it ſpread further in Power and Influence, and gain'd more Proſelytes. And laſtly, when all Nations, as faſt as they turn'd Chriſtians, were emboyed into one Society for the ſame Intent, *as* † *a Light ſet upon a Candleſtick*, or *as a* * *City placed on a Hill*, it deſplayed its Force far and near, and ſtrengthened incomparably more Hearts in it, and drew more Eyes after it.

* 1 Tim. iii. 15.
† Ἐδραίωμα.
† Mat. v. 15.
* v. 14.

And therefore our Lord intended and ordered in the *next* Place, that all who embraced this Religion, ſhould incorporate or unite together into one Church or Society, for the Profeſſion of it. Accordingly, he has made *Baptiſm*, wherein every Profeſſor takes upon him this Religion, to incorporate him, or enter him a Member of this Church: *Baptiſm*, as St. † *Paul* notes, uniting us all *in one Body*; and *as many, as are baptized into Chriſt, are all one in Chriſt Jeſus.* And requires of every Profeſſor of this Religion, that he keep on profeſſing it in the Unity of this Church. And that all of his Religion, pay this Worſhip and profeſs this Doctrine, not ſeparately by themſelves; but ſocially, in joynt Communion with others. So that all, who come to embrace the Chriſtian Religion, muſt perform the Worſhip and Profeſſion thereof in Chriſtian Society, or in the Unity and Communion of Chriſt's *Holy Catholick Church.*

† 1 Cor. xii. 13. ‖ Gal. iii. 27, 28

But we are *firſt* to be *all of this Religion*, and *then* to *profeſs and perform it in the Unity and Communion of this Church.* The *Doctrine* and *Worſhip*, I ſay, which makes us Chriſtians, are the *Foundation of that Society and Unity*, which is to be upheld in the Chriſtian Church. Thus, on *Peter's Confeſſion*, our Lord declares *he would build his Church*, Mat. xvi. 16, 18. And the *Uniting of Chriſtians into one Temple*, St. *Paul* ſays, is by their *being built on the Apoſtles and Prophets*, i. e. On their Doctrines, about Worſhip, Faith, and Practice. *Eph.* ii. 20, 21. And when our Saviour prays ſo earneſtly for the Unity of his Church, at what Time he was about to leave it, he limits it to this, *that they may be kept one* * *in God's Name.* Joh. xvii. 11. and calls the *Gathering* or Uniting together of Chriſtians in Congregations, wherein *he will be in the midſt of them*, their *gathering together in his Name*, Mat. xviii. 20. *In his Name*, that is, in his Doctrine, or Profeſſion of Faith and Worſhip; *Name*, with relation to *Maſters and Teachers*, being uſually put for *Doctrine.* As, *to bear my Name before the Gentiles*, is to *bear my Doctrine*, Act. ix. 16. and *Teaching in Chriſt's Name*, is *filling Jeruſalem with his Doctriue*, Act. v. 28. *and* ver. 41. And the *Prieſts* and *Rulers forbidding the Apoſtles to ſpeak at any Man in his Name*, is *forbidding them any more to preach his Doctrine,*

* Ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι σου.

trine, Act. iv. 17, 18. And ſo, when our Lord prays to his Father, that his *Diſciples may be kept in his Name*, to the end that they *may be one*; he notes the Neceſſity of continuing in his Doctrine, to their keeping his ſo much deſired Union, *Jo.* xi. 17. Accordingly he adds, *that they may be one, as we are*, viz. he and the Father. For their Unity, is by this way among others, *viz.* by keeping to the ſame Word or Doctrine, *he teaching them what he had from his Father*, v. 8. And this is to be kept one *after his Departure*, as they had been kept one before, as he continues to pray, *v.* 12. For before, they had been united *in his Word*, which *he gave unto them*, and which *they had received*, and *kept*, *v.* 6, 8.

THUS alſo St. *Paul* tells us, that the *giving of Paſtors* and *Teachers, to edifie* or compact us all into one *Body of Chriſt*, is for edifying us *in the Unity of the Faith, and of the* * *Acknowledgment of the Son of God*, *Eph.* iv. 11, 12, 13. And that the *Church is to be one Body*, in holding to the *one Faith*, Eph. iv. 4, 5. And this has been the currant Senſe of the Chriſtian Church. (*t*) *The Virtue, which keeps the Church together, is Faith, ſaith* the *Paſtor Hermes*, as he is cited by *Clemens of Alexandria*. (*u*) *We are conſtituted one Body of Chriſt, and Members one of another, by having the ſame Faith with him and with one another*, ſay the *Fathers*, in the *ſixth general Council*. (*w*) *By the joining of Charity, and Faith, Chriſt binds us up into one Body in himſelf*, ſaith St *Gregory the Great*. (*x*) And *we Chriſtians are a Society*, ſays *Tertullian*, *incorporated on a Belief of the ſame Religion*: Or. as he elſewhere expreſſes it, (*y*) *confederated in the Fellowſhip of the ſame Profeſſion*.

* Ἐπιγνώσεως.

AS to Points of *Faith*, I underſtand this more particularly of thoſe Points, which are more important and call'd *Fundamental*, and are all contain'd in the *Apoſtles Creed*. Theſe are the neceſſary and grand Points of the Chriſtian Religion, and the Belief thereof makes us Chriſtians; and accordingly they are all profeſs'd in our *Baptiſm*, when we take this Profeſſion upon us. And *this Faith*, is *one neceſſary Band of Union*, to keep Chriſtians together in one Society. Their firſt Care muſt be, to keep to this Faith which makes them Chriſtians; and in this Belief of the Chriſtian Religion, there next Care muſt be, to keep to any particular Society or Chriſtian Church. Other Points of Belief, which are more remote from the Foundation, do not ſo generally influence Men's Salvation, nor ſo neceſſarily break off Communion, but that Men may hold on joyning in the ſame Offices, notwithſtanding their embracing of ſome erroneous Opinions. And under ſuch Errors, Peace and one Communion, were preſſed by the Apoſtles, I conceive, on the Churches in their Days. But theſe being more neceſſary, and eſſential to the Religion; are more neceſſary alſo to the Keeping of Society and Communion, which is to be kept up among thoſe, who are united and agreed in this Religion.

AND ſince all Church-Aſſociation, is to be on this Bottom, of *Chriſtian Worſhip and Doctrine*; good Chriſtians Unity or Dependance on their Biſhops, or one Church's Communion with other Churches, is only to

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(*t*) Ἡ τοίνυν συνέχουσα τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὡς φησιν ποιμὴν, ἀρετὴ, ἡ πίστις, ἐστι, Clem. Alexand. Strom. l. 2. p. 384. Ed. Col. 18.

(*u*) — Μέλων ἀλλήλων ὄντων ἡμῶν, καὶ τὸ ἓν σῶμα συνιστώντων Χριστοῦ, διὰ τῆς πρὸς ἀυτὸν καὶ ἀλλήλους ὁμοδοξίας καὶ πίστεως, Conc. Gen Sext. Act. 18. p. 271. Tom. 5. Conc. Ed. Bin.

(*w*) Caput noſtrum, quod Chriſtus eſt, ad hoc ſua eſſe Membra nos voluit, ut per compagem Charitatis & Fidei, unum nos in ſe Corpus efficeret, *Greg. Mag. Ep. l.* 7. *Ep.* 10.

(*x*) Corpus ſumus, de Conſcientia Religionis, &c. *Tert. Apol. c.* 39.

(*y*) Univerſas [*Eccleſias*] quæ illis [*Apoſtolicis*] de Societate Sacramenti confœderantur, *Adv. Marc. l.* 4. *c.* 5.

be, whilſt the Biſhops and Churches themſelves keep united to Chriſtian Worſhip and Doctrines. 'Tis to their Biſhops, as to their *ſpiritual Teachers*, on whom they are to attend as *obedient Diſciples*, and ſo, whilſt they inſtruct and train them up in God's Truths, not in ungodly Errors. 'Tis to them, as they are *Chriſt's Miniſters*, and ſo, whilſt they miniſter his Word, not their own. As *Joynts*, Eph. iv. 16. and Col. ii. 19. And *Joynts*, are to compact or pin the Materials or Members together, whilſt they reſt upon the Ground and Bottom, *viz.* the *Doctrine*; not when they ſtart aſide and go off from it. And of an *Heretick*, St. *Paul* ſays, that * *he is turned aſide*, or like a *Corner-ſtone* ſtarted out of the Building; So that the other Parts, are no longer to be knit together into one Spiritual Houſe, by him.

* ἐξέστραπται Tit. iii. 10, 11.

WHEN People come at firſt to be Church-Members, and to unite under their Biſhops, the Doctrine and Worſhip is firſt laid, as the Groundwork, for both the Head and Members to ſtand upon. Thus we ſee it was, in the firſt Formation of Churches, and ſetting up external Union and Dependance, under Biſhops. The Chriſtian Doctrine, was firſt taught, and received, which was the Foundation laid. *I have laid the Foundation*, ſays St. *Paul*, when he had *planted the Faith*, 1 *Cor.* iii. 10. And on the Foundation ſo laid, a Church was raiſed, and *Biſhops choſen out of the firſt Fruits of the Converts*, as St *Clemens* * ſays, and ſet over thoſe that believed. And ever ſince, before Men receive *Baptiſm* to make them Church-members, there is a Profeſſion made of the *Doctrine of the Apoſtles*, both in Faith, or the *Articles of the Creed*, and in Practice or the *Commandments*.

* Clem. Ro. 1. Ep. ad Cor. p. 89. Ed. Ox.

So that 'tis Biſhops heading of this Doctrine and Worſhip, which bring Members to incorporate, and unite under them. And as their heading it, brings People to them; ſo their rejecting or defecting from it, looſens the Tye, and ſets them free to go off again. Their *Fellowſhip* with the *Apoſtles*, and our Obligation to hold *Fellowſhip* with *them*, is tied to their keeping the *Apoſtolical Declarations of what they had heard, or ſeen*, 1 Jo. i. 3. And in the Account of the Communion of the Primitive Chriſtians, the *Fellowſhip of the Apoſtles*, and of the Biſhops their Succeſſors, is linked to *the Apoſtles Doctrine*, and to their *breaking of Bread and Prayers*, Act. ii. 42.

IF a Biſhop then defects from Chriſtian Doctrine and Worſhip, or falls into Hereſy, or unchriſtian Worſhip; that is a Diſcharge of his People from their ſpiritual Dependance and Relation, and ſuperſedes the Obligation of keeping Unity under him. *If we*, the Apoſtles, *or* even *an Angel from Heaven*, ſhould *preach any other Goſpel unto you, than that which we have* already *preached unto you*, * *let him be Anathema, or Accurſed*: that is, have no more Communion and Commerce with him, than with thoſe, whom the *Synagogue*, or *Church* has cut off; *Anathema* being the Word for one Excommunicate, both in the || Scripture, and in the conſtant Language of the Church, *Gal.* i. 8, 9. And *this he ſays*, as St. *Chryſoſtom* † notes, *not only againſt thoſe, who ſubvert the whole Goſpel, but againſt thoſe who go a little beſide it, or overthrow any Parts thereof*. And if a Church defects from the ſame, it ſets other Churches looſe in like manner from the Obligation of holding on Communion with them. *Unity of Faith*, binds them mutually to obſerve the Rules of Fraternal Communion; and Defection in Faith, gives Diſcharge from them. Accordingly, this the *Clergy of Rome*, put the granting or denying Communion upon, in their *Anſwer to* Marcion: *Telling him, they could not receive him to Communion in their* CHURCH,

* Ἀνάθεμα ἔστω.

|| Ro. ix. 3.

† In loc.

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(z) *without his Father's Conſent and Allowance,* (a) *becauſe his Father the Biſhop of* Sinope, *who had caſt him out of Communion, was of the ſame Faith with themſelves.*

AND this Diſcharge ſuch Defection gives, upon the Evidence of the Fact it ſelf, before Synodical Cognizance, or judicial Sentence and Declaration thereof.

AS for other Crimes, which concern only the *Perſons* or *Converſations of Biſhops*, not their *Doctrine* or *Miniſtrations*; they give no Diſcharge to the Clergy or People who are Subject to them, before the offending Biſhops are regularly deprived for the ſame, by *judicial Sentence.* And if before Synodical Sentence, any Clergy or People, break off from their Biſhops; or Biſhops, from their Metropolitanes; or Metropolitanes, from their Patriarchs, on Pretence of them; they make a Schiſm, and are Cenſured by the Church for ſo doing. *If any Presbyter, or Deacon,* (b) ſays the *Council of Conſtantinople, on Pretence of Crimes,* (meaning (c) *ſuch Perſonal Crimes,*) *ſhall dare to withdraw themſelves from the Communion of their Biſhop; or Biſhops, from their Metropolitanes; or Presbyters, Biſhops, or Metropolitanes from their Patriarch,* (d) *before Synodical Cognizance and perfect Condemnation paſt upon him: He makes a Schiſm, and ſhall incur the Penalty of Depoſition.*

BUT as for *Hereſy*, or *any Damnable Corruption of Doctrine or Miniſtrations*, they give this Diſcharge, as ſoon as the Biſhop, &c. is *notoriouſly Guilty of them, before any Synod* has ſate, or *Sentence* has paſs'd upon him. Thus, St. *Jerome* expounds that Paſſage, *an Heretick is* * *Condemned of himſelf*, Tit. iii. 10, 11. (e) *Which,* ſays he, *is therefore ſaid of Hereticks, becauſe when other Offenders, as Fornicators, Adulterers, Murderers, are not caſt out, but by the Sentence of the Biſhop or Church Cenſures: Hereticks, on the other Hand, paſs Sentence upon themſelves, on their own Accord receding from the Church, which Receſſion ſeems to be a Condemnation of their own Conſcience.* (f) *As many as attempt any Thing againſt thoſe Conſtitutions of the Fathers, which concern the Faith, thereby* without more ado *incur, and bring on themſelves the Cenſures contained in the Canons,* ſays *Thalaſſius* Biſhop of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia*, in the *Great Council of Chalcedon.* When an Offence is only againſt *the Canons of the Church,* (g) *the Defence of the Divine Canons we know is proper only to the Biſhops; but the Defence of the right Faith, belongs not only to them, but to every Orthodox Chriſtian,* ſay the *Holy Monks* againſt the *Patriarch Anthimus*, falſe to the *Hereſie* of the *Eutychians*, in *their Libel* in the *Council of Conſtantinople*

* Αὐτοκατάκριτος ἑαυτῷ.

(z) Ἀνὰ τῆς ἐπιλοιπῆς τῆς πρώτης παλαιὸς σῶ.

(a) Μία γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ πίστις, μία ἡ ὁμόνοια, καὶ ὑνάμεθα ἐναπωθῆναι τῷ καλῷ συλλειτουργῷ, τῷ περὶ δὲ σοῦ. Epiphan. Hær. 42. Sect. 1.

(b) Can. 13, 14, 15. Concil. Conſtan. primi & ſecundi Dict. *&c.*

(c) Ταῦτα μὲν ἄρχεται περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, τῶν οἰκείων ἀφισταμένων πρώτων. Not for thoſe who do it, εἰ αἴρεσίν τινα ἢ τὰ ἁγίων συνόδων ἢ παλαίων κατεγνωσμένων, Can. 15.

(d) Περὶ συνοδικῆς διαγνώσεως καὶ ἐξετάσεως, καὶ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ τελείας καταψηφίσεως.

(e) Propterea vero a ſemetipſo dicitur eſſe damnatus, quia Fornicator, Adulter, Homicida, & cætera vitia, per Sacerdotes Eccleſiæ propelluntur. Hæretici autem in ſemetipſos ſententiam ferunt, ſuo arbitrio de Eccleſia recedentes, quæ receſſio propriæ conſcientiæ videtur eſſe damnatio. *Hieron. Comment. in loc.*

(f) Ὅσοι παρὰ τὰς ἐπὶ τῇ πίστει τῶν παλαίων τύπους διαπράττονται ἑαυτοῖς ἐπάγουσι τὰ ἐκ τῶν κανόνων ἐπιτίμια, Concil. Chalced. Part 2. Act. 1. p. 191. Tom. 3 Ed. Bin.

(g) Εἰκότως ἡμεῖς ἐπισταίμενοι τὴν τῶν θείων κανόνων ἐνδείκνυσιν ἀρχιερεῦσι μόνον ἁρμόττειν, τὴν δὲ ὀρθῆς πίστεως ὑπὲρ μόνων ἱερωμένοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ παντὶ ὀρθοδόξῳ χειμαρῷ, Concil. Conſt. ſub Agapeto & Menna, Act. 1. p. 10. Tom. 4. Conc. Ed. Bin.

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antinople under *Agapetus* and *Mennas*. (g) *Though no Synod has before* ondemned him; *yet he that has prevaricated and deſerted the orthodox* aith, as *Acacius*, he ſays, had done by *communicating with the* Eutychians, as enough for *which he ought to be deny'd Communion. As alſo any one,* ho *before being a Catholick, ſhall fall to communicate with any Hereſie,* juſtly *thought to be thereby removed from our Society*, ſays Pope Gela-us. Though, in Caſe of *other Crimes*, they may not do it before *ſyno-ical Sentence*; yet, in Caſe *of any* (h) *Hereſie condemn'd by the Holy* ynods, *or Fathers, they may depart and ſeparate from the Communion of* eir *Prelate*, ſay the foreſaid *Canons of* Conſtantinople, *when once he* omes *to preach it publickly, and to teach it bare-fac'd in the Church.* nd *then to withdraw from him before ſynodical Cognizance, is not to incur* e *foreſaid connoical Pains, but to ſhew themſelves worthy of that Honour,* hich *belongs to the Orthodox. 'Tis not to Condemn Biſhops*, ſay they, *but* eudo-*Biſhops their Teachers; not to rend the Unity of the Church by a* chiſm, *but to ſtudy to free it from Schiſms and Diviſions.* So that in theſe aſes, when the Defection of Doctrine and Worſhip is apparent, and lain to their Eyes and Ears; the People and Clergy may judge for emſelves, and withdraw from the Communion of ſuch Heretical or rroneous Paſtors. And accordingly, the Apoſtolical Rules to the Peo-le are, without ſtaying for the Declaration of a Synod, if any turn a *ringer of falſe Doctrine, contrary to what was deliver'd*, without more do to hold him as *Anathema*, or as one *Excommunicate*, Gal. i. 8, 9. nd *not to bid him God ſpeed*, 2 Jo. 10, 11.

By ſuch Defections then from Chriſtian Doctrine, or Worſhip, the igaments of Union are broken towards the Governour of any Church, r between one Church and another; and there accrues a Liberty, with-ut any Breach of the Unity of the Church;

1. For *People to break off from their own local Guides, or for Peo-le and Clergy to break off from their own Biſhops.* Tho' they were *A-poſtles, or Angels from Heaven*, they are to be held then as *Anathema*, as t. *Paul* ſays, that is, not as Heads of Unity and Church Communion, ut as excommunicate Men. If they *cauſe Diviſions from the Doc-rines we have learned*, he bids the Church *mark and avoid them*, Rom. vi. 17. The Peoples Duty of adhering to, and *following them*, is no nger, than they continue to *be Followers of Chriſt*, 1 Cor. xi. 1. and iv. 6. But if they break off from his Truth, and turn *falſe Prophets*, owever they come dreſs'd up in ſoft Pretences or in *Sheeps-cloathing*, he ells us to *beware of them*, and to fly them as *Wolves*, Mat. vii. 15, 16. o * *look* to them, and *avoid them*, as St. *Paul* cautions againſt the *Ju-laizers*, Phil. iii. 2. If they become *Bringers of Falſe Doctrine, bid them* ot God *ſpeed, nor receive them into your Houſes*, ſaith St. *John*, 2 Jo. 10, 11. Thus when *John of Jeruſalem* fell to err in Point of Faith, *Epipha-ius writ to the Monks*, as St. *Jerom* (i) ſays, *that till he gave Satis-faction in Point of Faith, none of them ſhould communicate with him.*

* Βλέπετε.

(g) Quaſi revera, etiam ſi nullus ante damnaſſet, non habuerit, Orthodoxæ & Apoſtolicæ Communi-onis, cujus Prævaricator extitit & Deſertor, participatione excludi. Sicut etiam quiliber, qui fuerit ante atholicus cuicunque hæreſi communicans, merito judicatur à noſtra ſocietate removendus, *Gelaſius Ep.* ad *Euphemianum*, ap. *Bin. Tom.* 3. *Conc. p.* 620.

(h) Οἱ δὲ ἄρεσίν τινα παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων συνόδων ἢ πατέρων κατεγνωσμένην τῷ ὀρθῷ τῶν πρώτων κοινωνίας ἑαυτὸς διασέλλοντες, ἐκείνῃ τὴν ἄρεσιν δηλονότι δημοσίᾳ κηρύττοντι καὶ γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ διδάσκοντι, οὐ τοίνυν ἐκ μόνου τῆς κανονικῆς ἐπιτιμήσεως καὶ ὑποκείσονται, &c. Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ὀρθοδόξων πῶς ὀρθοδόξοις ἀξιωθήσονται. Οὐ γὰρ ἐποκόπων, ἀλλὰ ψευδεπισκόπων διδασκάλων κατέγνωσαν, καὶ ἐκ χίσματι τὴν ἕνωσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας κολέτειον, ἀλλὰ χισμάτων καὶ μερισμῶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν πάσαν ῥύσασθαι, Ib. Can. 15.

(i) Cunctis Monachis ab eodem Epiphanio Scripta venerunt, ut abſque ſatisfactione fidei nullus ei mere communicaret, *Hieron. Ep.* 61. *ad* Pammachium *adv.* Errores Johannis Hieroſol. *verſ. fin.*

And Jerom himſelf asks him, (k) *where it is required that they ſhould come under his Communion, before ſuch Satisfaction were given.* And tells him, 'tis becauſe (l) *of their Difference in Point of Faith, that they may not communicate with him.* (m) *A People*, ſays St. *Cyprian*, that would fear *God, and obey his Precepts, ought to ſeparate it ſelf from an erring Prelate.* Such Perſons, if *Metropolitanes, are no longer to have neither any Authority over the Biſhops of their Provinces, nor the Communion of the Church*, as is decreed in the *General* (n) *Council* of *Epheſus*.

THEY are to leave their Guides, when they fall to miſguide them; and to ſtand off from their Perſons, leſt they be corrupted with their Tenets. And this is no more, than is needful for them, even in Point of Caution; being their Keeping out of the way of Temptations, which our Lord directs us to, for a general Guard of all Vertues. And ſtanding off thus from heretical Leaders, they will *approve themſelves* in the Midſt of *Hereſies*, by being ſteadfaſt in the Truth, 1 *Cor.* xi. 19. They will *not be toſs'd too and fro, by the Slight of ſubtle Men, with every Wind of Doctrine*, Eph. iv. 14. *nor carry'd about*, when their Teachers fall off, *with divers, and ſtrange Doctrines*: *Strange*, as oppoſite to the firſt-taught Truths; and diverſe, as contrary to their own former Principles, *Heb.* xiii. 19.

2. FOR *the Biſhops and Paſtors of one Church, to break off from the Biſhops and Paſtors of another. A Biſhop muſt hold faſt the faithful Word*, when others fly from it, *Tit.* i. 9. *An Heretick, after the firſt and ſecond Admonition*, he is bid to *reject* from his Communion, *Tit.* iii. 10. And *when any teach otherwiſe, contrary to wholſome Words and the Doctrine which is according to Godlineſs, from ſuch withdraw thy ſelf*, 1 *Tim.* vi. 3, 5. *If any teach* corrupt, and *contrary Tenets, it is not fit to mingle* and have Communion *with them*, * ſaith St. *Chryſoſtom*. (o) *If any foreign Biſhop, or other Clergy, come, and bring along with them commendatory Letters* teſtyfying their Orders, *let them not be received, or admitted to Communion, unleſs, on Examination, they be found Preachers of Piety, and teach ſound and pure Doctrine*, ſay the *Apoſtolical Canons*.

* In Ep. 4. Hom. 11.

AND this Liberty for both theſe, is not only in Defections from *neceſſary Doctrines of Faith*; but alſo, (eſpecially in general and profeſs'd ones) in Defections from *grand and neceſſary Doctrines of Practice*. For we are tied to them, not only as to *Miniſters of Prayers*, who are to lead and go before us in holy and acceptable Devotions, which ſets us free to leave them, as I ſhew'd * before, when they corrupt their Liturgies. But alſo as to *Teachers*, who are to give us true Information of all that is neceſſary in the Way to Heaven, or to ſave our Souls: they being ſet over us, and we being order'd to keep ſubject to them, as * *Paſtors*, who are to † *feed us with Underſtanding*; and as our * *Guides* and † *Teachers*, as the Scripture ſays. Now to be taught aright, in neceſſary Points of Practice, as well as of mere Belief, or Fundamentals of Faith, is neceſſary to theſe Purpoſes: For Obedience, is no leſs neceſſary in Religion, than Faith is; and a Defection from the true neceſſary Doctrine of either, is moſt diſhonourable to God, and deſtructive to Men's Souls. And if Teaching us aright, in all grand and neceſſary Points of both

* Chap. 3.

* Eph. iv. 11, 12.
† Jer. iii. 15
* Heb. xiii. 7, 17.
† Eph. iv. 11.

(k) Alicubine dictum, aut tibi alicubi mandatum eſt, quod ſine ſatisfactione fidei communionem tuam ſubiremus? *Ib.*

(l) Quod tibi non communicemus, fidei eſt, *Ib.*

(m) Plebs obſequens Præceptis Domini, & Deum metuens, à peccatore præpoſito ſeparare ſe debet. *Cyp. Ep.* 67. *p.* 171. (n) Can. 1.

(o) Μηδένα τῶν ξένων ἐπισκόπων, ἢ πρεσβυτέρων, ἢ διακόνων, ἄνευ συστατικῶν, προσδέχεσθαι, ἐπειδὴ ἐγκλήματα· ἐὰν μὴ ὦσιν χειροτονίας εὐσεβείας, προσδεχέσθωσαν εἰς κοινωνίαν, Can. Ap. 33.

these

theſe, tyes us to them; will not their turning Falſe Teachers, or falling, openly, and incureably, to miſteach us in either, ſet us free to go off from them?

ACCORDINGLY, St. *Paul*, treating of *Servants Duties*, whoſe *Honour*, *Obedience*, and *Fidelity towards their Maſters*, is neceſſary to prevent the *Chriſtian Doctrine's being evil ſpoken of*, bids *Timothy*, *if any teach otherwiſe, and conſent not to the Doctrine which is according to Godlineſs, from ſuch to withdraw himſelf*, 1 Tim. vi. 1, 2, 3, 5. And thus alſo, when he gives order to *turn away from* the Falſe Teachers of *the later days*, the Defection of thoſe falſe Teachers, he ſets out more particularly, in *Practical Points*: Such as were a *Denial of the Power of Godlineſs*, which lies in Practice; though ſtill, as he ſays, they *retain'd the Form thereof*, which lies more in ſpeculative Profeſſions and Opinions, *viz.* by being *Lovers of themſelves, or of Pleaſure more than of God*, ſo throwing off the Doctrine, of taking up and bearing Croſſes; and being *diſobedient to Parents*, natural or civil, and *Traytors* to Government, ſo diſcarding all ſober Principles of Civil Obedience; and being *Truce-breakers*, finding out Ways to evade, or fly off from the moſt Solemn Promiſes, and Oaths; and the like, 2 *Tim.* iii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

I ſpeak not of ſuch practical Errors, when got only *among the People*, by means of ſome falſe Teachers privily creeping in, and diſperſing the ſame; but not among the lawful Paſtors themſelves: as ſeems to have been the Caſe at *Corinth*, where ſome Members had imbibed *Gnoſtick Infuſions*, and thought it lawful to * *communicate in Idol Feaſts*. For here, the Sound may attend on the Miniſtrations of their Orthodox Paſtors, though they be to meet ſome unſound Members there, or to worſhip in *mixt Communions*. Their Brethrens Errors will not drive them to withdraw themſelves, but they may leave them to be remedied, or removed by *Church-cenſures*.

* 1 Cor. viii. & cap. x.

NOR of ſuch others, as have tainted the Paſtors themſelves, if it is not clear of the Points objected to them, that *they are Errors*; or, ſuppoſing them Errors, if they be not of dangerous Conſequence. The Guilt of ſome, is neither ſo groſs and heinous as to the Nature, nor ſo clear and indiſputable as to the Proof of it, as it is in others. And theſe may be born, or remedied otherways, and muſt not always break Communion.

NOR of all other Errors in Practice imbibed by the Paſtors, that are clear, and of higher Conſequence.

FOR tho' the practical Errors are more clear and important, yet ſometimes the Guides and *Paſtors abetting them*, is not *full* and *bare-faced*. They may not be come (*p*) *to teach them publickly and bare-faced in the Church*, as the *Council of Conſtantinople* ſpeaks in the Caſe of *Hereſie, for which the Church is to break off from them.* They may ſhew connivance, or Countenance to them; as the *Paſtors at* * *Corinth* ſeem to have done, in the Caſe of *inceſtuous Marriages*; and as, perhaps, they did in the Caſe of † *communicating in Idol Feaſts*: But not doctrinally maintain, and preach them up. And thus alſo *Leontius* did, whilſt the Orthodox kept on meeting in the *Arian* Aſſemblies under him at *Antioch*. For though he ſecretly favour'd, and encourag'd the *Arians*, who uſed *derogatory Doxology, of Glory be to the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghoſt*; not as the Orthodox, *to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt*: yet in *repeating the Doxology at the End of the Pſalms, he repeat-*

* 1 Cor. v.

† 1 Cor. viii. & c. x.

(*p*) Ἐκείνην τὴν αἵρεσιν δηλονότι δημοσίᾳ κηρύττουσιν, καὶ γυμνῇ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἐπ' ἐκκλησίας διδάσκουσιν, Conc. Conſt. 1. & 2. Can. 15.

ed all the firſt Part, wherein they differ'd, *privately to himſelf*; and then *only repeated aloud*, when it came to *in ſæcula ſæculorum*, or *World without End*, wherein both were agreed, as *Theodorit* * reports.

* Hiſt. Eccl. l. 2. c. 24.

YEA, I may add, that at other times, when the Paſtors preach them up bare-faced, they may *do it generally*: ſo that the People may have none elſe, but ſuch *Erroneous Teachers*, to communicate with. As was the Caſe of the *Jews*, I think, *at our Saviour's Coming*, when *the Prieſts*, I conceive, generally agreed in preaching up thoſe practical Errors and *doctrinal Salvo's*, whereby, as our Lord † charges them, they *made void Gods Commandments*. And in ſuch a *corrupt State of the Church*, till they could have the ſame from more Orthodox Miniſters; they were to go on Communicating in Religious Offices and Sacrifices, whilſt there was nothing but Good in them, with theſe otherwiſe erroneous Miniſters. And were not to diſclaim Communion with their Miniſtrations, but to * *beware of the Leaven of their Doctrines*: Or, in other Points, where they taught true, † *to follow their Doctrines, not their Practices*, as our Saviour cautions.

† Mat. xv. 6.

* Mat. xvi. 6, 12.

† Mat. xxiii. 3.

BUT when they ſaw Souls endangered by ſuch Salvo's, it was the Duty of true Prophets, and Prieſts among them, and would be ſo in all other Places, on like Occaſions, by their preaching and Miniſtrations to keep up ſound Knowledge among the People in theſe Points; yea, tho' ſuch Preaching and Miniſtrations made a Breach between them, and thoſe defecting Teachers. And it was the People's Duty to follow any among them, who would teach them better, when they could have ſuch Teachers, as they had in our Bleſſed Lord, and his Apoſtles. Whatever Allowance, under the Favour of Neceſſity, Men may have to keep on with ſuch, of which *Plea of Neceſſity*, I ſhall ſay more hereafter; yet, where there is Choice of others more Orthodox, they are no longer tied to ſuch Paſtors, as openly and obſtinately preach up damnable Practices, to diſgrace Religion, and endanger Souls. Bear they may for a time, in hopes of Reformation; and, becauſe it is eaſier to prevent, than to patch up Breaches, wiſe Lovers both of Peace and Truth, would not be haſty in coming to Extreamities. But if ſtill they will perſiſt, and go on in ſuch pernicious Ways and Doctrines; good People and Paſtors may withdraw themſelves from their Communion, as St. *Paul* ſays in the Places already cited.

AND the Reaſons of breaking off, on ſuch Defections from neceſſary Points, either of Faith or Practice, are ſtill more urgent, if there is no Liberty left in any Churches, for other Paſtors to ſtand up miniſterially, or exerciſe their Miniſtry in Defence of thoſe neceſſary Points, whilſt they continue with, and adhere to them. For then, the Concealment and Suppreſſion of neceſſary Truths, is made a Condition of Communion; and other Paſtors, if they will hold on with them, muſt ſuffer † *that good Thing, which has been committed to their Truſt*, to be extinguiſh'd, without ſtanding up, according to their Duty and ſolemn Undertaking, to miniſter the ſame. Which will make it neceſſary for all, who will chooſe to ſtand by Chriſt and his Truths, rather than by ſuch his apoſtatizing Servants and Corrupters thereof, to depart from them.

† 2 Tim. i. 14.

WHEN therefore the Biſhops and Paſtors of any Church, fall off from miniſtring neceſſary Chriſtian Doctrine or Worſhip; and eſpecially when they come to allow their Communion to none, who will go on in Adminiſtring the ſame; they thereby looſen the Bands of Union, and break that ſpiritual Dependance and Relation, which the People, and other inferiour Paſtors, ought to have upon them. They are no longer the true *Joynts*, to compact the Members; nor the *Head of Unity*, to keep together

ther the Body of the Church. And thus it was at the *Reformation*, under *Queen Elizabeth*, with the *Popiſh Biſhops*; whoſe corrupt Worſhip and Doctrine, yea, and rigorous Exaction of Compliance with both from all who expected to hold Communion with them, had ſet their Churches at liberty to go off from them, as I formerly obſerved, and to ſeek more Orthodox Biſhops in their room. And ſo it would be in the Caſe of other Biſhops, eſpecially of thoſe who eſpouſe a Schiſm, and communicate with Anti-Biſhops in Oppoſition to the true Biſhops, if they fall from miniſtring neceſſary Chriſtian Truths, whether of Faith, or of Moral Doctrine and Worſhip, as in the fore-mentioned Caſes.

AND when the Church is thus looſed of its Dependance on their Perſons, by the Defection of ſuch erring Biſhops; it may be free to unite it ſelf, to other Orthodox Biſhops: Either to receive ſuch an one, for its own local Biſhop, as was done at the *Reformation*, by ſubſtituting *Orthodox* and *Reformed Biſhops*, into the Sees of *Popiſh Biſhops*: Or, till it can have that, by receiving the Benefit of epiſcopal and prieſtly Acts, from any other Orthodox Biſhops and Clergy, as they can be met with. It may fetch all Orthodox Miniſtrations and ſpiritual Founctions, from other Places, when it cannot have them from an Orthodox Paſtor, or in the Unity of the Church, at home. This it may do, ſays (*q*) St. *Cyprian* in this Caſe, *As well as the Mariners, when their own Port is ſanded, or otherwiſe inſecure, may paſs it by, and put in at another. Or, as well as the Travellers, when their own Inn is beſet with Thieves, may take up their Lodging at another, which is more ſafe.*

AND as the *People* of ſuch defecting Biſhops and Paſtors, *may ſeek out*, and unite themſelves to others, *for all neceſſary Miniſtrations*; ſo may thoſe other *Orthodox Biſhops* and *Clergy*, who are ſought to, *be free to receive and ſupply them.* This is plain of both, becauſe the Church, whereof the one are Members, and the other are Biſhops or Prieſts, is a *Catholick Church*. For being *Catholick*, its *Baptiſms*, and *Ordinations* are *Catholick*; and make, as the one *Chriſtians*, ſo the other *Biſhops* and *Prieſts*, that muſt be owned for ſuch over all the Chriſtian Church, and not only in ſome limited Parts, or Diſtricts thereof. And betwixt the Members of this *Catholick Church*, there is to be a *Communion of Saints*; ſo that the one may receive as Members, and the other adminiſter all ſpiritual Acts and Functions as Paſtors, as there is Opportunity, and as Need requires. When the Orthodox Members of ſuch defecting Paſtors, come to them; conſidering the *Catholiciſm* of the Church, tho' never ſo far remote in Place, they muſt own them as their *Brethren*: and profeſſing the *Communion of Saints*, they muſt receive them to their Communion. When, ſhunning the Rocks in their own defecting *Church*, *they ſeek a more ſafe Harbour in theirs*, 'tis their part (*r*) *to receive them with a prompt Humanity, and to give them ſuch Reception, as was given to him who had faln among Thieves in the* * *Goſpel*; not only to let them in, but to take all due and needful Care of them, ſaith St. *Cyprian*.

* Luke, x. 30, *&c.*

(q) Quid enim ſi in mari portus aliquis, munitionibus ſuis ruptis, infeſtus & periculoſus eſſe Navibus cœperit; nonne Navigantes, ad alios proximos Portus Naves ſuas dirigunt, ubi ſit tutus & ſalutaris introitus, & ſtatio ſecura? Aut ſi in via ſtabulum aliquod obſideri, & teneri a Latronibus cœperit, ut quiſquis ingreſſus fuerit, inſidiantium illic infeſtatione capiatur: Nonne commeantes hac opinione comperta, ſtabula alia in itinere appetunt tutiora, ubi ſint fida hoſpitia, & receptacula Commeantibus tuta? Quod nunc eſſe apud nos eſſe debet, ut Fratres noſtros, qui vitatis *Marciani* ſcopulis petunt Eccleſiæ Portus ſalutares, ſuſcipiamus, *&c.* & ſtabulum Commeantibus præbeamus, *&c.* *Cyp. Ep.* 68. *p.* 178.

(r) Fratres, qui vitatis *Marciani* ſcopulis petunt Eccleſiæ Portus ſalutares, ſuſcipiamus ad nos prompta & benigna humanitate, & ſtabulum Commeantibus præbeamus tale, quale eſt in Evangelio, quo a Latronibus ſauciati & vulnerati ſuſcipi, & foveri, & tutari ab ſtabulario poſſint, *Cyp. Ep.* 68. *p.* 178.

YEA,

YEA, and as Chriſtian Biſhops, they are to look upon this Reception, and theſe Miniſtrations, as one Part of their Epiſcopal Charge. For they are Biſhops of the Catholick Church, as well as of their own Sees; and have Relation to the whole Church, as well as to their own Dioceſſes. *The Adminiſtration he has received*, is not only for his own Flock, but (*s*) *for the Church in common* ſays St. *Ignatius*, of the *Biſhop of Philadelphia*. And (*t*) *Chriſt has comitted* to you, not only your own, but the *Univerſal Church*, ſays *Eleutherius* to the *Gallicane Biſhops*. And though, as being more eſpecially Biſhops of that Place, they have more particular Obligation to look after their own Flocks: Yet, as catholick Biſhops, they muſt be concerned for the whole Church, and look on it, or any deſtitute Parts thereof, as their own, as Occaſion requires. (*u*) *It behoves us all to extend our Care, and watch over the Body of the whole Church, whoſe Members are diſpoſed through each of the various Provinces*, ſay the *Presbyters* and *Deacons of Rome* to *Cyprian*, on his informing them of the Depoſition of *Privatus Lambeſitanus* the *Heretick*. And *unum Gregem paſcimus, though we be many Paſtors, yet we are to look upon all as one Flock*, * ſays St. *Cyprian* in this Caſe. Though holding it in Partnerſhip, we are ſeveral Biſhops; yet, as there is but *one Church*, ſo there is (*w*) *but one Epiſcopate*, ſays he again, *whereof every particular Biſhop holds a Part*; but *holds it ſo, as to ſtand obliged and anſwerable*, on Occaſion, not only *for his own particular Proportion*, but, as *Partners in a Bond, each of them pro Solido*, as the legal Phraſe is, or *for the whole Sum*.

* Ep. 68. p. 178.

THUS *Eleutherius* told the *Gallicane Biſhops*, That (*x*) *for this very Cauſe Chriſt has committed to them the Univerſal Church, that they ſhould labour for all, and not neglect to afford Help to any*, as their Needs ſhould require. And *Simplicius of Rome*, told *Acacius of Conſtantinople*, That (*y*) *to approve himſelf faithful in his Epiſcopate, he muſt ſtrive for Catholick Unity and the Decrees of the Fathers, not only in that Church where he preſided, but whereſoever he could*. And *Chryſoſtom*, ſays St. *Euſtathius* Biſhop *of Antioch, had well learned by the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt, that a Biſhop of the Church* (*z*) *ought to take Care, not of that Church alone, over which he is ſpecially appointed: but of the Univerſal Church through the World*. This general Care, has appeared conſpicuous in the Lives and Labours of holy and faithful Biſhops: as of *Cyprian*, *Alexander*, and *Cyril of Alexandria*, *Euſtathius of Antioch*, and *Chryſoſtom*. And of the *Great Athanaſius*, * *who took as much Care of all other Churches, as he did of his own*, as St. *Baſil* ſays.

* S. Baſil. Ep. 52.

(*s*) — Διαχονίαν τὴν εἰς τὸ κόινον ἀνήκουσαν, Ignat. Ep. ad Philad. p. 39. Ed. Voſſ.

(*t*) Univerſalis vobis a Chriſto Jeſu commiſſa eſt Eccleſia, ut pro omnibus, &c. *Eleutherius Papa Epiſt.* ad Galliæ Provincias, *Tom* 1. *Conc. p.* 92. *Ed Bin.*

(*u*) Omnes enim nos decet, pro corpore totius Eccleſiæ, cujus per varias quaſque Provincias membra digeſta ſunt, excubare, *Ap. Cyp. Ep.* 36. *p.* 71.

(*w*) Epiſcopatus unus eſt, cujus a ſingulis in Solidum pars tenetur. Eccleſia quoque una eſt, &c. *Cyp. de Unit. Eccleſ. pag.* 108. *vid. & Ep.* 55. *p.* 11.

(*x*) Hujus rei gratia univerſalis vobis à Chriſto Jeſu commiſſa eſt Eccleſia, ut pro omnibus laboretis & cunctis opem ferre non negligatis, *Eleuth. Papa ubi ſupra.*

(*y*) -- Ut Creditorum tibimet diſpenſatione Dominica Talenrorum, in hac multiplicatione fidelis Servus oſtendaris, ſi non tantum in Eccleſia, cui præſides, ſed ubicunque potueris, pro Unitate Catholica, & pro Paternis Definitionibus ſuadere non renuas, *Simplicius Papa ad Acacium Conſtantinop. Ep.* 17. *p.* 592. *Tom.* 3. *Concil. Ed. Bin.*

(*z*) — Οὐκ ἐκείνης μόνης κήδεσθαι δεῖ ὁ παρὰ τῷ πνεύματι ἐγχειρισθείσης αὐτῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάσης τῆς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην κειμένης, Chryſ. Hom. in S. Euſtathium Antioch. Hom. 93. Tom 5. p. 631. Ed. Front. Duc. Tom. 1. Hom. 52.

Nor ought they to be hinder'd from ſuch Miniſtration, and Reception of the Members of other Churches, by *any canonical Rules for Unity in the Church.* For, that Hereſie, or Defection from Chriſtian Doctrine, whether in Faith or Practice, and from Chriſtian Worſhip, which ſets aſide the Obligations of Unity towards thoſe defecting Biſhops and Paſtors, muſt alſo of Courſe therewith ſet aſide thoſe canonical Rules which are for Mantainance thereof. So that the Eccleſiaſtical Rules, of Μηδὲν ἄνευ Ἐπισκόπου, *i. e.* (a) *of Clergy and People doing nothing in Church-Communion without the Allowance of their Biſhop: And of* Μὴ ἀλλοτριεπισκοπεῖν, *i. e.* (b) *of One's not officiating, or ordaining another's Subjects, or intermeddling in another's Dioceſs*; are no Rules, nor of Force towards ſuch Perſons. And accordingly at *Arles*, when *Marcianus* their Biſhop was faln to the *Novatians*, * *Cyprian* thought it behoved him and other Biſhops, to ſee the Needs of the Faithful there ſupplyed, *That they might no longer be left a Prey for Wolves, without all Hopes* (after the *Novatian* Rigour) *of the Churches Peace aud Communion after once they had faln.* And under the *Arian Hereticks*, the *great Athanaſius*, when out of his own Diſtrict, (c) *held Ordinations in other Churches, as he paſſed thorough them*, as *Socrates* reports. Even the *great Council* of *Conſtantinople*, in that very *Canon*, which *forbids* (d) *Biſhops to intermeddle, either in Ordinations, or in other eccleſiaſtical Adminiſtrations, without their own Precincts*: yet makes an Exception (e) *of thoſe Churches, that are in Barbarous Nations*, for whoſe Relief they might do this: As *Eminent Preachers*, when they went among them, (f) *might ſtill confirm thoſe they had gained to the Faith in other Provinces, according to their Cuſtom: Which, though againſt the Canons, the Council ſtill allow'd*, ſay *Balſamon* and *Zonoras* upon the *Canon*; *for the Neceſſity of the Thing.*

* Ep. 68. p. 176. &c.

And thus alſo *Presbyters and People*, may *hold Aſſemblies independant upon their own defecting Biſhops*, or on any others. The *Apoſtolical Canons* allowing Prieſts to have *Meetings ſeparate from their Biſhops*, when they do it (g) *as condemning of Impiety* [in (h) *Doctrine*] *or of Injuſtice* [in Adminiſtration, as depoſing them for the Sake of Truth, or of a good Thing, &c.] And the *Council of Conſtantinople*, though it (i) forbids Inferiours, before ſynodical Sentence, to caſt off the Communion of their Superior on Pretence of *criminal Cauſes*, as (k) *Fornication, Symony, or Tranſgreſſion of the Canons*, as *Balſamon* comments; yet allows it in *Caſe of Hereſie condemn'd by former Synods, or by the Holy*

(a) Iguat. Ep. ad Smyrn. p. 6. & Concil. Laod. Can. 57.
(b) Can. Ap. 35. & Conc. Antioch Can. 13. & 22. & Concil. Conſtant. 1 & 2 Can. 2.
(c) Ἐν οἷς δὲ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν—ταῖς ἄλλων παροικίαις χειροτονίας ἐποίει, Soc. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 2. c. 24. pag. 115.
(d) Τοὺς ὑπὲρ τοίνυν ἐπισκόπους ταῖς ὑπερορίοις ἐκκλησίαις μὴ ἐπιέναι, ἐπὶ χειροτονίαις ἢ ποιμ ἄλλαις ἐκκλησιαστικαῖς οἰκονομίαις.
(e) Ἐν τοῖς βαρβάροις ἔθνεσιν τῆς θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας, Can. 2. Concil. 1. Conſtantinop.
(f) Ἦ καὶ ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τοὺς ἴσως ἐν λόγῳ διαλάμποντας, περιφοιτᾶν, καὶ ἐν ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων παροικίαις, οὕς διασπείζειν τὴν πίστιν περιόντας, ἐνέδωκεν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος, καὶ εἰσέτι πολιτίνεσθαι τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔθος, κἂν παρὰ κανόνας ἐστι, διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον τοῦ πράγματος, Balſ. in Can. 2. Conc. Conſtant. vid. & Zonar. in Canonem.
(g) Κατεγνωκὼς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἐν ἀσεβείᾳ καὶ διαιοσύνῃ, Can. 31. Ap.
(h) Περὶ τὴν εὐσεβείαν σφαλλομένου, Zon. in Can.
(i) Concil. Conſtant. 1 & 2 Can. 13, 14, 15.
(k) Ἐγκλήματικὰ δὲ εἴπάμεθα εἶναι πορνείαν, ἱεροσυλίαν καὶ τῶν κανόνων ἀθέτησιν, Balſ. ad Can. 15. & ſo Zonoras Ib.

Fathers,

Fathers, ſo ſoon as he begins bare-faced to teach it in the Church. And the *Council of Carthage*, when it (*l*) condemns *Presbyters* for *ſetting up ſeparate Altars from their Biſhops*, makes this Exception, (*m*) *unleſs they have againſt him a juſt Expoſtulation.* And an (*n*) *Allegation of Falſe Doctrine*, or leading the Church wrong, is ſuch a juſt Expoſtulation, as *Balſamon* obſerves upon the *Canon*. Theſe Rules, for preſerving Order and Concord among Biſhops and Churches, are binding towards any Biſhops, who are in the Unity of the Church, and are orthodox. But if either they are faln to ſet up unchriſtian Worſhip, or Doctrine; or, as I obſerved before, are turned Schiſmaticks, or ſet up as Anti-Biſhops in Chriſt's Church; they bind none toward ſuch Biſhops. They are no longer Heads of Union, and ſo cannot claim the Benefit of theſe Rules for Unity; which, by their Schiſm, or Defection, is at an End towards them.

THUS doth *Hereſie*, or a Defection from neceſſary Doctrine or Worſhip, diſcharge Church Members, from their ſpiritual and canonical Dependance and Union, with their defectiug Biſhops and Paſtors. Prieſts are no longer tyed to ſuch erring Biſhops, nor the People to either, in ſuch Caſes. So that a Defection to ſinful Worſhip, and damnable Doctrine, bereaves Men of all Arguments from Scripture or Canons, for their Subjects to depend on them, or to unite with them.

IF therefore in any Diviſion of a Church, it can truly be objected to one Side, that they are faln from holy and true Worſhip and Doctrine: it is not for them to plead the Duty of Union, or to tell People of their Obligations to unite with them. If before they were the true Heads and the regular and canonical Biſhops of thoſe Places; yet would their falling into thoſe unchriſtian Errors, ſtrip them of thoſe Claims. The Union taught by *Chriſt*, and the Holy Scriptures, and directed by the Rules and Canons of the Church, ſuppoſes Men orthodox; but is not to unite with ſuch Defectors. Nor is any Charity, which they can pretend to in ſeeking to keep all others united to themſelves, the Charity which he requires. For that *Charity, which is the End of the Commandment*, muſt be *out of a pure Heart, and a good Conſcience, and Faith unfeigned*, as St. *Paul* ſays, 1 *Tim.* i. 5. It muſt be *out of a pure Heart, and a good Conſcience*: And ſo is only a ſeeking to have them one with us whilſt we go together in keeping the Commandments, or in the Practice of good Things; not like the *Charity* or *Love of Thieves, and Murderers* that aſſociates and *binds them together in the Practice of ill Things*, as St. *Chryſoſtom* * notes. And it muſt alſo be *out of Faith unfeigned*; and ſo is a ſeeking to unite them to our ſelves, not in dangerous Errors but only in Orthodox and Chriſtian Doctrines. Whereas, the Pains that is taken to bring all over to them in the Breach of God's Laws and embracing of unchriſtian Doctrine, or to be one with them in Error and Wickedneſs; is not Charity, but Deſtruction, to thoſe who are ſeduced by them.

* In. Loc.

If ſuch Defection from pure Worſhip and Doctrine is their Caſe, the Guilt of making a Diviſion lyes plainly at their Doors. In ſuch Breaches St *Paul* notes the *Dividers from the Doctrine*, as making the Schiſm and not the faithful Adherers to it, who refuſe to break off from it

(*l*) Can. 10. Conc. Carth.

(*m*) —Μήποτε κατὰ τῦ ὁπισκόπυ μέμψιν ἔχῃ δικαίαν, Can. 11. Concil. Carthag.

(*n*) Μέμψιν μὴ ἁπλῆς εἶναι δεῖ ἁμαρτήματος, ἢ ἀπὸ ἄλλης ἀιτίας ἐγκλήματικῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ δογματικῆς, Balſ. in Can. 11.

in order to their keeping on with *them*. *Mark thoſe*, as *cauſing the Diviſions* or Offences, who go *contrary to the Doctrine which ye have learned*, ſaith he, *Rom.* xvi. 17. And Diviſions made by ſuch Defection, are incureable by any Thing, but their own Repentance and Return to their former Ways. Their Brethren can not heal, or cloſe them, by following them in their Defection; becauſe that is to be falſe to Truth, and to their own and others Souls, which are all in danger of periſhing by ſtraying from the ſame.

NAY, ſhould they do as they deſire, and all come over; that would only be a falſe and ſeeming Cure, but really make the Breach wider. For the whole Body of Chriſtians, from the Beginning to the End, are but one Church. And thoſe Chriſtian Societies, which make up this one Church, are the ſeveral Churches of all Times and Places. *All true Chriſtians, which now are, or formerly have been, or hereafter ſhall be*, are all Members of one and the ſame Body, as I formerly ſhewed.

SO that the Unity, which good Chriſtians are to aim at, is to appear of one Society and Communion, with the whole Body of faithful Chriſtians, from *firſt* to *laſt*: with all the Faithful, who have kept to this Unity, and are now in Heaven; as well as with all, who either now are, or hereafter ſhall be in Earth, doing the ſame. Or to be found united, and in the Communion of that Body, or general Collection and Aſſembly of Saints, who ſhall all appear together as one Body, that has kept up the Faith and Unity of the Church, in oppoſition to all heretical or ſchiſmatical Oppugners thereof, at the laſt Day. And they are lamentably out, andta ke their Aim too narrow, who look only at keeping an external Union, with the Aſſemblies and religious Societies of their own Place and Time; though that be in breaking off from the Way and Communion, of all the faithful Chriſtians of other Places at that Time, and of all that are gone before them, and will make them appear ſeparately from the general Aſſembly and great Collection of Saints, at the laſt Day.

NOW true Doctrine and Worſhip, as I have ſhewn, are among the chief Ligaments, in this Body of Chriſt's Holy Catholick Church. And if even any regular Biſhops, or Metropolitanes, with their reſpective Societies or Churches, break off from any neceſſary Truths, or Worſhip of Chriſt, they break off at the ſame time, from all this great Body of faithful Chriſtians of all other Places and Times, who are all united and incorporated in them, and ſtand upon them. And if theſe Defectors, appear to make the Generality, or great Number, in their own particular Times, and Countries; yet are they but a Handful, compared to that general Body or Collection on the other Side, whom they have defected and broke from, and who will ſtand all in one compact Body againſt them, at the laſt Day. *viz. the Catholick Church of all Times and Places.* So that thoſe few Faithful among them, who continue firm, and ſtand out againſt their Defection, do not go off from the main Body, or greateſt Numbers, but ſtick to them; the catholick Church of all Ages and Countries, which makes the vaſt Body, and infinitely the greateſt Number, being in reality with them. The catholick Church, conſiſting, of our Saviour Chriſt, of Apoſtles and Prophets, Martyrs and Confeſſors, and of all the truly Faithful, who have gone before us, are now, or ſhall be after us, when all is done will make the Body. And thoſe few faithful Chriſtians ſticking to this, when the numerous Defectors in thoſe Countries ſtart from it, ſtick to the Body. So that, as the *Council of Conſtantinople* declares of *thoſe*, *who break off Communion with their Biſhops*, *yea*, *before ſynodical Sentence*, *when once they openly teach any Here-*

ſie condemn'd by the holy Fathers or Councils; by ſo doing, (*o*) *they do not rend the Unity of the Church by Schiſm, but ſtudy to free, or defend it, againſt Schiſms or Diviſions.* So at ſuch times, they muſt beſpeak their Brethren, as St. *Cyprian* did the *Confeſſors*, who ſided with the Schiſmatick *Novatian.* (*p*) *Becauſe we can not leave the Church, and come over to you*, which, inſtead of patching up, *would be to break and divide the Churches Concord and Unanimity: We beſeech you, by all the Ways we can, that you would return and come back again to your Mother the Church, and to our Fraternity.*

BY keeping them to the neceſſary Doctrines and Worſhip of Chriſt, of the catholick Church, and of our own Church, we keep united to them; and ſo far, as we break off from theſe, we anſwerably break off from them. And therefore the Running in of more into ſuch Defection, inſtead of cloſing up the Schiſm, would increaſe it. It would only make the more People guilty, of Dividing, and Standing off from Chriſt, and from the catholick Church, as that contains all orthodox Chriſtians and right Churches, who are gone before us, or are now, or ſhall be after us. Yea, from all their Anceſtors, during all the Succeſſions of them to their unhappy Defection, in their own Church. And even from themſelves, in all their own beſt Days, whilſt they ſtood true to their own pure Worſhip and orthodox Principles. Which is ſuch a Way of healing Schiſms, as Rebellion is of remedying Grievances; that is, inſtead of taking any off, it brings Abundance more upon us.

AND this makes the Charge of Schiſm ſtronger, and more aggravated in the forementioned Caſes, where the Corruptions of Doctrine and Worſhip make them a corrupt Church, as well as the ſetting up of Anti-Biſhops makes them a ſchiſmatical Church. There is plainly a Schiſm in making of Anti-Biſhops, which is a Setting up of oppoſite Altars. But it is a more wicked and ungodly Schiſm, when theſe oppoſite Altars are ſet up for wicked and ungodly Purpoſes, to head ſinful and unchriſtian Worſhip and Doctrines. That Schiſm, is complicated with Hereſie, or other dangerous Depravation of Religion. It is not only making a Breach in the Church; but withal, it is forming a Party againſt Truth and Holineſs. It is giving Religion a ſecond Blow, to maintain a former; and ſetting up one ill Thing, to ſecure a worſe. It ſeeks to confederate Men in the Breach of Unity, that it may hold them faſt in Breach of Piety, or moral Honeſty. And a Schiſm ſo ſet up to ſtrike at Religion, is more impious in the Sight of God, and of all good Men, and the Guilt thereof is more flagrant. And beſides, 'tis incureable by any, but themſelves. For the Schiſmaticks run into ſuch a Breach, to maintain a Quarrel againſt Truth and Righteouſneſs. And in that, they muſt go by themſelves; for none, who will take any due Care of their precious Souls, ought to bear them Company. So, there can be no Re-union, till they return from their wicked and ungodly Schiſm, to the Way of Truth and Righteouſneſs, which they had forſaken.

(*o*) Οὐ χίσματα τὴν ἕνωσιν τῆς ἐκκλησίας καλέπτειν, ἀλλὰ χισμάτων καὶ αἱρεσιμῶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐστήκασιν ῥύσασθαι, Conc. Conſtant. 1 & 2 Can. 15.

(*p*) Cum Unanimitas & Concordia noſtra ſcindi omnino non debeat, quia nos Eccleſia derelicta foras exire, & ad vos venire non poſſumus, ut vos magis ad Eccleſiam Matrem, & ad noſtram Fraternitatem revertamini, quibus poſſumus hortamentis petimus & rogamus,—*Cyp. Ep.* 46. *p.* 89.

CHAP

CHAP. V.

Of the Communion of good Christians, or with whom they are to join in Divine Offices, under a Schism.

HAVING said thus much, to shew on any Division of Churches, whilst faithful Pastors stand firm to their Ministrations in the fore-mentioned Cases, who make the Schism, and who can cure it, I now proceed,

3. IN the *Third* Place, to treat of *the Communion of good Christians under a Schism*, and *how they are to carry themselves towards Schismaticks.*

AS for their Communion, 'tis plain, in Division between Right and Wrong, both as to the Church-Heads, and Religious Doctrines and Worship, they ought to take the right Side.

AS they who are at the Head of that, are the *canonical* and *rightful Bishops*, they are bound to communicate with them. For the rightful Bishops being the true Heads of Union, the Members must keep true to their Head, and hold Communion therewith. And this they are ty'd to, by all the Gospel-precepts about *Union*, which require their * *being one*, or † *one Body*, or ‖ *keeping the Bond of Peace* in Churches. For his *Unity* and *Peace* of Churches, must bind them to keep united and at Peace with their Bishops, who, under *Christ*, are the Governours, and Spiritual Heads thereof. And by that grand Vertue of *Charity*, so often and earnestly * required *of the Members*, and that † *above all things*, that ‖ *they may edfie* or build up one another into a spiritual Society. For this *Charity*, which is † *the Bond* to bind the Members together, not only in private Affections, but into *one common Body* or *Church*, must bind them all to these Rightful Bishops, who are the Heads and Rulers of that Body, that by keeping united to those Bishops, they may keep one Society, and not be broken into several Societies. And accordingly St. *Cyprian* presses that *Charity*, which * St. *Paul* makes so necessary to the Acceptance of all other Vertues, even *Faith*, or *Martyrdom* it self; as indispensably obliging all good Christians, to keep in the Communion of their true and rightful Bishops, as I observed † before.

* Jo. xvii. 11.
† Ep. iv. 4.
‖ Ver. 3.
* 1 Cor. xvi. 14. & cap. xiii.
† Col. iii. 14
‖ 1 Cor. viii. 1.
† Col. iii. 14.
* 1 Cor. xiii.
† Ch. 1. Part 3.

AND as these true and rightful Bishops, are at the Head of necessary Gospel-worship and Doctrines, when their Opposers fall off from them, good Christians are yet more bound to hold to their Communion. They are tied thereto then, not only for the rightful Bishops, but also for pure Worship and necessary Truth's sake. For true Christians, must seek to communicate in these. And that must be, by communicating in the Ministrations of those Pastors, which hold to them. Besides, these, in any Competition, are Christ's *true Shepherds*, and *trusty Watch-men*, and *faithful Guides*, and *uncorrupt Teachers*, and *faithful Ministers*: because they are the Men, who faithfully minister his Word, and give his Warnings, and dispense that Food, which is to keep those Souls alive whom he has given them the Care of. And all these, are no idle Characters, but speak answerable Obligations in the People, as I have shewn * before, to attend on their Ministrations, and unite themselves to them. And this

* Ch. 6. Part 1.

† Rom. xv. 6. ‖ 1 Cor. i. 10.

this the Scripture requires in those Precepts, which command us, *in* † *glorifying God*, to *have one Mind and Mouth*; to be ‖ *perfectly join'd together in the same Mind and Judgment, and speak the same Things*; and the like. For this *speaking the same*, is speaking the same with those who speak right, not with those who speak wrong. And this *Union of Minds* and *Judgments*, must be in uniting with Men of orthodox Minds, or that hold all necessary Christian Doctrines: For if any fall off from these, we must not be of one Mind with them, but of different Minds. I add moreover, that Association and Union of Church-Members under Bishops, is for visible Profession and Ministration of pure Worship and Doctrine. And therefore they must unite with those Bishops, who profess and administer the same. Yea, their Care of their own Safety, no less than the Love of Truth, will make them fly to such Pastors: As the *Sailors* do *to the next safe Port, when their own is sanded*; or the *Travellers, to the next secure Inn, when their old one is beset with Thieves*, as St. *Cyprian* * observes in this Case.

*Ep. 68. p. 178.

AND as they are thus to *hold Communion*, and unite themselves *those rightful Bishops, who keep to pure Worship, and Doctrine*: So are they, on the other hand, to *stand off from those, who make the Schism, to maintain a sinful Worship, or corrupt Doctrine.*

I do not say, they are to look on these Schismaticks and Defectors, as quite faln from the *Relation*, and *Title of Brethren*. A schismatical, or excommunicate Christian, is still a *Christian*, not an *Infidel*, or *Heathen*. And whilst they continue *Christians*, they retain, though not so much Claim as others, yet some Claim to *Christian Brotherhood*, albeit they have lost their Claim to Communion. *Have no Company* or Communion with the segregated Man, saith St. *Paul*; *yet count him not as an Enemy, but admonish him as a Brother*, 2 Thes. iii. 14, 15. And *Optatus* calls the *schismatical Donatists, Brethren*; *tho'* (*a*) *they would not call the Catholicks so, or be call'd so by them.* And says, that (*b*) *they can not but be our Brethren, though they are no good Brethren; because we and they have one spiritual Nativity*: Their Baptism, which is the Christians Birth, being a valid Baptism, though administred in a Schism; and the *Catholick Church*, as (*c*) St. *Austin* says, *thereby generating Sons unto God*, which Sons must be our Brethren. For *Brotherhood* they looked on, as consequent on *Nativity*, and going along with it; but *Communion*, as going with *spiritual Society* and *Conversation*. Tho' at other times, by *Brotherhood* they understood, not only the *spiritual Nativity*, but also the *Spiritual Society* and *Communion of Brethren*: And then, Hereticks and Schismaticks were shut out, from that Name and Salutation.

BUT though, as not having faln from their Baptism and Christianity, they may, on the Score of their common Nativity, still admit them to be *Christian Brethren*: Yet, as being schismatical and de-

(*a*) —— Omnibus notum sit, quod nolunt se dici Fratres nostros.

(*b*) — Sunt sine dubio Fratres, quamvis non boni. —Non possunt non esse Fratres. Est quidem nobis & illis una spiritualis Nativitas. *&c. Optat. Milev. de Schism. Donat. l.* 1. *p.* 34.

— Non enim potestis non esse Fratres, quos iisdem Sacramentorum visceribus, una Mater Ecclesia genuit: quos eodem modo adoptivos Filios Deus Pater excepit, *Id. l.* 4. *p.* 77. *Ed. Par. Albaspin.*

— Propter Communia Sacramenta Frater meus est, *Augustin. in Collat. Carth.* 3. *c.* 235.

(*c*) —Itaque est una Ecclesia, quæ sola Catholica nominatur, & quicquid suum habet in Communionibus diversorum a sua unitate separatis, per hoc, quod suum in iis habet, ipsa utique generat, non illa. —Hæc itaque in omnibus generat, cujus Sacramenta retinentur, unde possit tale aliquid ubicunque generari; quamvis non omnes quos generat ad ejus pertineant Unitatem, quæ usque in finem perseverantes salvat, *Augustin. de Bapt. Cont. Donat. lib.* 1. *cap.* 10.

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fecting Brethren, they must reject, and stand off from their Communion. They must disown the erroneous and schismatical Bishops and Ministers, disclaiming all ecclesiastical Dependance upon them. And hold off from their Religious Assemblies, and not come to join in their Prayers, and Sacraments, and sacred Offices: *Church-communion*, lying mainly in joining in these Assemblies and Sacred Offices; as Excommunication lies, in the excluding and debarring from the Participation thereof.

They are to avoid them, as they are *Associates or Adherents of Anti-Bishops*, and *Makers of a Schism*. For the Scripture-direction is, to *mark those, which cause Divisions and Offences, and to avoid them*, Ro. xvi. 17. And *if any Man is disobedient* and refractory to *Church-powers*, which he is to the height, who throws them quite off, and sets up others against them, to *note that Man, and to have no Company with him*, 2 Thes. iii. 14. And *Schisms* or *Seditions*, the Apostle reckons among *Works of the Flesh*, which *exclude from the Kingdom of Heaven*: So that they, who would secure that, must be careful not to join, or partake with them, *Gal.* v. 20, 21. Especially, if to the Guilt of Schism, they also add that of *Heresie*, which the Apostle also there ranks among the *deadly Works of the Flesh*; or make Parties, especially consummate them by setting up of Anti-Bishops, to head destructive Errors, or a Defection from God's pure Worship and Doctrines. If any turn *Bringer of false Doctrines, bid him not God speed, nor receive him into your Houses, which were to be Partakers of his evil Deeds*, says St. *John*, 2 Joh. 10, 11. Thus St. *Paul* bids them * *look to the Judaizers, and avoid them*, Phil. iii. 2. And St. *John*, *when he went to bathe himself at* Ephesus, *leaped out of the Bath unwash'd when he espied the Heretick Cerinthus*, declaring *he would not stay with such an Enemy of the Truth*, as † *Irenæus* reports from *Polycarp*. Yea, and *Polycarp* himself, as he adds, refused the *Heretick* Marcion *any friendly Commerce or fraternal Salutation. So studiously cautious*, says he, *were the Apostles and their Disciples, of entring into any Communion, so much as of Discourse, with those who adulterated the Truth.*

* Βλέπετε.

† Adver. Hæres. l. 3. c. 3.

And of this Obligation, *to shun the Communion of Schismaticks and corrupt Teachers*, Christians had a great Sense, in the *first* and *best* Ages of the Church. Thus St. *Ignatius*, that *blessed Mayrtyr and Contemporary of the Apostles*, when he bids (*d*) *the Sheep to follow the Shepherd*, and tells them, (*e*) *they who are God's and Jesus Christ's, will go with their Bishop*: to caution them against siding with any who set up against him, (*f*) tells the *Philadelphians*, that *if any will turn Follower of him, who makes a Schism, he has no Inheritance in the Kingdom of Heaven*. And St. *Cyprian*, is abundant therein. When New, or Anti-Bishops set up opposite Altars, he is full of Zeal against the *Impiety* and *Wickedness* thereof. (*g*) *'Tis adulterous*, says he, *'tis impious, 'tis sacrilegious, whatsoever is so set up by the Madness of Men, in violation of the Ordinance of God.* (*h*) *He, who leaving the true Bishop, sets up another Altar, and presumes to*

(*d*) Ὅπου δὲ ὁ ποιμήν ἐστι, ἐκεῖ ὡς πρόβατα ἀκολουθεῖτε, Ignat. Ep. ad Philad. p. 40. Ed. Voss.

(*e*) Ὅσοι γὰρ θεοῦ εἰσὶν καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, οὗτοι μετὰ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰσὶν, Ib.

(*f*) Μὴ πλανᾶσθε ἀδελφοὶ, εἴ τις χίζοντι ἀκολουθεῖ βασιλείαν θεοῦ οὐ κληρονομεῖ, Ib.

(*g*) Adulterum est, impium est, sacrilegum est, quodcunq; humano furore instituitur, ut dispositio divina violetur. *Speaking of the* Novum Sacerdotium, *and of the* aliud Altare præter unum Altare, *Cyp. p.* 43. *p.* 83

(*h*) Arma ille contra Ecclesiam portat, contra Dei dispositionem repugnat; hostis Altaris, adversus sacrificium Christi rebellis, pro Fide perfidus, pro Religione sacrilegus, inobsequens Servus, Filius impius, frater inimicus, qui contemptis Episcopis & Dei Sacerdotibus derelictis, constituere audet aliud Altare, precem alteram illicitis vocibus facere, *De Unit. Eccl. p.* 116.

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celebrate another Prayer or Divine Service different from his, *bears Arms*, says he in another Place, *against the Church; and resists God's Ordinance: He is an Enemy of the Altar, and a Rebel against Christ's Sacrifice, for the Faith he is perfidious, for Religion he is Sacrilegious, he is an undutiful Servant, an impious Son, an Enemy instead of a Brother.*

AND having set out these schismatical Associates, as so full of Sin and Provocation, he warns all, who would be careful of their own Innocence or Safety, to stand off from the Communion of such Men. (*i*) *A People, that would fear God, and keep his Commandments*, saith he, *must not mix it self, or join in the Sacrifices of such sacrilegious Dividers.* (*k*) *Avoid those Wolves*, says he again, *who seek to separate the Sheep from their Shepherd*, warning against those *five Presbyters*, who were then forming a Schism, and soon after set up one of themselves, *viz. Fortunatus*, an Anti-Bishop against himself at *Carthage*. *If they will perish in their Schism, let them be alone in perishing. Let them remain alone without the Church, who have broke off from it. Let them alone be without the Bishops, who have rebell'd against the Bishops. But depart you from such Men, and be not ye Partakers with them therein.* (*l*) *The Lord admonishes us*, adds he, *to depart from such Men.* And (*m*) *If they are to be held as Heathens and Publicanes, who only contemn the Church, according to the Words of our Lord*, Mat. xviii. 17. *much more are the Setters up of false Altars, and unlawful Priesthoods, to be held as such, because they are plain Rebels, and profest Enemies thereof.*

And besides, their shunning these opposite and false Altars, and Keeping firm to the true, he tells them is necessary *to give them the Benefit of Christian Communion.* (*n*) For *whosoever assembleth otherwise*, saith he, *than under the rightful Bishop, doth not get, but scatter abroad.* (*o*) *If any are not with the Bishop, they are not in the Church. And 'tis a vain Flattery and Self-deceit, for any, who have not Peace and Communion with their Bishop, to fancy it is the same Thing, and that they may still have the Benefit of ecclesiastical Communion, by creeping in privately, and being admitted by others set up against him.*

SUCH was the Sense, which the holy Apostles had instill'd, and which the primitive Christians had carefully retained, of their *strict Obligations, to keep united to their own orthodox rightful Bishops*, and *to shun the Communion of all schismatical Opposers of them, or of heretical Teachers.* And this shunning of such Communion, must not be looked upon, as the Effect of Anger, or Peevishness; or, as an Expression, not of Religion, but of meer humane Passions, which took Place in the Church, as Charity grew cold and wore off. For this was most, in the Days of the *Apostles* themselves, and of their Contemporaries, and their

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(*i*) Plebs obsequens præceptis Dominicis, & Deum metuens, a Peccatore præposito separare se debet, nec se ad sacrilegi Sacerdotis Sacrificia miscere, *Ep.* 67. *p.* 171.

(*k*) Vitate Lupos, qui Oves a Pastore secernunt, *&c.* Discedite a talibus, *&c.* —— Pereant sibi soli, qui perire voluerunt. Extra Ecclesiam soli remaneant, qui de Ecclesia recesserunt. Soli cum Episcopis non sint, qui contra Episcopos rebellarunt, *Ep.* 43. *p.* 84.

(*l*) Docet Dominus, & admonet, à talibus recedendum ——— aversandus est talis, atque fugiendus, quisquis fuerit ab Ecclesia separatus -- vitate quæso ejusmodi homines, & a latere atque auribus vestris pernicioſa Colloquia velut Contagium mortis arcete, *De Unit. Eccl. p.* 115, 116.

(*m*) Si autem qui Ecclesiam contemnunt, Ethnici & Publicani habentur, multo magis utique Rebelles & Hostes, falsa Altaria, & illicita Sacerdotia, & Sacrificia sacrilega, *&c.* fingentes, inter Ethnicos & Publicanos, necesse est computentur, *Cyp. Ep.* 69. *p.* 180, 181.

(*n*) Quisquis alibi collegerit, (*the Assemblies or* Synaxes *being call'd* collectæ) spargit *Cyp. Ep.* 43. *pag.* 83.

(*o*) Si qui cum Episcopo non sint, in Ecclesia non esse: & frustra sibi blandiri eos, qui pacem cum Sacerdotibus Dei non habentes, obrepunt, & latenter apud quosdam communicare se credunt, *Cyp. Ep.* 66. *pag.* 368.

neareſt

neareſt Succeſſors; as may appear from the fore-cited Scriptures, and Teſtimonies of *Ignatius*, *Irenæus*, and *Cyprian*. When Charity was the higheſt, as it will be confeſt to have been in thoſe Times; they were the choiceſt in their Communions, and ſtood furtheſt off from all Schiſmaticks and Hereticks, refuſing them the Commerce, not only of ſpiritual and eccleſiaſtical Miniſtrations, but even of Civil Offices and Reſpect. And this, by the Direction of thoſe Apoſtles, St. *Paul* and St. *John*, who abounded more than any in preſſing *Charity*; not bearing *to* * *keep company*, or *to* † *eat with them*, as St. *Paul*; to give them the common Salutation ‖ of *God ſpeed*, or to *receive them into their Houſes*, as St. *John*, who would not ſo much as *ſtay in the Bath with Cerinthus*, nor his Diſciple *Polycarp* give the *Salutation to the Heretick Marcion*, as I obſerved from *Irenæus*.

* 2 Theſ. iii. 14. † 1 Cor. v. 11. ‖ 2 Joh. 10, 11.

So that Charity when at the height, was higheſt towards God, for ſuſtaining his Worſhip and Doctrine, viſibly bearing it up by the Church, and in the Unity thereof. But was not for being any ways wanting to a Church-Profeſſion and Mantainance of them in Tenderneſs and Complyance to thoſe who defected from them. But Chriſtians abated of theſe firſt Rigours, in ſhunning all Commerce with ſuch Perſons, as the firſt Charity and Zeal for pure Doctrine and Worſhip grew leſs, and as they were driven thereto, eſpecially in point of civil Commerce, by Hereticks and Schiſmaticks growing more numerous, and (through the lamentable Diviſions of Chriſtendom) lying intermix'd in all Places, which render'd the former Renunciation of civil Commerce, as leſs adviſeable, ſo leſs practicable in the Church. For when they fill'd all Places, they would be met with in all Places, and intermix in all Dealings. And then, not to have any *Company* or *Dealings* with ſuch, they *muſt needs go out of the World*, which St. *Paul* gives as one Reaſon of Relaxation and Allowance in this Caſe, 1. *Cor.* v. 10. So that continuing ſtill to ſhun ſpiritual, or eccleſiaſtical Communion with ſuch Makers of Schiſms; eſpecially for the Setting up of a ſinful Worſhip, a nd unchriſtian Doctrines and Practices; is ſo far from being a Defection from the *apoſtolical* and *primitive Charity*, that it is a keeping up to it, and is only a Retaining of their *firſt Love*, which ought in all Times faithfully to be kept on in all true Churches.

Now as to the *Perſons whom this will affect*, and whoſe Communion by this Rule is to be ſhunned in ſuch Caſes; it bars this Communion with thoſe, who *ſet up and make the Anti-Biſhops*, or *who ſide and take part with them*.

1. It *affects the Electors, who choſe the Men*, and *their Ordainers and Conſecrators, who laid Hands on them*. For theſe, give Heads to the new Bodies, and create the Schiſm. Others, may ſeditiouſly call for it, or come into it when once 'tis form'd; but their Part is to give it a Head, which formally conſtitutes and ſets it up, ſo that they are Principals herein.

2. And *thoſe, who own Subjection and Dependance on theſe Anti-Biſhops, in Oppoſition to their old Ones*; and, as *Members*, *unite and incorporate under them*.

Thus it is *among the Paſtors, by whom their Authority is received*, and who thereby all break off from the rightful Biſhop, to whom in all their Miniſtrations they ought to keep ſubject and dependant. The Rule of Communion, for *Prieſts* and *Deacons* towards their *Biſhop*, is *to do all Publick Miniſtrations according to his Allowance and Conſent*. (p) Let the

(p) Οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, καὶ διάκονοι ἄνευ γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ἐπιτελείτωσαν. Αὐτὸς γάρ ἐστιν ὁ πεπιστευμένος τὸν λαὸν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν αὐτῶν λόγον ἀπαιτηθησόμενος, Can. 39. Ap.

Presbyters

Presbyters or Deacons do nothing without the Consent of the Bishop, say the *Apostolical Canons*, and the *Council* of (q) *Laodicea* afterwards; *for 'tis the Bishop, to whose Trust the Lord's People is committed, and from whom an Account of their Souls will be required.* And (r) *If any will be for having the Offices of the Church without the Concurrence of a sitting Presbyter, who officiates according to the Bishop's Approbation and Allowance, let him be Anathema*, says the *Council of Gangra*. And (s) *If any Clergy celebrate divine Offices in private Oratories, or baptize, not* (t) *according to the Mind and Allowance of the Bishop, but besides or contrariant to it, let them incur Deposition*, say the *Council in Trullo*, and *the Council of Constantinople*.

(u) THE *Church is settled upon the Bishops, and every Act of the Church ought to be governed by them*, saith St. *Cyprian*. (x) *Let none do any of those Things, which concern the Church or publick Service, without the Bishop*, says St. *Ignatius*, that *Holy Martyr and Contemporary of the Apostles. But let that be reputed a valid Eucharist which is celebrated by those who keep under him, or which is administer'd with his Leave. And that a due Baptism, which is with his Consent or Approbation.* (y) *'Tis necessary*, says he, *that ye should do nothing without the Bishop, like as also ye do.* (z) *The Spirit*, adds he in another Place, *hath preached this*, saying, *Do nothing without the Bishop, — Love Unity, fly Divisions.* (a) And *they who continue to call him Bishop, but yet do all Things without him, I think are not Men of good Conscience, because they do not celebrate their solemn Assemblies according to Christ's Precept.* And to like purpose, (b) *Tertullian*, (c) St. *Jerome*, and others. And this Way, of *administring all Offices with his Approbation and Allowance*, St. *Ignatius* declares is the Way for them *to keep Unity with their Bishops. For*, says he, (d) *as our Lord doth nothing without his Father, being united to him, not acting without him, either by himself, or by his Apostles: So neither do you any Thing without your Bishop, and his Presbyters.*

BUT when the Priests and Deacons of a Diocess, *turn over from their rightful Bishop to the Anti-Bishop*, they live in a flagrant Breach of these Rules of Communion. They do all their Ministrations then, without their Bishop; putting in some Things into divine Offices, and putting out others; and observing Days, and other Things belonging to their Minis-

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(q) —Ὡσαύτως καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους μηδὲν πρᾶττειν ἄνευ τῆς γνώμης τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, Conc. Laod. Can. 57.

(r) Εἰπεῖν τὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ἐθέλει πρᾶττειν μὴ συνόντος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου καὶ γνώμῃ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου ἀνάθεμα ἔστω, Conc. Gangr. Can. 6.

(s) Τοὺς ἐν εὐκτηρίοις οἴκοις ἔνδον οἰκίας οὔσι λειτουργοῦντας, ἢ βαπτίζοντας κλεικῶς, παρὰ γνώμην τοῦ ἐπισκόπου καθαιρέσει καθυποβάλλει σύνοδος, Concil. Constant. 1 & 2 Can. 12. & Concil. in Trullo, Can. 31.

(t) Τοῦ γνώμῃ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, Can. 31. Concil. in Trullo.

(u) Ecclesia super Episcopos constituatur, & omnis actus Ecclesiæ per eosdem præpositos gubernetur. *Cyp. Ep.* 33. p. 66.

(x) Μηδεὶς χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου τι πρασσέτω τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν· βεβαία εὐχαριστία ἡγείσθω, ἡ ὑπὸ τὸν ἐπίσκοπον οὖσα, ἢ ᾧ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιτρέψῃ — οὐκ ἐξόν ἐστιν χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, οὔτε βαπτίζειν, οὔτε ἀγάπην ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ ὃ ἂν ἐκεῖνος δοκιμάσῃ τοῦτο καὶ τῷ θεῷ εὐάρεστον, Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. pag. 6. Ed. Voss.

(y) Ἀναγκαῖον ἐν ἐστίν, ὥσπερ ποιεῖτε, ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν πράσσειν ὑμᾶς, Ignat. Ep. ad Trall. pag. 47.

(z) Τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ἐκήρυσσεν λέγων τάδε. Χωρὶς τοῦ ἐπισκόπου μηδὲν ποιεῖτε· Τὴν σάρκα ὑμῶν ὡς ναὸν θεοῦ τηρεῖτε. Τὴν ἕνωσιν ἀγαπᾶτε, τοὺς μερισμοὺς φεύγετε, Id. Ep. ad Philadelph. p. 43.

(a) Τινὲς ἐπίσκοπον μὲν καλοῦσι, χωρὶς δὲ αὐτοῦ πάντα πράσσουσι. οἱ τοιοῦτοι δὲ οὐκ εὐσυνείδητοι μοι φαίνονται, διὰ τὸ μὴ βεβαίως καὶ ἐντελῶς συνάγεσθαι, Id. Ep. ad Magnes. p. 32.

(b) De Bapt. c. 17.

(c) Hieron. Dial. adv. Lucifer, Tom. ep. 2. p. 96. Ed. Col.

(d) Ὥσπερ οὖν ὁ κύριος ἄνευ τοῦ πατρὸς οὐδὲν ἐποίησε, ἡνωμένος ὢν ὅτε δι' ἑαυτοῦ, εἴτε διὰ τῶν Ἀποστόλων, οὕτως μηδὲ ὑμεῖς ἄνευ τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, μηδὲν πράσσετε, Ignat. Ep. ad Magnes. p. 33.

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ſtration, not only without, but quite againſt his Conſent and Approbation, and altogether by the Authority and Juriſdiction of another, who is ſet up againſt him. Which is to ſeparate as far as they can, from him, who ought to be their Principal of Union, and to miniſter in a State of full, and flaming Schiſm.

AND thus it is alſo *in the Aſſemblies, over which thoſe rightful Biſhops ought to preſide*, or in *the Churches of their own Dioceſſes*. If they would keep in the State of Unity, they ſhould keep united to their rightful Biſhops, who are at the Heads of Union to ther ſeveral Flocks; and ſhould ſtick to them, and the *Clergy* of their Communion, for Divine Offices. (e) *Where their Biſhop appears, there let the Multitude be with him: Like as where Jeſus Chriſt goes, there the Catholick Church goes too*, ſays St. *Ignatius*. But if they break away, from all Dependance on them, and from all Recourſe to their Miniſtrations, to depend on the Anti-Biſhops, and reſort to theirs; that makes them all Schiſmaticks. For all theſe Aſſemblies of People and Paſtors, make the ſchiſmatical Bodies, whereof the Anti-Biſhops are the Heads. As the Biſhops, ſet up for the ſchiſmatical Heads: So the Paſtors and People, who turn over to them, and aſſemble under them, come in to be their ſchiſmatical Members. They form themſelves into one Church, by erecting an Eccleſiaſtical Union and Communion among themſelves. And this is a ſchiſmatical Church, as conſiſting all of a Party of Members, broke off from their true Heads, or lawful Biſhops.

3. Further, it may alſo *affect other Biſhops and Churches, who will take their Part, and communicate with them*. For *catholick Unity is to be preſerved in the Church*, i. e. *Unity and Communion is to be kept up among all Churches*. And this is, by Rules of Accord, and Correſpondence, which give the ſame Church Acts or Matters, the ſame Effects in all Places; Of which Rules, I have * before diſcourſed more at large. And theſe Rules, will keep up *catholick Unity*, and the *Communion of Saints*, between all Biſhops and Churches; ſince this Way, they all communicate, or all in common refuſe to do it, with the ſame Perſons.

* Part 3. Chap. 2.

AND therefore if any Biſhop of one Church, would ſide and have Communion with Anti-Biſhops, or with the Schiſmaticks or Hereticks of other Churches; He thereby broke the Rules of Union, as well as they, and became involved in Schiſm like one of them. For he was as much obliged as others, in Care of maintaining Unity to keep off from the Communion of ſuch Schiſmaticks: Yea, in Care of catholick Unity and Communion, to keep off from the Communion of thoſe who make a Schiſm from other catholick Biſhops, as if they made it from himſelf. And if ſtill he will communicate, and join himſelf to them; he violates Unity, and joins in a Schiſm, as any other Man would do, who ſhould do the ſame. And being found in the Schiſm with them, he would have been treated as they were, and have fallen from the Communion of all other orthodox and catholick Biſhops, whoſe Rule was, to refuſe and ſhun the Communion of Schiſmaticks, and of their Adherents and Partakers. *Communicating with Men out of Communion, he himſelf would be put out of Communion*, as the aforecited *Councils* ſay. And thus it was, with *Marcianus Biſhop of Arles*, when he fell to communicate and join himſelf to *Novatian*, who was ſet up as a ſchiſmatical Anti-Biſhop againſt *Cornelius*, the rightful and canonical Biſhop of *Rome*. *Thereby*,

(e) Ὅπου ἂν φανῇ ὁ ἐπίσκοπος, ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος ἔστω. Ὥσπερ ὅπου ἂν ᾖ χριστὸς Ἰησοῦς, ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία. Ignat. Epiſt. ad Smyrn. p. 6. Ed. Voſſ. Oxon.

ſays St. *Cyprian*, *he himſelf became ſeparate from our (f) Communion, and from the Fraternity of Catholick Biſhops, becauſe* Novatian *was ſo, to whom he joined himſelf. The Biſhops met in Council in* Africk *anſwering him, when he ſought their Communion, that not one of them could communicate with him, ſince he had ſet up Altar againſt Altar at* Rome, *and made a Schiſm from* Cornelius, *who before was legally ordained the Biſhop of that Church.*

4. BESIDES, for ſurer Maintenance of Union, and to compact ſeveral Churches together into a cloſer Dependance, there are other *Heads of Union among the Biſhops themſelves.* Such are *Metropolitanes, and Primates*, as *Titus*, I conceive, was left by St. *Paul* at *Crete*, where he was to * *ordain Elders or Biſhops in every City*; and *Timothy* at *Epheſus*, where he is † directed how he ſhall *exerciſe Juriſdiction*, and *receive Accuſations againſt Biſhops*; which *Metropolitanes* and *Primates*, are to unite and incorporate many Biſhops and their Dioceſſes, into *one Province*; or ſeveral Provinces, by their Concurrence, into *one National Church.* And ſuch an *Head of Union*, the *Arch-Biſhop of Canterbury* is, among the Biſhops in the *Engliſh Church.* And the Eccleſiaſtical Union to be kept up among us, is a *Provincial*, yea a *National Union.* We are to ſtand united, by our *Articles*, and *Homilies*, *Liturgy*, and *Canons.* And theſe unite, not only the Chriſtians of each Dioceſs or Diſtrict, to their reſpective Biſhops, as ſo many *dioceſan Churches:* but likewiſe the Biſhops and People of all Dioceſſes, into the Provinces of *Canterbury* and *York*; and thoſe two *Provinces*, into one *National Church.* Accordingly, thoſe *Articles* and *Homilies*, *Liturgy* and *Canons*, which are the Rules of keeping Unity among us, are *Provincial* and *National Acts*, paſs'd by Concurrence of *Convocations of both Provinces*; where the Biſhops and Clergy, meet in Union with, and Dependance on their *reſpective Metropolitanes*, who are the reſpective Heads thereof.

* Tit. i. 5, 6, 7. † 1 Tim. iii. & c. v. 1, &c. & v. 19, &c.

NOW, in Care of Unity, and the Communion of the Saints, the reſpective *Biſhops of each Province* or Country, are to keep *dependant and united to their Metropolitanes.* (g) *The Biſhops of every Nation, ought to know him who is their Primate, and to account him as their Head*, ſay the *Apoſtolical Canons.* (h) *It behoves every Man to know his own proper Meaſure*, ſay the *Fathers* in the *Council of Conſtantinople, and that neither a Presbyter contemn his own Biſhop, nor a Biſhop contemn his own Metropolitane.* And, * *bating the Caſe of Hereſie, if any Biſhop, on pretence of other perſonal Crimes, ſhall depart from the Communion of his Metropolitane, before Synodical Sentence paſs'd upon him, he is Guilty of Schiſm, and, though there is nothing elſe againſt him, the holy Synod decrees him to incur a Depoſition.* And ſo ſtrict was this Dependance, upon the *Alexandrian Patriarch* or *Metropolitane of Egypt*, binding them (i) *in all Things to wait for his Sentence, to* (k) *do nothing without him, nor* (l) *be-*

* Ib. Can. 15.

(f) *Marcianus Novitiano* ſtudens, & ejus pervicaciam ſequens, à Communicatione ſe noſtra ſegregaverit, cum *Novatianus* ipſe, quem ſequitur, olim abſtentus, & hoſtis Eccleſiæ judicatus ſit. Et cum ad nos in *Africam* Legatos miſiſſet, optans ad Communionem noſtram admitti, hinc à Concilio plurimorum Sacerdotum ſententiam retulerit; ſe foris eſſe cœpiſſe, nec poſſe à quoquam noſtrum ſibi communicari, qui Epiſcopo *Cornelio* in Eccleſia Catholica ordinato, profanum Altare erigere—tentaverit. — *Novatianus* ſe conjungens—ab univerſis Sacerdotibus ipſe eſt judicatus, *Cyp. Ep.* 68. *p.* 177, & 179.

(g) Τὰς ἐπισκόπους ἑκάστου ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς κεφαλὴν, Can. 34. Ap. *So alſo*, Can. 9. Conc. Antioch.

(h) Δεῖ γὸ ἕκαστον τὰ ὁικεῖα μέτρα γινώσκειν, καὶ μήτε τὸ πρεσβυτέριον καταφρονεῖν τῆς ὁικείας ἐπισκόπης, μήτε τὸν ἐπίσκοπον τὸν ὁικεῖον μητροπολίτου—εἰ τις ἐπίσκοπος ἐγκλήματος πρόφασιν πιθανὴν μετὰ τὸν ὁικεῖον μητροπολίτην, πρὸ συνοδικῆς διαγνώσεως ἀποστήσει ἑαυτὸν τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν κοινωνίας, τέτον ὡρισεν ἡ ἁγία σύνοδος καθηρημένον εἶναι, εἰ μόνον ἐλεγχθείη ἀποστὰς τοῦ ὁικείου μητροπολίτου, καὶ χίσμα ποιήσας, Concil. Conſtant. 1 & 2 Can. 14.

(i) Ἐν ἅπασιν ἀναμένομεν τὴν γνώμην τοῦ τὰς ἡμῶν ὁσιότητος ἀρχιεπισκόπου. p. 312.

(k) Μηδὲν δίχα αὐτοῦ πρᾶττεσθαι, Ib.

(l) Παρὰ γνώμην Μηδὲν τοιοῦτον ποιεῖν, p. 314. Concil. Chalced. Part 2. Act. 4. Tom. 3. Conc. Ed. Bin.

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beside or against his Approbation: that, on the Deposition of their *Metropolitane Dioscorus* in the *Council of Chalcedon*, the *Egyptian Bishops pray, they may not be compell'd to subscribe Pope* Leo's *Epistles, before they had a New Metropolitane to head them:* and * accordingly, *their Subscription was respitted by the Council, till they should have got one.* *Ib. p 315.

AND for Maintenance of this Union, of several Dioceſſes into one Province, by a Joynt-dependance of the several Bishops on their Metropolitane, and Adherence to him; it has been the great *Rule* of the Catholick Church, that *none shall be made a Bishop of the Province without him. In Consecration of Bishops,* (m) *the Validity of all that is done shall be reserved to the Metropolitane,* says the *Great Council of Nice*: And (n) *if any one is ordained a Bishop without his Consent,* it *determines,* (and calls it a *Thing manifest,*) *that he ought to be no Bishop.* It has likewise been *another Rule* thereof for the same Purpose, that *no Synods* for the common Concern of the Province, *be held without them.* (o) *The Metropolitans being to summon the Bishops of the Province, and it not being lawful for any to make Synods of themselves, without them who have the Metropoles committed to them,* as the *Council of Antioch* declares. Yea, that *no Matters of common concern to the Church,* in any Country or Nation, be *transacted without him.* (p) *The Bishops of every Country and Nation, being in Duty bound to own him, who is the chief among them,* &c. *and to do nothing that looks beyond their own Precincts or Dioceſſes,* or referring to the common State of the Church, *without his Sentence,* as is ordained in the *Apostolical Canons,* and repeated in the *Council of Antioch.* And the more firmly to secure this Regard and Dependance, which, for Maintenance of this provincial Union, is due from Bishops to their Metropolitanes, they make solemn Oath at their Ordination, to pay *all due Reverence and Obedience to him,* as in our own *Office of Consecration.*

AND as there is this provincial, and national Union of Churches, which is thus secured by the Dependance of Bishops on their *Metropolitanes*; so may there be *national* and *provincial Schisms,* or Breaches thereof. And such there are, when Bishops and their Clergy and People, break off from their *Metropolitane,* not falling nor receding from his Eccleſiastical Authority over them; and create to themselves an opposite Primate whom they set up against him. For then, they will make Ordinations, and hold provincial or national Synods, and dispatch Matters of common or national Concern, without him: so breaking all the Rules of Provincial or National Union, and dividing themselves from *their Head,* as he is call'd in the * *Apostolical Canons.* And when once an Anti-Primate or Metropolitane is made *the Head of a Schism* it spreads it into all Dioceſſes, which will own him, and profeſs to *bear Canonical Obedience and Subjection, or adhere to him.* So that in such a Schism, all Dioceſſes of the Province come in, who do not disclaim the Schismatical Head, and stand off from him. * Can. 34. Ap.

(m) Τὸ δὲ κύρος, τῶν γινωμένων δίδοσθαι καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαρχίαν τῇ μητροπόλει, Conc. Nic. 1. Can. 4.

(n) Καθόλου δὲ φανερὸν ἐκεῖνο, ὅτι εἴ τις χωρὶς γνώμης τοῦ μητροπολίτου γένοιτο ἐπίσκοπος, τὸν τοιοῦτον ἡ μεγάλη σύνοδος ὥρισε μὴ δεῖν εἶναι ἐπίσκοπον, Conc. Nic. 1. Can. 6. vid. & Conc. Antioch. Can. 19.

(o) Ὑπομιμνήσκομεν τὰς ἐπαρχιώτας τοὺς ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει — μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ πᾶσι καθ' ἑαυτοὺς συνόδους ποιεῖσθαι ἄνευ τῶν πεπιστευμένων τὰς μητροπόλεις, Conc. Antioch. Can. 20.

(p) Τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἑκάστου ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρὴ τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον, καὶ μηδὲν τὸ περίττον ἄνευ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης, Can. 34. Ap. & Concil. Antioch. Can 9.

5. LASTLY, when there is not only a ſetting up of *ſchiſmatical* and *oppoſite Heads*, but moreover this is done *in Oppoſition to pure Worſhip and Doctrine*, and to ſupport unchriſtian Corruptions of both: Then *the Way of Worſhip and Tenets themſelves are formed into Parties.* Men are divided then, in Opinion and Devotion; and each Way has a diſtinct Body or Society viſibly to bear them up, and profeſs them. And when oppoſite Communions are thus ſet up for oppoſite Worſhip and Articles, Mens Communion muſt go according to their Opinion of the Worſhip and Doctrine. For in a Breach made for theſe, it will not be expected, that Men ſhould unite themſelves to thoſe of a contrary Mind, and keep off from thoſe of the ſame Mind; but take Part with thoſe, who agree with themſelves. We muſt chuſe the Church, for the ſake of the Religion, and unite to that as Chriſt's True Church, which ſticks to the True Religion: Church-Unity and Aſſociation, always ſuppoſing and following true Chriſtian Worſhip and Doctrine, but never tying any to go off, and ſeparate themſelves from the ſame, as I ſhew'd * before.

* Chap 3. and 4. Part 3.

SUCH will be the Effect of the preceeding apoſtolical and eccleſiaſtical Rules, for keeping the Unity of the Church. and for avoiding Communion with the ſchiſmatical Breakers thereof, and their Aſſemblies, when a Schiſm is made, by ſetting up Anti-Biſhops, to head immoral or otherwiſe ſinful Worſhip, Doctrines, or Practices, as in the forementioned Caſes. The Meeting or Communicating in a Schiſm, has a Guilt and Criminalneſs of its own, tho' the Matter of all the Prayers were good, and the Preaching orthodox, which they were call'd to communicate in. It alone were a Bar to Communion, and would have the forecited Effects, as I have ſhewn. But 'tis ſtronger, when 'tis ſet up for the Maintainance of Error, and corrupt Devotion; and when Men are drawn into a Schiſm, to be drawn on to other Wickedneſs *viz.* to make Ship-wrack of moral Conſcience, and to prophane God by immoral Prayers, as they are in the above-named Caſes.

CHAP. VI.

Of Ordinations of Anti-Biſhops, which, though always ſchiſmatical, are not always Nullities.

WHAT I have ſaid in the foregoing Chapter, I think may be ſufficient as to the Point of *Communion with Anti-Biſhops* and *their Adherents.* But I conceive it may not be amiſs to add ſomething further concerning *their Orders*; ſince the *Validity* or *Invalidity* thereof, is of greateſt Conſequence and Importance to the Church at ſuch Times.

ONE thing, indeed, is ſaid by St. *Cyprian*, about the Ordaining an oppoſite or Anti-Biſhop againſt another, in a Church already fill'd, as when *Novatian* was ſet up at *Rome* againſt *Cornelius*, *viz.* That *the Anti-Biſhop is no Biſhop:* whence ſome conclude, that in reality he has not the Epiſcopal Powers conferr'd on him. (*q*) *Since after the firſt*

(*q*) Et cum poſt primum ſecundus eſſe non poſſit, quiſquis poſt unum, qui ſolus eſſe debeat, factus eſt; non jam ſecundus ille, ſed nullus eſt, *Cyp. Ep.* 55. *p.* 104. *Ed. Ox.*

there

there cannot be a second Bishop, says he, *or two Bishops at once in the same Church; whosoever is ordain'd after one is already in, who ought to preside alone; he is not really a second Bishop, but no Bishop at all.*

AND if such opposite or Anti-Bishops, receive or retain no episcopal Powers, 'tis sure they can confer none. And then, they are really neither Bishops, nor Priests, who are ordained by them. And so, neither good Baptisms, at least according to the Opinion of the *Africanes*, nor good Sacraments, which are of their Administring. As (q) St. *Cyprian*, and the *Africanes*, answerable to this nulling of the *Ordinations*, null also the *Baptisms made by Schismaticks*. And then, on every Ordination of Anti-Bishops against them, there would be a new and indispensable Necessity, for all the suffering and oppugned Bishops, to insist upon their own Powers and Claims, lest otherwise the Church should neither have Bishops nor Priests, nor the People any valid Sacraments and Church-Administrations.

FOR the Anti-Bishops receiving no Power or Authority for these Administrations, from their Ordainers, *their Ordination being null*, as he says: They can not be impowered, according to the Christian Rules of Conferring Powers, without a *New Ordination*. The Conferring of Orders, or of ministerial Powers, is tied, by our Lord himself, to a particular Way, *viz. Imposition of hands, by impowered Persons*. In point of *Orders*, as of *Baptism* and the *Holy Eucharist*, the Effect is affixed to the Rite of God's Institution. So that such Imposition of Hands, must give them. And if the former Imposition of Hands was null, in these Competitions they can not have these Powers of Orders, but by a New one. The Receding of the former Bishop, or his ceasing to make any further Competition, were they already vested with these Powers by their own Ordination, would give the Anti-Bishops scope to exercise the same, and to do it alone, without Rent or Division. But such Recession, is no Ordination, nor gives them the episcopal Powers, if they had them not before. Yea, I add, nor would any *mere Allowance*, or *after-Ratification of Synods*, confer the same, as I conceive, without such *New* and *Valid Imposition of Hands*. When Men pretend they have already received these spiritual Powers, meer Allowance admits of their Pretences. But I see not, how that alone should confer the Powers, if before they wanted them. Nor doth mere saying, *I allow thee to be a Bishop or a Priest*, without Words not only *pre-supposing*, but actually and from that Time *conferring* Authority upon the Persons, seem enough to make them such: Which in my Apprehension, would make little of the *Power of Orders*; and would be a very lax, and cheap *Salvo*, to make good the Usurpations, which either now, or at any time heretofore, have been made by Sectaries upon the *Priest's Office*. Besides, when they would empower Persons, even *Synods* themselves, or Bishops met there, can not confer Orders, as I say, more than Sacraments, by what Way they please, but are bound up, as I apprehend, to *Divine Institutions*: and are not left to dispose of ministerial or episcopal Powers, by Way of Sentence, or Legislation, but only by *Imposition of episcopal Hands*.

BUT however it might be, in the Opinion of St. *Cyprian*, and the *African* Church of that Age; the *Africans* carrying the Effect of Schism farther than others, to the Nulling of their Baptisms and Ordinations:

(q) Vid. Cyp. Ep. ad *Magnum*. Ep. 66. & ad *Jubaianum* Epist. 73. & Concil. Carthag. de Bapt. Hæret. sub Cyp. ap. Cyp. pag. 229. & Epist. 75. pag. 221. Ed. Ox.

I think

I think this *nulling of all Ordinations of oppoſite or Anti-Biſhops*, or *making them null in themſelves*, is *no catholick Doctrine*, nor did the Church, tye it ſelf thereto, or proceed thereby in other Ages.

THE two moſt famous Schiſms, headed by oppoſite or Anti-Biſhops in the primitive Times, and conſiſting of Men, who retain'd the ſame Faith with the catholick Church, were thoſe of the *Novatians*, and *Donatiſts*. But the Ordinations of Anti-Biſhops, were allow'd to make Men Biſhops and Prieſts, in both theſe Caſes.

ONE, was the *Schiſm of the Novatians*; which I think, preſents us with the *firſt* Setting up of Anti-Biſhops in the Chriſtian Church, againſt other Biſhops keeping to the ſame Faith that was profeſs'd by themſelves, and which is of the more Account in this Caſe, becauſe of this St. *Cyprian* himſelf ſpeaks, ſaying on Account of *Novatian*, when (*r*) he ſet up as an Anti-Biſhop againſt *Cornelius*, that the *ſecond* Biſhop is not really *ſecundus*, but *nullus*; not a *ſecond*, but *none at all*. This Ordination of *Novatian* againſt *Cornelius*, intail'd a great Diviſion and (*s*) *Competition of oppoſite Heads*, upon the Church. And the *Novatians*, as may be ſeen in *Sozomen*, could produce a Succeſſion of Biſhops, ſet up to head their Party againſt the catholick Biſhops, in the great Churches. But yet, excepting St. *Cyprian* and the *Africanes*, whom (*t*) St. *Baſil* notes to have ſtrained the Effects of Schiſm too far, and to have out-ſhot the Mark in theſe Points; though theſe were Anti-Biſhops, the catholick Church did not look upon them, and the Prieſts ordain'd by them as meer Lay-Men, or null their Ordinations, Baptiſms, or other Church-miniſtrations. For, on their Return to the catholick Church, the great *Council of Nice* decrees, That (*u*) *ſuch of them as ſhould be found in the Clergy, ſhould be in the ſame Order and Degree*, as they had been ordained to in their own Parry. And, that (*x*) *having received Impoſition of Hands*, or *being Ordained before: So, according to their Degree, they ſhould remain in the Rank of the Clergy.* So that (*y*) *in any City, or Town, if there were none elſe in Orders, they ſtill ſhould be the Biſhops and Prieſts thereof.* But if at the Time of their Reconciliation, *there ſhould be a catholick Biſhop, or Prieſt, living there*, that then *the Catholick ſhould have Preference, and the Novatian ſhould be content with the Title of a Biſhop*, (without the Adminiſtration;) or *with a Presbyter, or Chorepiſcopus's Place, that there may not be two Biſhops in a City at once.* Yea, and before ſuch Return or Reconciliation to the Church, in great Straitneſs or Want of Opportunities for Worſhip otherwiſe, *the Catholicks reſorted to their Churches, to partake of miniſterial Offices from them*, as * *Sozomon* reports they did in the *Arian Perſecution* under *Conſtantius*.

* Hiſt Ecc. l. 4. c. 20. & Soc. l. 2. c. 38.

THE *Other*, was the Schiſm of the *Donatiſts*, † begun by Men profeſſing the ſame Faith, by the ſetting up of *Majorinus* as an oppoſite or Anti-Biſhop againſt *Cæcilian*, the true and canonical Biſhop of *Carthage*. This Schiſm ſet *Africk* in a Flame, and quickly multiplyed into a Number of Anti-Biſhops and their Abetors, to confront the re-

† Optat. Milev. l. 1. p. 40, 41, 42. &c. Ed. Par. Albaſp.

(*r*) Vid. Cyp. Ep. 44. p. 85, 86. & Ep. 55. p. 103, 114. Ed. Ox.

(*s*) Cum per omnes Provincias, & per Urbes ſingulas, ordinati ſunt Epiſcopi, in ætate antiqui, in fide integri, in preſſura probati, in perſecutione proſcripti, ille [*Novitianus*] ſuper eos creare alios Pſeudo-Epiſcopos auſus eſt. *Cyp. Ep.* 55. *p.* 112. *Ed. Ox.*

(*t*) Canon Ep. ad Amphiloch. Can. 1.

(*u*) Ὅτι, ἀνεισκόμενοι ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ ἔσονται ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ σχήματι.

(*x*) Χειροθετηθέντες αὐτοῦ, μένειν ὅπως ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ.

(*y*) Εἴτε ἐν κώμαις, εἴτε ἐν πόλεσι, αὐτοὶ μόνοι εὑρίσκοιντο χειροτονηθέντες, &c. Conc. Nic. prim. Can. 8.

gular

gular Bishops of the *African* Churches. The Case of these Anti-bishops, came about the Year of Christ 314, to be determined by the *Synod under Melchiades* at *Rome*. And there, to heal the Division, *Melchiades and the Synod*, as St. *Austin* (*h*) relates, *declared their Readiness to send communicatory Letters to them; even of those who appeared to be of* Majorinus's *Ordination*. And decreed, *that wheresoever, by Reason of the Breach, there were two Bishops, he should be confirmed, who was first ordained; and that for the other, another Church or Bishoprick should be provided*. Which St. *Austin* applauds, as *an innocent, and perfect, a provident, and pacifick Judgment*. And afterwards, in the *Council of Carthage* under *Aurelius*, about the Year of Christ, 419, whereat St. *Austin* himself was present, concerning the *Reception of the Donatists into the Church*, 'tis (*i*) decreed, *That the Donatist Clergy, on their Return to the Church, shall be received in their proper Honours*, or Degrees of Orders; *like as 'tis manifest, they have been received in* Africk, *in Times foregoing*. And *when any People, or Dioceses, are converted from Donatism, if*, at the Time of their Conversion, *they have Donatist Bishops*, who come over with them, (*k*) *without Controversie*, say they in another Canon, *they may have them still*.

BESIDES these famous Instances of opposite or Anti-bishops, the same may likewise appear of others.

FLAVIANUS, from a Presbyter of that Church, was set up as an Anti-bishop, and ordained at *Antioch* against *Paulinus*, who had for a good while lived a Bishop of the Orthodox in that Church, and *by Agreement with his Competitor* Meletius, *sworn to by* Flavianus *himself*, was to *hold it alone without any new Opposition, after* Meletius's *Death*. * Soc Hist. Eccl. l. 5. c. 5. p 262. This *Paulinus*, moreover, after the setting up of *Flavianus* against him, was *owned for the Bishop of Antioch*, not only by the *Bishops of Egypt*, of *Arabia*, and *Cyprus*; but also by the *Bishop of Rome* and the *Occidentals*, who *directed their Synodical Epistles to him, and none to* Flavianus, as is related by (*l*) *Socrates*, and (*m*) *Sozomen*. But yet, *Flavianus*'s Ordination was not judged null, the great *Chrysostom* himself having his *Priests Orders from him*, as may be learn'd from (*n*) *Palladius*; and, whilst he was one of his Presbyters, preaching such excellent *Homilies*, as we have of his to *the People of Antioch*. And without any Pretence of Nullity in his Ordination, on Account the Church was fill'd by *Paulinus* at the time thereof; after the Death of (*o*) *Paulinus*, and of his Successor *Euagrius*, without any new Ordination, he was *admitted to Communion*, both by the Bishops of *Alexandria* and *Rome* who had *rejected him* as a schismatical Bishop, whilst *Paulinus* and *Euagrius* were alive.

In the Succession of Bishops in the *Church of Rome* there have been numerous Ordinations of opposite or Anti-bishops, which have made no fewer, than twenty-seven Schisms. And some of them, of long Continuance, that, by the Ordination of *Clemens* seventh as an Anti-Bishop

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(*h*) Beati Melchiadis ultima prolata est sententia — paratus Communicatorias Literas mittere, etiam iis quos à Majorino ordinatos esse constaret: ita ut quibuscunque locis duo essent Episcopi, quos dissensio præmisisset, cum confirmari vellet, qui fuisset ordinatus prior; alteri autem eorum, plebs alia regenda videretur. O virum Optimum! O Filium Christianæ Pacis, & Patrem Christianæ Plebis! — Quam innocens, quam integra, quam provida atque pacifica Sententia! *August. Ep. Donatist. Episcopis Gloriosissimæ Provinciæ*, &c. *quæ est Ep.* 162. *Tom. Op.* 2 *p.* 72 *Ed. Froben. Anno* 569.

(*i*) Ἐνταῦθα ἰδίαις τιμαῖς ἀυτοὺς ἀναδιχθήναι καθὼς ἦν ἐν τοῖς προλαβοῦσιν χρόνοις, περὶ ἧς αὐτῆς διατάξεως γένεσθαι φανερόν ἐστιν, Conc. Carth. Can. 71. (*k*) Τοῦτο ἀναμφιβόλως ἔχειν ἀξιωθῶσιν, Can. 103.

(*l*) Lib. 5. cap. 10. pag. 269.

(*m*) Lib. 7. cap. 11. pag. 717.

(*n*) Vit. Chrysost. cap. 5. pag. 42.

(*o*) Theod. Hist. l. 5. c. 23. & Sozomen. l. 3 c. 3. & l. 7. c. 3. & l. 7. c. 15. & Soc. Hist. l. 5. c. 15. & Theoph. l. 12. c. 24.

against

againſt *Urban* ſixth, being reckoned to have laſted fifty Years. But neither (*p*) theſe Anti-Biſhops, nor thoſe ordained by them, have been thought to want the Powers of Orders, nor to make any Breach of the continued Series and Succeſſion. of apoſtolical Ordination, in that Church. Nor is it judged to do ſo, by our ſelves; we concluding our own to be a right and uninterrupted Succeſſion of Orders, and not diſowning it, in good Part at leaſt, to be derived from them,

In the *Arian Perſecution* of *Athanaſius* and the *orthodox Faith*, numerous were the unjuſt Deprivations of *orthodox Biſhops*; as of *Athanaſius* at *Alexandria*, *Paulus* at *Conſtantinople*, *Liberius* at *Rome*, *Aſclepas* at *Gaza*, *Lucius* at *Adrianople*, &c. Theſe Biſhops, being depoſed for their Adherence to the Truth, there was a Nullity in their Depriva-

‖ Part 2. Chap. 4.

tions, as I ſhewed ‖ before; and notwithſtanding thoſe Deprivations they ſtill us'd thoſe Churches, and were the true Biſhops thereof; and accordingly * were *communicated with* and *received as ſuch*, by the *Weſtern Synods*. And that, becauſe the Depoſitions were not really for other Faults, which were falſely fixed upon their Perſons; but for their holding the Nicene Faith, as the (*q*) Sufferers pleaded, and upon Examination, the (*r*) *Synods*, and the *Emperour* (*s*) *Conſtans*, found. But on their Depoſitions, Anti-Biſhops were ſet up againſt them, and obtruded on their ſeveral Churches: as *Gregory*, and afterwards *George* were, againſt *Athanaſius* at *Alexandria*; and *Euſebius of Nicomedia*, and after him *Macedonius*, were againſt *Paulus* at *Conſtantinople*; and *Felix*, againſt *Liberius* at *Rome*; and *Quintianus*, againſt *Aſclepas* at *Gaza*; not to mention others, in other Places. And yet theſe Anti-Biſhops, being for the moſt part *heretical*, as well as *ſchiſmatical* Biſhops, were not held to want the *Powers of Orders*, nor, if any of them left their Hereſies, and returned to the Faith of the Church, was there any new Ordination required of them, or of thoſe who had been ordained by them.

* Soz. l. 3. c. 8. & c. 11. & 12.

Besides all this, inſtead of Anti-Biſhops being abſolutely null, and in reality no Biſhops; to heal, and compoſe the Differences, of a miſerably haraſſed and divided Church, on ſuch Competitions it has been ſometimes agreed, that, whichſoever of them were the right, on the Death of either, the Survivour ſhould be owned, and the Church ſhould have no other Biſhop; and ſo all the Ordinations, and epiſcopal Acts therein, ſhould paſs through his Hands, and ſtand on his Authority whilſt he lived. Thus it was at *Antioch*, where *the Church was divided into two Parts, not for the Cauſe of the Faith*, which was common to them both; *but of the Biſhops*, as *Socrates* * ſays, ſome owning and adhering to *Meletius*, and others to *Paulinus*. For, to heal and cloſe this lamentable Schiſm, it was agreed, which † *Sozomen* calls an *admirable Council*, and Expedient, that, on *the Death of either*, *the Survivor ſhould hold the See alone for his Life*, without being confronted and oppoſed *by the Ordination of any other Perſon*. To prevent which, *an Oath was exacted of all of that Church, who ſeemed to ſtand faireſt for the Epiſcopate*, and of *Flavianus* among the reſt, *that on the Death of either of the Biſhops, they would not be ordain'd Biſhop of Antioch, whilſt the other*

* Hiſt. Eccl. l. 5. c. 9. p. 266.

† L. 7. c. 3. p. 706. & Soc. l. 5. c. 5 p. 261, 262.

(*p*) Biſhop *Bramhal* aſſerts the Ordination of an Anti-Pope to be as valid, as that of a true Pope. *his Defenſe of the Proteſt. Ordination*, p. Op. 1007.

(*q*) Soz. l. 3. c. 11. p. 511. and Soc. l. 2. c. 20. p. 101.

(*r*) Soz. l. 3. c. 12. and Julii Ep. ad Alexand. ap. Soc. l. 2. c. 23.

(*s*) Soz. l. 3. c. 10. and Soc. l. 2. c. 21.

ſurvivor

ſurvived. Which Agreement and Oath, being afterwards * broke by *Flavianus*, when, on the Death of *Meletius*, he was ordained Biſhop againſt *Paulinus*, coſt him ſo much Trouble and Difficulty, as he found to get himſelf received for the Biſhop thereof, both in *Egypt*, *Arabia*, and *Cyprus*, and at *Rome*, and among the *weſtern Biſhops*, afterwards.

* Soz. l. 7. c. 11. p. 717. & Soc. l. 5. c. 9. & 10

THUS, though Men in a Schiſm, did ill in ordaining others: yet were not thoſe Ordinations *null in themſelves*; but *really conferred the Powers of Orders*, which the Perſons might exerciſe if the Church pleaſed. And when once the Perſons were reconciled, and had ſatisfied the Church for their Schiſm, they have often been allowed to officiate in Virtue of that Ordination, without being ordained over again, by the greateſt Councils, and through the early and later Ages of the Church.

AND this ſhews, that their Ordinations were not null in themſelves. For if ſuch Perſons, had never received any ſpiritual Powers in their Ordinations, they had none to exerciſe. And had the Church been of this Perſwaſion, it would never have admitted them to exerciſe thoſe POWERS, which it believed were never conferred on them.

BUT though theſe Men, even after they had faln into a Schiſm, or others who were ordained therein, *had Orders*: yet was it in the Power of the Church, to deny them the *miniſterial Exerciſe of their Orders*. Men muſt have the *Communion of the Church*, as well as *Orders*, before they can *exerciſe their Orders*, and miniſter to the Faithful in any religious Aſſemblies. And though their Schiſm, doth not utterly deveſt, or exclude them from the Powers of Orders: yet it doth from the Communion of the Church, without which the Faithful, (who are not to ſeek, but to ſhun the Miniſtrations of Schiſmaticks, and excommunicate perſons) muſt not partake with them in any Exerciſe of Orders. And to this Communion, after once they have juſtly loſt, and faln from it, they are to be reſtored again in Degree more or leſs, and to be received into the Communion, either only of *Lay-members*, or elſe of Clergy, and to officiate according to their former Honours, as the Church pleaſeth.

AND as to this Admiſſion and Allowance, *to exerciſe their Orders in its Communion*, the Church has acted variouſly, according as it ſaw Cauſe. When Ordinations have been made againſt the Unity, though the Offenders thereby received Orders; yet, in Care of theſe Rules, and to aſſert and keep up Diſcipline, it has at ſome times denied, as well as at other times granted its Communion to them, for their Exerciſe of the ſame. Where it judged that Rigour expedient, to their Subjection, it would receive them, to communicate as Lay-men. But, they ſhould not be allow'd the Priviledges, nor permitted to act and officiate, as Biſhops and Prieſts, in her Communion; nor ſhould other Churches receive them, and join with them as ſuch, till moreover Satisfaction had been firſt given to thoſe Rules of Unity in Ordinations, which had been broken in theirs.

AND this it has done, not only in Caſe of this great Rule, of *not ordaining a Biſhop in a full Church*: but alſo in Caſe of other Rules which are of leſs Account, than it is. Thus, of *Ordination into a Church, already vacant*, if it is made *without the Metropolitane's Conſent*, the Council of *Nice*, and afterwards the Council of *Antioch* (r) *decree*, That

(r) —Τὸν πισ̃ον ··ὥριστ μὴ δεῖν ἄν ἐπίσκοπον, Con. Nic. 1. Can. 6. &. Concil. Antioch. Can. 19.

the Church ſhall not receive ſuch an one for a Biſhop. And of *Ordinations at large, without declaring the appropriate Church* or *Place*, wherein the Perſon ordained *is to officiate*; the Council of *Chalcedon* decrees, (s) *that they ſhall be invalid.* Not to mention or inſiſt alſo, on the *Council of Nice's* rejecting of the (t) *Anti-biſhops ordained by the ſchiſmatick* Meletius, (u) *till they were confirmed by a more holy Impoſition of Hands*, as their ſynodical Epiſtle ſays; becauſe there was an Incapacity more than ordinary for giving Orders, not only to Anti-biſhops, but to any others, in his Caſe; which, becauſe it may be of Uſe in this Argument, I ſhall give an Account of.

MELETIUS, was Biſhop of *Lycus* in *Egypt*, under the See of *Alexandria*; and, as *Epiphanius* * relates, was *next, in Dignity and Power* to *Peter* the Biſhop of *Alexandria* himſelf; and he, with his Adherents, broke off from the Unity of the Church, and *ſet up a Schiſm, ſeparating from Peter* the Biſhop of *Alexandria*, and (x) *aſſembling for Prayers, and other Divine Offices by themſelves*; and (y) *ordaining oppoſite Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, for the Erection of oppoſite Churches, in ſeveral Places*, as *Eleutheropolis, Gaza*, and *Ælia*, as *Epiphanius* ſays. And theſe ſeparate Erections of Churches, and oppoſite Ordinations, he made, *after he had been juſtly depoſed by* Peter *in a Synod*, (as we are aſſured by *Athanaſius* who had the beſt Opportunities, to underſtand the Truth of theſe Matters, and the moſt Cauſe to inquire into them, and alſo by *Socrates* afterwards.) And that too, (z) *among other Crimes, for his having faln in the Perſecution, to deny the Faith, and to ſacrifice to Idols.* Which Crimes, when any Biſhop or Clergy, were once convicted of by the great Rule of Church-diſcipline, they were never afterwards to exerciſe any clerical Powers, or to officiate as Biſhops and Clergy, but, upon their Reconciliation, were *to be received only to Lay-Communion.*

* Epiph. adv. Hæreſ. l. 2. Tom. 2. Hær. 68. c. 1.

AFTER ſuch Falls, ſays St *Cyprian*, *'tis in vain for any to ſeek to uſurp the Epiſcopacy; ſince 'tis manifeſt ſuch Men can neither preſide in the Church of Chriſt, nor ought to offer Sacrifice to God. Chiefly, ſince it has been decreed by* Cornelius, *and by Us, and by all the Biſhops of the whole World, concerning them, that after ſuch Offence, they may be* (a) *admitted to Penance, and the Peace of the Church, but muſt ſtand removed from the Honour of the Prieſthood and clerical Orders.* Accordingly, *Baſilides* the Biſhop, after he had *denied and curſed Chriſt*, was *very thankful*, as (b) he ſays, and *looked upon it as a great Favour to him, that he could be received to communicate as a Lay-man.* And likewiſe *Trophimus* the Biſhop, when he had *ſacrificed to Idols, was* (c) *admitted*, as he tells *Antonianus, only to communicate as a Lay-man, not to uſurp the Prieſtly Office any more, as ſome malicious Perſons had inform'd him*, which made

(s) Ἄκυρον ἔχειν τὴν τοιαύτην χειροθεσίαν, Concil. Chalced. Can. 6.

(t) Τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ χειροτονηθέντων.

(u) — Μυστικωτέρᾳ χειροτονίᾳ βεβαιωθέντας, Epiſt. Synod. Conc. Nic. ap. Soc. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 1. 9. p. 28. & Ap. Theod. l. 1. c. 9.

(x) — Οὗτοι καθ' ἰδίαν ἤυχοντο, καὶ ἔτοι καθ' ἰδίαν καὶ τὰς ἄλλας, &c. Epiph. ib. c. 3.

(y) — Καθίσα κληρικὺς, ἐπισκόπους, &c. Καὶ οἰκοδόμει ἐκκλησίας ἰδίας, &c. Ib. c. 3. vid. etiam Epiſt. Synod. Conc. Nic. 1.

(z) — Ἐπὶ σαλλαῖς ἐλεγχθέντα παρανομίαις καὶ θυσίᾳ, ἐν καινῇ συνόδῳ καθεῖλεν. Athan. Apol. ad Conſtant. pag. 777. Ed. Col. & Soc. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 1. c. 6. pag. 14. & Theod. l. 1. c. 9.

(a) — Decreverit ejuſmodi homines ad Pœnitentiam quidem agendam poſſe admitti, ab Ordinatione autem Cleri, atque Sacerdotali honore prohiberi, *Cyp. Ep.* 67. *p.* 174. *Ed. Ox.*

(b) — Satis gratulans, ſi ſibi, vel Laico communicare contingeret, *Id. Ep.* 67. *p.* 173.

(c) — Sic tamen admiſſus eſt *Trophimus*, ut Laicus communicet; non, ſecundum quod ad te per ignorum literæ pertulerunt, quaſi locum Sacerdotis uſurpet, *Cyp. Ep.* 55. *ad Antonian. p.* 106. *Ed. Ox.*

Antonian.

Antonianus complains of the ſame to *Cyprian*, as a Violation of this known Rule of Diſcipline. And in Vertue of this, being the known and received Rule of the Church, the *Donatiſts* ſought to invalidate and overthrow the *Ordination of Cæcilian*, againſt whom they had ſet up their Anti-biſhop *Majorinus* at *Carthage*: (*d*) pretending, that *Cæcilian*'s *Ordainers*, particularly *Fælix of Aptung*, had been *Traditors* in the preceeding Perſecution, or had faln from Chriſt, and deliver'd up their Bibles to be burnt by their Perſecutors. Which Charge, had it been true, as it was falſe; would have been received and owned for a juſt Exception, on both Sides. And the *Catholicks* would have rejected *Cæcilian*, till he could make out ſome better Ordination; as well as the *Council of Nice* did theſe *Egyptian Anti-biſhops*, that had no better Ordainer than *Meletius*, who ſtood guilty of the like Offence. But it was rejected in *Cæcilian*'s Caſe, as being a malicious Forgery, the *Donatiſts* thereby impudently laying their own Crimes on others, hoping that would hinder Men from inquiring after the ſame in themſelves.

INDEED, as *Epiphanius** relates this Matter, *Meletius* made this Schiſm, and ordained theſe Anti-biſhops, *not after he had ſacrificed to Idols*, and had been *ſynodically condemned* by *Peter* for the ſame; but whilſt he, as well as *Peter*, was a ſtout *Confeſſor for the Faith* againſt Idols, and *in his Zeal for the Diſcipline of the Church*, againſt *Peter's Eaſineſs in admitting the Lapſers*, who ſought to them, *whilſt they were together in Priſon*, for the *Peace of the Church*. But *Athanaſius*, who was nearer to this Tranſaction, and who, after ſome others, was choſen to ſucceed *Peter* in the ſame Church, is more like to underſtand the Truth of this Affair, than *Epiphanius* was. Whom (*e*) *Baronius*, and (*f*) *Petavius* look upon as miſlead into this Account, by ſome *falſe Acts* or Hiſtories of the *Meletians*, who dealt injuriouſly with *Peter* and the *Catholicks in Egypt*, like as the *Donatiſts* did with *Cæcilian* and thoſe *Catholicks in Africk*; on whom they labour'd to fix the Crime of *being Traditors*, whereof the Catholicks were free, but they themſelves were notoriouſly guilty.

* Epiph. adv. Hær. Hær. 68. c. 2, 3.

THUS, though their Orders were valid in themſelves, without which they could have been received at no time; yet have they not always availed to claim and obtain the Churches Communion, without which the Perſons could not be received by the Faithful to exerciſe the ſame. And this has been, when the Church ſaw fit and expedient, to inſiſt upon the Rules of Unity in Ordinations, and more vigorouſly to aſſert eccleſiaſtical Law and Diſcipline.

AND this, it might aſſert, or relax, as it ſaw Cauſe. Eccleſiaſtical Law and Diſcipline, is not a Rule of indiſpenſable Obligation to the Church; but ſuch as it may, and oft-times has receeded from, on great Reaſon and Neceſſity. What Rules the Church makes, the Church may alter and go off from in particular Caſes, as need ſhall require, and as may beſt ſerve thoſe Ends for which it made them.

ACCORDINGLY, Rules of Diſcipline, have not been one and the ſame in all Ages. For, to omit others, the ancient Councils aſſerted the (*g*) *Free Election of Biſhops*, (nominated here by the Prince,) *to the Biſhops of the Province*: And *forbid the* (*h*) *Tranſlation of Biſhops, from poorer*

(*d*) Optat. de Schiſ. Donat. l. 1. p 41, 42. Ed. Par. Alb.
(*e*) Baron. An. Tom. 3 p 11, 12, 13. ad An. 306.
(*f*) Petav. Animadv. in Epiphan. ad Hær. 68.
(*g*) Can. 4. Conc. Nic primi, & Can. 13 Conc. Carthag.
(*h*) Can. Ap. 14. & Conc. Nic. Can. 15. & Conc. Antioch Can. 21.

to richer Sees: And *the Attendance of Biſhops, about Courts of Princes*; the Council of (*i*) *Antioch*, confirmed afterwards at (*k*) *Chalcedon*, and in (*l*) *Trullo, forbidding them to go to the Emperor, without the Approbation and Letters of the Metropolitane.* And (*m*) *excluded both Biſhops and Clergy, from intermeddling, and incumbring themſelves, with ſecular Truſts and Adminiſtrations.* All which are otherwiſe in theſe latter Ages.

AND ſuch Rules of Diſcipline, as have been obſerved more ſtrictly, have not had one equal and uniform Tenour of Obſervation: but have been ſometimes remitted, and ſometimes exacted and ſtood upon, as the Church was driven thereto by prudential Reaſon. Thus it has been with the Canons or Rules of Diſcipline, about Ordinations. Which, as the Church has ſometimes inſiſted on, as I noted, to vacate the Ordinations, which any Biſhops made againſt them; I mean, to deny the Perſons its Communion, without which, whatever Powers of Orders they had received, they could not be received in any Aſſemblies of the Faithful, to exerciſe the ſame. So were they at other times relaxed and over-ruled by the Neceſſities of the Church, and the Perſons, on their Reconciliation, admitted to officiate in vertue of ſuch Orders, as I think may abundantly appear by the fore-cited Inſtances. And this very Reaſon is given for it, by the *African Fathers* in the *Synod of Carthage*, when they *admit of the Ordinations of the Donatiſts, which the tranſmarine or Italian Synod had rejected*: telling *Pope Anaſtaſius*, that *this Reception of them to the ſame Orders*, was *for the* (*n*) *great neceſſity of Africk*,—*for a* (*o*) *better Proviſion for catholick Unity*, and *for* (*p*) *the Benefit and Peace of the Church.*

THESE Inſtances and Proofs, I think may be ſufficient to ſhew, that Anti-biſhops, and others of their Ordination, have Orders; though, being in a Schiſm, the Faithful ought not to join with them in their Uſe thereof. Their Schiſm, makes them Sinners in receiving, and in uſing their Orders, and ſhuts out others from communicating therewith. But it doth not utterly deſtroy, and null their Orders; nor muſt it be ſaid, I conceive, that by ſuch ſinful Ordination they receive nothing; or, that whatever they had formerly received, they loſe by falling into Schiſm, ſo as that thenceforward they have no Orders, nor are Biſhops or Prieſts at all.

THE *Donatiſts* indeed, as St. *Auſtin* reports, aſſerted this, and taught that (*q*) *by breaking off from the Church, though Men did not loſe the Baptiſm which they had received before, yet they loſt their Orders, or the Authority and Power of Baptizing.* And on pretence thereof, they *re-baptized* thoſe, who, ſince the Breach, had been baptized by any of the catholick Clergy.

AS to which, he owns, that whilſt they continue in their Schiſm, they ſin in exerciſing their Orders. (*r*) *They do not right*, ſaith he, *in giving Baptiſm to others, whilſt they themſelves are broken off from the*

(*i*) Can. 11. (*k*) Conc. Chalced. 1.
(*l*) Conc. in Trullo Can. 2.
(*m*) Can. Ap. 6. & 81. & 83. & Conc. Conſtant. 1 & 2 Dict. Can. 11.
(*n*) Τὴν Αφεικῶν μεγάλην ἀνάγκην.
(*o*) Τῇ καθολικῇ ἑνότητι.
(*p*) Διὰ τῆς ἐκκλησίας εἰρήνην καὶ χρησιμότητα, Conc. Carth. Can. 71.
(*q*) Ipſi explicent quomodo Sacramentum baptizati non poſſit amitti, & Sacramentum ordinati poſſit amitti: quoniam dicunt, recedens ab Eccleſia Baptiſmum non amittit, jus dandi tamen amittit, *Aug. cont. Ep. Parmen. l.* 2. *c.* 13. *Tom. Op.* 7.
(*r*) —Non recte dat qui ab Unitate diſcedit.

Church

Church.—(s) And *it is to their own Deſtruction, ſo long as they have not the Charity of Union.*—(t) *The having Baptiſm themſelves, and conferring it on others, are both pernicious, whilſt they continue out of the Bond of Peace.*

BUT, though they ought not to uſe theſe Powers, till they have amended their Schiſm: yet, as he ſays, they have them if they will uſe them, and the Acts of Orders are not Nullities, which are done by them. (u) *There is no Queſtion now to be made,* ſaith he, *and it has been a Thing diſcuſſed, conſidered, and eſtabliſhed through the whole World, that they, who are broken off from the Unity of the Church, do for all that retain, both their Baptiſm, and their Orders or Power of Baptizing.* (x) —*When correcting the Error of their Schiſm, they are received to the Unity and Peace of the Church; if it ſeem needful, or expedient to have them bear their former Offices, their Prelates are not to be ordain'd again, but as their former Baptiſm, ſo their former Ordination remains intire in them. For their Fault lay in their Schiſm, which is corrected by their being ſettled anew in Peace of Unity: not in the holy Inſtitutions,* either of Baptiſm or Orders, *which whereſoever they are really, are of validity.* (y)——Yea, and *when on ſuch Reception to the Communion of the Church, it ſeems expedient not to admit them, to the Adminiſtration of their former Orders: yet even there,* adds he, *is not the Power of Orders withdrawn from them, but remains ſtill lodged in them. Which alſo may appear from hence, becauſe,* on their Reconciliation, *they are not made to ſtand among the Penitents, as other Offenders among the People are, and there to receive Penance, and Abſolution, by Impoſition of Hands: Which is omitted towards them, not becauſe it would be an Injury to their Perſons,* (Schiſm being as criminal, if not more criminal in them, than it is in others;) *but becauſe it would be an Injury to their Orders,* which Orders therefore muſt be ſtill inherent in them at that time to give them that Exemption. For no (z) *Perſon in holy Orders,* as Biſhops, Prieſts and Deacons, *was liable, or ever made to do Penance,* by the ancient Rules and Diſcipline of the Church.

AND before them, (a) St. *Cyprian* and the *Africanes* of his Age, together with *Firmilian* of *Cæſarea* in *Cappadocia,* carried the Effect of Schiſm ſo far, as *quite to ſet aſide all miniſterial Acts of Schiſmaticks.* And on that Account, they equally null'd, both their (b) *Ordinations,* and their *Baptiſms.* The Powers of *Baptizing,* and *Ordaining,* and of doing other miniſterial Acts, are *Powers of the Holy Ghoſt.* And *by Schiſm,*

(s) — Utrumque quidem ad perniciem ſuam, quamdiu Charitatem non habent Unitatis.

(t) — Queſtio nulla eſt, —quin pernicioſe habeant, pernicioſeque tradant extra vinculum Pacis.

(u) De iis, qui ab Eccleſiæ Unitate ſeparati ſunt, nulla jam quæſtio eſt, quin & habeant, & dare poſſint, & quin pernicioſe habeant, pernicioſeque tradant extra vinculum Pacis. Hoc enim jam in ipſa totius Orbis Unitate diſcuſſum, conſideratum, perfectum atque firmatum eſt.

(x) Siquando ex ipſa parte venientes etiam præpoſiti, pro bono pacis correcto Schiſmatis errore ſuſcepti ſunt; & ſi viſum eſt opus eſſe, ut eadem Officia gererent quæ gerebant, non ſunt rurſus ordinandi, ſed ſicut Baptiſma in iis, ita Ordinatio manſit integra: quia in Præciſione fuerit Vitium, quod in Unitatis pace correctum eſt; non in Sacramentis, quæ ubicunque ſunt, ipſa vera ſunt.

(y) —Et cum expedire hoc videatur Eccleſiæ, ut præpoſiti eorum venientes ad catholicam Societatem, honores ſuos ibi non adminiſtrent, non eis tamen ipſa Ordinationis Sacramenta detrahuntur, ſed manent ſuper eos. Ideoque non eis in populo manus imponitur, ne non homini, ſed ipſi Sacramento fiat injuria. *Aug. Ib. l.* 2. *c.* 13. *cont. Ep. Parmen.*

(z) Confirmatum eſt, ut ſiquando Presbyteri, vel Diaconi, in aliqua graviori culpa convicti fuerint, qua eos à miniſterio neceſſe fuerit removeri; non eis manus tanquam Pœnitentibus, vel tanquam Fidelibus Laicis imponatur, *Conc. Carth.* 5. *Can.* 11. *Tom.* 1. *Concil. p.* 734. *Ed. Bin.*

(a) Conc. Carth. ſub Cypr. Suffraglis 4. 16. 19. 48. 65. 76. ap. Cyp.

(b) Ib. ſuffrag. 4. & Ep. ad Steph. 72. p. 197.

in

in their Account, *the* (c) *Schiſmaticks fell from the Grace of the Holy Ghoſt; and, having loſt it themſelves, were no longer empowered to confer it on others, either in Baptiſm, or Ordination, being thenceforward, as to theſe Powers, as meer Lay-men,* as St *Baſil* recites their Opinion.

BUT this, St *Baſil* thinks, was a *ſtraining Things too far*; and *others of Aſia,* as he * ſays, *were altogether of another Opinion:* So, in his canonical Epiſtle, which was received into the *Code* of the univerſal Church by the † *ſixth Council in Trullo,* he admits thoſe miniſterial Acts and Baptiſms, when done by Biſhops, or by others of their Ordination, in a Schiſm.

* Can. 1.

† Can. 2.

YEA, and even *Cyprian* and thoſe *Africanes,* who were for nulling theſe Acts and Baptiſms of Schiſmaticks, ſeem to have been for this only in regard to their own Communion, or by denying Communion to them in their own Churches, in way of aſſerting Diſcipline and Canons; but not to have thought them naturally, and eſſentially null in themſelves. And this, I think, is plain from hence. Becauſe, though, in Care to keep up Diſcipline, they null'd theſe Acts as to their own Communion, in the Caſe of any of their own Members: Yet they declare, that if any other Churches admit them, *they will not break Communion with them, on account thereof.* (d) *We judge none, nor will exclude any from our Communion, who ſhall be of another Opinion,* ſays St *Cyprian* at the *Head of the Council of Carthage,* when they made this Determination. And again, in *another Council,* when they writ to *Stephen of Rome* to concur with them, in *rejecting,* (e) *not only the Baptiſm, but the Ordination of Men in Hereſie or Schiſm,* and *in receiving them, when they returned to the Church, only to Lay-communion:* They declare, that (f) *if any of their Brethren, who have imbibed another Opinion, are ſticking to their former Sentiments, they are not for forcing any, nor for breaking Communion with thoſe, who are for preſerving that Bond of Concord and Peace, which ought to be upheld in the College of Biſhops.* So that if any Perſons of ſuch Baptiſm, or Ordination, came to them with *communicatory Letters* from any other Biſhops; *they would admit them to all Acts, whether of lay,* or *clerical Communion,* in *Carthage* and *Africk,* which they had been *admitted to at home,* the *Denial* whereof, as I ſhewed * before, had been to *break Communion with other Churches,* which they diſclaim. And if they would admit them to communicate thus with them in their Churches, they could not think, either their Baptiſms or Ordinations null in themſelves. For the *Communion* profeſſed in the *Creed,* is a *Communion of Saints,* or *Chriſtians,* who are liſted or made *Chriſtians,* by *Baptiſm*; and *Clergy-men,* by *Ordination:* and there is no Admiſſion of un-baptized Perſons, to thoſe Acts which are proper to the Faithful; or of un-ordain'd Perſons, to thoſe Priviledges and Functions which are peculiar to the Clergy, in the Church of Chriſt.

* Ch. 2. Part 3.

(c) Οἱ δὲ ἀποῤῥαγέντες, λαικοὶ γινόμενοι, ὅτε τὸ βαπτίζειν, ὅτε τὸ χειροτονεῖν εἶχεν τὴν ἐξουσίαν, αὐτὴν ἀπολέσαντες χάριν πνεύματος ἁγίου ἑτέροις παρέχειν, ἧς αὐτοὶ ἐκπεπτώκασι, St Baſil. Canon. Ep. ad Amphiloch. Can. 1. vid. & Ep. Firmil. ap. Cyp. Ep. 75. p. 221. Ed. Ox.

(d) Neminem judicantes, aut à jure Communionis aliquem, ſi diverſum ſenſerit, amoventes. *Præloqu. St Cyp. in Synod Carthag. De Rebapt. Hæret. ap. Cyp. p.* 221, *& Cyp. ad Jubaianum. Ep.* 73. *p.* 210. *Ed. Ox.*

(e) Si qui Presbyteri, aut Diaconi —poſtmodum perfidi ac rebelles contra Eccleſiam ſteterint— & contra Altare unum — Sacrificia foris — offerre conati ſunt; eos quoque hac conditione recipi cum reverterentur, ut communicent Laici, & ſatis habeant quod admittantur ad Pacem, qui Hoſtes Pacis extiterint, *&c. Cyp. & cæteri Stephano Fratri, Ep* 72. *p.* 97.

(f) Scimus quoidam quod ſemel imbiberint nolle deponere, — ſed ſalvo inter Collegas pacis & concordiæ vinculo, — Qua in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus aut Legem damus, *Ib. p.* 197, 198.

BUT

BUT againſt all this it may be objected, that *there is to be but one Biſhop at once in a Church*, as (*g*) St *Cyprian* alledges, and as the *great Council of Nice* afterwards (*h*) provides: and that *the Biſhop in the Church, is the Principle of Unity.* And that the Admiſſion of the Ordination of Anti-biſhops, will be againſt the Nature of the *ſpiritual Monarchy*, the Nature of Monarchy not admitting of *two at once.* And, as the Throne can hold but one, ſo the Electors, where the Monarchy goes by Election, can chuſe but one: who being choſen, they can elect no more, nor can confer the ſame Powers on any other, till the Throne becomes vacant again.

BUT as to the Biſhop's being *the Principle of Unity*, that reſpects the Peoples Duty, of holding Communion with him; his being the Principle of Unity to the Church, binding the Church to depend on him, and incorporate under him, and to communicate with him. And as to this, the Members, who are already ſubject to a rightful Biſhop, are not to admit of a *ſecond* Biſhop. That is, if ſuch an one is ſet up, they are not to unite themſelves to him, and turn over to his Communion, as I think may ſufficiently appear, from what I have * above diſcourſed on that Point; but are to ſtand off from him, as from one that makes a Schiſm. And thus every Church as a ſpiritual Monarchy, is not to be poſſeſſed by two at once, ſince all muſt adhere to one: And though the ſecond, who is ſet up in oppoſition, be *a Biſhop*, yet he is not *their Biſhop*, nor may any of them break off from their rightful Head, to join in his Communion.

* Part 3. Chap. 16 & 5.

BUT though the Anti-biſhop in any Church, can not oblige or hold all the Members thereof to himſelf, as the *Principle of Unity*; yet may he have all, that is of the *Eſſence of Epiſcopacy.* For, to be an Head of Union in the Church, is not of the Eſſence of a Biſhop. It may be ſeparate from the epiſcopal Powers; as it is, in all Biſhops falling into Hereſie, or Schiſm. For they are no longer Heads of Union, ſince none are * bound to follow them, but all are to break Communion with them. But yet they are Biſhops ſtill, and do not thereby fall from the Powers of Ordination, nor, on their Re-union to the Church, need to be ordained again.

* Vid. Part 3. c. 4, 5.

'TIS true, one main Uſe of Epiſcopacy, is to be a *Means of Unity.* But, yet, it is not ſo for this Uſe, as to be null, or ceaſe when it miſſes, or fails thereof. Even as *Baptiſm*, or the *Euchariſt*, are for Unity: * *We being all baptized into one Body*; and being † *one Body*, as *partaking all of one Bread*, as the Apoſtle ſays. But yet, they do not always ceaſe, or fail of their Effects, when adminiſtred in Breach thereof: and Baptiſm, as was held by the ancient Church, and as we all hold now, is ſtill valid, though performed by Schiſmaticks. When they miſs of this, they have other Uſes. As the Sacraments, beſides keeping Unity among the Members, enter and ratifie the Covenant of Grace, And Epiſcopacy, beſides the Uſe, of keeping the Church one and unbroken, is for Adminiſtration of the Word, of Prayers, and Sacraments, and for Ordaining others to do the ſame. And though all theſe ought to be exerciſed in the Unity of the Church, and 'tis a great Sin when 'tis otherwiſe: yet ſuch ſinful Exerciſes, are no Nullities, as if the Perſons had no Powers, or as if the Adminiſtrations had no Effect at all.

* 1 Cor. xii, 13.

† 1 Cor. x. 17.

(*g*) Quiſquis poſt unum, qui ſolus eſſe debeat, *&c. Cypr. Epiſt.* 55. *pag.* 104.
(*h*) Ἵνα μὴ ἐν τῇ πόλει δύο ἐπίσκοποι ὦσιν, Conc. Nic. primi Can. 8.

IN

In the *State-monarchy*, I grant that the *Regal Powers*, and this Uſe of their being a *Principle of State-unity*, are more cloſely and conſtantly connected. And that, as he, who has the regal Powers, is the Principle of *State-union*: ſo he, who is no ſuch Principle, and to whom the People are not bound to unite, has truly no regal Authority or Powers. And in *elective Kingdoms*, if, whilſt the Throne is full, the Electors, (whoſe Power of chooſing is only in Vacancies,) pretend to chooſe another; they really confer no regal Power, nor make a King, but an Uſurper. This is, becauſe ſecular Powers, are more limitted to Territories and Precincts; and becauſe no King, can be a King at large, but muſt only be a King, of ſuch or ſuch a Place, or Countries.

But in the *ſpiritual Monarchy* 'tis otherwiſe. For the Collation, and Reception of the epiſcopal Powers, is not with preciſe Limitation to ſuch a particular Place or Dioceſs; but indefinite, or with reſpect to the Church at large. Or expreſſed, as it is in our *Form of Ordination*, *by receiving of the Holy Ghoſt for the Office of a Biſhop, for the Church of God.* Which makes any Perſon, not a meer local, but a catholick Biſhop; or one veſted with epiſcopal Powers, and under no Want of inherent Authority to exerciſe epiſcopal Acts, (if, as a conſcientious Lover of Unity, he be not otherwiſe reſtrained by Rules of maintaining Unity and Order,) in any Part of the World. The *firſt Biſhops*, being choſen from among the firſt Converts, were firſt veſted with Powers; and then by gathering more Proſelytes, were to get Subjects, and enlarge Territories, being *ordain'd Biſhops of thoſe*, (*i*) *who ſhould afterwards believe*, as St. *Clement* ſays. And the *holy Apoſtles*, who ſtood veſted with all the epiſcopal Powers, were not tyed to any Place; but, by Chriſt's Commiſſion, were left equally, and indefinitely, to the whole Church. And till the *great Council of Chalcedon*, which was held about the Year of Chriſt 451, Were the *Periodeutai* or *Circuitors*; *ſo called*, as (*k*) *Zonaras* obſerves, *becauſe they were to go about hither and thither, to keep the Faithful in their Duty, not having any fixt Place or Chair of their own.* At the *Synod* of *Laodicea*, about the Year of Chriſt 365, 'tis (*l*) left to theſe *Periodeutai*, to *ſupply the Want of fixt Biſhops*, in thoſe Places and *Countries*, that were thought conſiderable enough to have a Biſhop fixed among them. And afterwards, at the Time of the *Council of Chalcedon*, mention is again made of them. As of one (*m*) *Balentius*, *whom, being a ſcandalous Liver*, *Ibas* is accuſed in the Council, *to have ordained Presbyter and Periodeutes.* And of one (*n*) *Alexander*, who in the ſame Council, is ſtyled *the moſt Reverend Presbyter, and Periodeutes.*

This *great Council of Chalcedon*, indeed, (*o*) *forbids any Presbyter, or Deacon, to be ordain'd abſolutely*, or at large, *i. e. without having*

(*i*) Τῶν μελλόντων πιϛεύειν, Clem. Ro. Ep. 1. ad Cor. p. 89 Ed. Ox.

(*k*) Περιοδευται δὲ λέγονται, διὰ περέρχεσθαι ϗ καταρτίζειν τὰς πιϛὰς, μὴ ἔχοντες καθίδρυν οἰκείαν, Zon. in Can. 57 Concil. Laod.

(*l*) Vid. Concil. Laodic. Can. 57. & Zonar. in Can.

(*m*) Βαλέντιόν τινα — ἐχειροτόνησε πρεσβύτερον ϗ περιοδευτὴν, Concil. Chalced. Part 2. Act. 10. p. 82. Tom. Concil. Ed Bin.

(*n*) Λεγέτω ὁ παρὼν εὐλαβεϛάτος πρεσβύτερος ϗ περιοδευτὴς Ἀλέξανδρος, Ibid. Part 2. Act. 4. p 323.

(*o*) Μηδένα λελυμένως χειροτονεῖσθαι, μήτε πρεσβύτερον, μήτε διάκονον, μήλε &c. εἰ μὴ ἰδικῶς ἡ ἐκκλησία πόλεως, ἢ μαρτυρία, ἢ μονασηρίῳ, ὃ χειροτονούμενος ἐπικρατήσει, Conc. Chalced. Can. 6.

and

and *declaring the appropriate Place, or Seat, wherein he is to officiate*; and (*p*) *vacates the Ordinations, which ſhall be made otherwiſe.* And the ſame has been done ſince, by the Canons of other *Councils*, (*q*) *forbidding any to be ordain'd* ſine Titulo, *without a Title, to ſome certain Place or Benefice.*

BUT theſe local Limitations, or Appropriations of Place in giving Orders, come not in, for *the Neceſſity and Eſſence of Ordination.* And therefore ſome are excepted therein, and allowed ſtill to be ordain'd without them; whoſe Ordinations are notwithſtanding as valid, as theirs who are ordain'd with them. Thus *Fellows*, and *Chaplains of Colleges*; and *Maſters of Arts, who have been able to live five Years of themſelves in the Univerſities*, &c. are excepted by our (*r*) *own Canon*: and (*s*) *they who have Patrimony, and Proviſion of Maintenance of their own otherways*, are *excepted* by the Canon of the *Council of Lateran.* And if ſuch Limitation of Place, where of the Eſſence of Ordination; they could be but once placed, as they are once ordain'd, and not remove from Place to Place without a new Ordination. But they were brought in, for a prudent Proviſion, to keep the Clergy from being burthenſome; or to prevent more entring into Orders than are requiſite for the Churches Need, or can live upon its Maintenance, as appears by the *Canons* themſelves.

MOREOVER, Biſhops, when for this Purpoſe, and for Maintenance of Unity and Order, they are tyed up to Places in their Adminiſtrations; beſides the local Relation, of *Biſhops of ſuch a Place*, who are to have a more ſpecial Regard for their own proper Diviſion: they ſtand alſo, as I have * already ſhewed, under another Relation, of *catholick Biſhops*, or of *Biſhops of the Church at large*, who, as there is need of it, and as Occaſion is offered, are to have a general Inſpection and Regard too for all the reſt. (*t*) *The Collection of all Churches*, as St. *Cyprian* ſays, *is but one Epiſcopate; and thoſe many People, who are fed*, and inſpected *by ſo many Paſtors, make all but one Flock.* Whereof *particular Dividends* are ſo intruſted to every *ſingle Biſhop*, as to make them *ſtand obliged* and *accountable*, not only for their own *rata pars*, that is their *proper Share* or *Diviſion*; but. as *Partners in a Bond*, each of them *pro ſolido*, i. e. *for the whole Sum.*

* Part 3. c. 4.

THESE local Lmitations, and Appropriations of Precincts, to *have every Biſhop the Biſhop of ſome Place*, and to *have but one Biſhop at a time of a City* or *Place*, are great and neceſſary Rules, 'tis true, of Order and Unity. And all the paſtoral Powers, are moſt highly ſerved by having them to direct their Excerciſe; and would be mightily diſturbed, and hindred of their End, by the want thereof: So that they are conſcientiouſly, and carefully to be obſerved, and maintain'd in the Church.

BUT their Neceſſity, is for *Order* and *Unity*, not for the *Being of Epiſcopacy.* And when there are two Biſhops heading ſeparate Churches at once in a Place; that Duplicitly, muſt only prove one to be a Schiſmatick; but doth not prove him, as I think may ſufficiently appear

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(*p*) Ἄκυρον ἔχειν τὴν πεύτλω χειροθεσίαν. Ib.

(*q*) Concil. Lat. 3. c. 5. & Conc. Londin. Anno Dom. 1200. ap. Bin. Tom. 7. Conc. p. 788. & non. Eccleſ. Anglic. Can. 33.

(*r*) Can. 33. Eccl. Anglic.

(*s*) Niſi forte talis, qui ordinatur, exciterit, qui de ſua, vel paterna Hæreditate, ſubſidium Vitæ poſſit præbere, *Concil. Lat.* 3. *cap.* 5 *p.* 658. *Tom.* 7. *Concil. Ed. Bin. Pariſ.* 1636.

(*t*) Etſi Paſtores multi ſumus, unum tamen Gregem paſcimus. *Cyp. Ep.* 68. *p.* 178. Epiſcopatus unus eſt, cujus a ſingulis in ſolidum pars tenetur. *De Unitate Eccleſ. p.* 180. *Ed. Ox.*

from what has been here diſcourſed, to be no Biſhop. Nay, while this Separation of Churches could be without the Guilt of Schiſm, as it was in the firſt ſtanding off of the *Jews* from the *Gentile* Converts, and as the bleſſed Apoſtles themſelves allow'd it ſhould be for a time, till the *Jews* could be brought to ſee the *Lawfulneſs of communicating with Gentiles*, which was contrary to all their former received Opinions: I ſay, whilſt ſuch Separation was to be tolerated without Imputation of Schiſm, to ſuit the Neceſſity of the Church during their Prejudices, 'tis very likely there were two Biſhops ſet up in the ſame Place by the holy Apoſtles themſelves. Thus, in the City of *Rome*, 'tis probable, that at firſt there were at once *two Churches*, one of *Jews*, and the other of *Gentiles*, gather'd there by the two great Apoſtles, St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*. *Epiphanius* ſays of both theſe Apoſtles, that *at Rome, they were (u) both the firſt Apoſtles, and the firſt Biſhops*. And ſets down the Biſhops in the firſt Succeſſion of that Church, double. Of the *Roman Biſhops, this*, † ſays he, *is the Succeſſion, Peter and Paul, Linus and Cletus*, (x) *Clemens, Evariſtus, Alexander, Xyſtus*, and ſo on, And this is thought to be the beſt Reconciliation of thoſe various Accounts, of the firſt Succeſſors to the Holy Apoſtles, in that Church. And the like may reaſonably be thought of other Churches, where *Jews* and *Gentiles* lived intermixed: *Epiphanius* noting it as a *Thing extraordinary* and *unuſual* in the *Church of Alexandria*, (which was a Place much inhabited and reſorted to by the † *Jews*, and where the *(y) firſt Church* was planted by St. *Mark*, who was made Biſhop thereof by St. *Peter* the *Apoſtle of the Jews*,) (z) *that it had never at any Time had two Biſhops in the ſame City at once, like other Cities*. So that, what the *having of two Biſhops in the ſame City at once*, ſtrikes at, is the Duty of Church-Unity. But where it could be tolerated without Imputation of Schiſm, and was not deſtructive of the required Unity, (as it was not in thoſe firſt Beginnings of the Church, when God was pleaſed for a Time to tolerate the former Separation between *Jews* and *Gentiles*, till the *Jews* had out-grown their Prejudices againſt *Communion with Gentiles*,) it was not deſtructive off, or inconſiſtent with the Being of Epiſcopacy.

† Ib.

†Act. vi. 9.

THUS, is not the oppoſite or *Anti-biſhops Ordination*, but only his *Communion* excluded, by *having but one Biſhop in a Church at a Time*, and by *the rightful Biſhops being the Principle of Church-Union*. Becauſe another is their rightful Biſhop, he can not be the Biſhop of that Place or Dioceſs, ſince they cannot have two Biſhops at once. And becauſe that other is their Principle of Union, they are not to communicate with him, as I have ſhewn at large in the preceeding Chapters. But though he is not *their Biſhop*, nor is to have the Communion of the Faithful by Reaſon of his Schiſm; yet he may be *a Biſhop*, and have the Powers of Orders, by Impoſition of epiſcopal Hands in his own Ordination. So that among ſuch Anti-biſhops and their Adherents we are to lament the Loſs of Unity and Church-Communion: but not of all Orders and Baptiſms, as if by ſuch Schiſm, they were rendered utterly uncapable, either to baptize or ordain, and ſo were like to have neither Prieſthood nor Chriſtianity left among them.

(u) Πρῶτοι ὁι Ἀπόστολοι αὐτοι καὶ ἐπισκόποι Epiph. Hær. 27. Sect. 6.

(x) Here *Clemens* is the firſt who is ſet ſingle, under whom, I ſuppoſe, was the Union of both Churches: who, on this Score, is made the firſt Biſhop in ſome Reckonings, *viz.* as being the firſt over both Churches ſo united.

(y) Euſeb. Hiſt. Eccl. l. 2. c. 16. & Niceph. Cal. l. 2. c. 42. & c. 35.

(z) Οὐ γὰρ πολε ἡ Αλεξάνδρεια δύο ἐπισκόπους ἔσχεν, ὡς αἱ ἄλλαι πόλεις, Epiph. Hær. 68. Nu. 5.

CHA

CHAP. VII.

Of the Excuſeableneſs of the Peoples receiving Miniſterial Offices from Men in a Schiſm, rather than live without any at all.

BUT under ſuch Diviſions, the rightful Biſhops and Clergy, ſuppoſing the Suerffers to be in the right, may be too few to give eneral Opportunities, for all thoſe good Chriſtian who would keep o them, to communicate in miniſterial Offices. And in vaſt Numbers f Places, for the *People* to ſhun Communion with the Clergy adhering o the Anti-Biſhops, or taking part with them, will be to have no Communion at all in any miniſterial Offices, ſince they can not have hem from any others. I do not ſay it will be ſo with the Clergy hemſelves, whoſe Part and Place being to afford miniſterial Offices, ey need not want them unleſs they pleaſe: and if they can have any, hough but *one* or *two* to joyn with them therein, they may miniſter n an *holy Aſſembly*, who have *Chriſt in the midſt of them*, as * he him- * Matth. elf ſays. But though they will not fall under this Neceſſity, nor have xviii. 20. uch Ground to plead the Favour of this Caſe; yet the People often nay. And ſuppoſing the Schiſm, what is to be done by the People n this Caſe? If they are careful to ſhun theſe miniſterial Offices from he Hands of Schiſmaticks, *in Places where they can have them from o-hers*; may they not, without Imputation of overlooking the Criminalneſs f Schiſm, *have Recourſe to them as a Make-ſhift*, eſpecially if they *pro-eſs* and *give out* that they do it only on that Account, *where they can ave none elſe*, or *rather than live without any at all?*

I hope, (a) *they may*, and that the *Neceſſity of having publick Worſhip nd miniſterial Offices*, will *excuſe the Faultineſs* and *Obliquity* of having at the Hands of *one communicating in a Schiſm*, or *out of the Unity f the Church.*

IN Neceſſity, and for a Make-ſhift rather than have them go off without Baptiſm, St. *Auſtin* allows Men to ſeek it from a Schiſmatick. *Nam ſi quem forte coegerit extrema Neceſſitas, ubi Catholicum per quem accipiat non invenerit, & animo Pace catholica cuſtodita, per aliquem extra nitatem poſitum acceperit, quod erat in ipſa Catholica unitate accepturus, ſtatim etiam de hac Vita migraverit, ſi eum niſi Catholicum reputamus*— nd if *nunquam corde diſceſſit, non ſolum non improbamus quod fecit, ſed ecuriſſime veriſſimeque laudamus.* Aug. de. Bap. l. 1. c. 2. p. p. 375. om. 7. Thus fully doth he ſpeak, of the Lawfulneſs of this great ct of Communion, *viz.* receiving the holy Sacrament of Baptiſm at heir Hands, when they can have it at no others. Tho' at the ſame ime he mightily condemns the ſame *cum in ipſa Catholica poſſit acci-ere*, where Men may have theſe Offices in the Unity of the Church, ut notwithſtanding will go to fetch them from ſchiſmatical Mini-tration. *ib.*

To perſwade this I obſerve, that *Schiſm is breaking the one Body into arties* or *making Sedition in the Church.* And the Spirit of Schiſm, r the Malignity of having to do with a Sedition or Party, is as it is

(a) See Dr *Hammond's* Pract. Catech. l. 2. Sect 1. on the *Beatitude o Meekne s.*

an Owning or Eſpouſal thereof, and that *in Oppoſition to the true Body*. But when in meer neceſſity, Men, who live among them, have to do with ſuch, and profeſs they take up with them only becauſe they are in want of others, whom, as they ought, ſo they gladly would aſſociate and join with; ſuch profeſs'd ſerving of their own neceſſity, and diſapproving of the others Party, is not to own and eſpouſe them. And much leſs is it to take their Part, and ſtand by them againſt the true Body: ſince this coming near them at all, is only for want thereof; and before they appear to oppoſe the Right, they ſhould be put into the Opportunity of ſiding and cloſing with it. So that where they can have no Aſſemblies for right Communion, the making a ſhift with the other for that time, ſpeaks no Oppoſition againſt them.

I grant, to ſtand quite off from them, and to have no Communion or Correſpondence with them in their ſeparate Ways, is the cleareſt diſclaiming of any Schiſm, or Sedition. And this, as it may be paid ſo is more reaſonably exacted, under the Settlement of a right Government. But under others, when the diſobedient have got all into their Hands, and make the Number in all Places, this Way of diſclaiming by *refuſing all Communion and Correſpondence*, admits of ſome Relaxations and Abatements. It doth ſo plainly in the *civil State*, where ſome Dealings and Correſpondence of the Dutiful and well Affected with the Rebels, which would have been ſentenced as Rebellion in better Times will not then be reputed rebellious. And under like Prevalence of Schiſms, which leave no Opportunities of communicating with any elſe, I think ſuch Abatements may alſo find Place in the Church too. Eſpecially, conſidering the Neceſſity of *publick Communion* and *Church Aſſemblies*, the great Defectiveneſs and Scarcities whereof had almoſt dropped and loſt Religion in the *Patriarchical Age*. And alſo conſidering the Neceſſity, which our Religion in particular lays upon *Communion*, *the Communion of Saints* being one of the Things profeſſed in *the Creed*; which may make it more reaſonable to preſume ſuch Abatements in favour thereof, when there is no Opportunity of miniſterial Offices by any others, to communicate with.

BUT that the *Neceſſity of having ſome miniſterial Communion*, will be an *Excuſe in ſuch Caſe for the Faultineſs of having this at the Hands of one miniſtring in a Schiſm, when it can not be had from others*; ſeems reaſonable to me, from conſidering *the Nature and Importance of Things*, and *the Abatements God himſelf has been willing to make on ſuch Neceſſity, with other like Duties*; and I think it was ſo *held and practiſed by the Church and People of God, when they could have no miniſterial Offices but from Schiſmaticks*, and alſo *to give Relief in ſome other compaſſionable Caſes about Communion*, which have only *like Plea for Abatements*, as this Caſe has.

1. AS to the *Nature and Importance of the Things themſelves*, *publick Worſhip*, or *Communion in miniſterial Offices*, is a Duty more of *natural* and *eſſential Obligation*; to pay ſuch publick Worſhip, being naturally incumbent on all Men. And withal, it is ſo *important in it ſelf*. For Communion in miniſterial Offices, or in common and publick Worſhip, muſt both declare, or teſtifie the Senſe, which Mankind have of their common or publick Lord; and alſo ſuſtain, or bear it up in the World. It is the Way for God, who moſt juſtly claims and expects the Worſhip and Service of all his reaſonable Creatures, not to be left without Witneſs, but even in a degenerate and rebellious World, to have ſome always viſibly ſtanding by him, and paying him his due Honour and Homage. It is alſo the Way for him, to preſerve alive a Senſe thereof among all his other Subjects and Children, whom he, as a common Lord

and

and Father, is concerned continually to make acquainted therewith, and to try with the Power and Influences thereof.

For by this means, he sets forth his Worship and Truths, as *a Light, to shine out* to all that are in Darkness; and sets this *Light upon a Candle-stick*, or collects the Bearers thereof into a Body or *City*; and places *this City upon an Hill*, as our Saviour * says, to make it conspicuous, and that it may force it self upon the Observation of all, who are at a distance. And if any are willing, to pay this Almighty Lord, his due Honour, and Homage; it will train them up daily, in the Knowledge, and Observance thereof. If they are unwilling, and averse thereto; it will serve to make them willing by Degrees. For such daily Representation, of God's publick Worship and Homage before their Eyes, will be a daily Reproof of their ungodly Violations, or Neglects thereof; and make them uneasie therein, and by Degrees awaken, and stir up those natural and innate Seeds of Truth and Piety, which God has planted in all Men's Souls, though, under such Neglects or irreligious Ways, they lie dormant, and seem as if they were buried, or almost quite lost, in Theirs. Or, if after all, they shall obstinately shut their Eyes against this Light so shining out upon them, and persist in their Wickedness and Irreligion; it will clear the Justice of an injured God, when he comes to punish them for the same, and leave them wholly without Excuse.

* Mat. v. 14, 15, 16.

Yea, this publick Worship is necessary, at least as to a great Part of Men, or as to the keeping them up in any considerable Numbers, to keep up Religion and Devotion, not only among others, but in their own Breasts. For Devotion is to be upheld and improved in our Spirits, by Exercise: which, as they have Provisions for, and are call'd to; so all devout People are careful to comply withal, on the constant Returns of these Opportunities. But though we need to use this Exercise to keep it on, we need use none at all to wear it off our Minds, which by meer Neglect thereof, will sink into Forgetfulness of what is good, and into Sloth and Indevotion, of themselves. Their Progress therein, is like that of heavy Weights up-hill, which need a constant Hand to raise and carry them on, but, when that is once off, have enough in their own Weight to make them roul down again. And this, all may find by their own Experience, Men's pious Affection, as any heedful Observer will soon perceive; unavoidably decaying, and going back for want thereof. Which makes devout Minds, justly to dread the want of such Opportunities for ministerial Offices, as a starving of their religious Affections. And for this Reason among others, St. *Paul* is earnest in pressing Attendance on *religious Assemblies*, and cautions them against *forsaking* the same, because that would endanger the Loss of Religion it self. *Not forsaking the assembling of your selves together, as the manner of some is*, saith he, to the *persecuted Hebrews*, when he labours to fix them *in holding fast the Christian Profession without wavering*, and to guard them against such Things, as would most dispose them to *draw back*, and apostatize from it, *Heb.* x. 23, 25, 26, 39.

And for these and such like Reasons, publick Worship is of so great Account in God's Sight, that he has *framed much of our Holy Religion*, with a particular Eye to it; and *instituted several great*, and *most important Things, for the sake of it*. Such is the *Church* it self, which is instituted for joynt and publick Worship. The Society thereby introduced among us, is to associate us in the common Worship of that God, whom we all confess: and the Fellowship arising thence, is to make us all Fellow-worshippers. Such also is the *Ministry*, which God has appointed for his publick Service, or to minister unto him, either as his Mouth unto his People, or as their Mouth unto Himself, in publick

Assemblies

Aſſemblies or Congregations. Such likewiſe are thoſe *ſet* and *ſolemn Times for Worſhip*, which he has inſtituted both among *Jews* and *Chriſtians*, and which are all deſign'd for publick Worſhip in Joynt-Aſſemblies. Yea, even *our Prayers*, which are the *Acts of Worſhip*, expreſs Communion and Joint-ſociety, being put up according to his Appointment in the *plural Number*; he having taught us to ſay, *Our Father which art in Heaven*, and *give us this day*, &c. which ſpeaks the Communion and Concurrence of more beſides our ſelves. And the *Holy Sacraments*, thoſe moſt eminent Acts and Inſtances of Worſhip, are ordained for *Acts of Society* and *Partnerſhip*, or of *Communion* therein. * *We are all Baptized into one Body.* And † *We, being many, are one Bread and one Body.* And ‖ *The Bread which we break, is the Communion of the Body of Chriſt; and the Cup of Bleſſing which we bleſs, is the Communion of the Blood of Chriſt*, as St. *Paul* ſays. And becauſe by their Inſtitution, they are not only to be Acts of Worſhip, but of publick Worſhip, or of Joynt-concurrence or Communion therein; therefore doth * our Church allow no Sacrament even *to the Sick, without three, or two at the leaſt*, to make a Congregation; and condemns the *private* and *ſolitary Maſſes of the Church of Rome*, which are eaten by the *Prieſt alone*.

* 1 Cor. x. 13.
† 1 Cor. x. 17.
‖ v. 16.

* Rubr. in Commun. of the Sick.

SUCH is the *natural Obligation*, and ſuch the *Neceſſity* and *Importance of publick Worſhip*, which is one of the greateſt viſible Supports of Religion, without which 'tis to be feared it would ſink, and be in danger to fail in the Earth.

WHEREAS the Paying of this Worſhip in Church-Unity and Dependance on a Biſhop, though it be a Duty too, yet is a Duty more of poſitive Obligation. For to have Biſhops, and to pay all our publick Worſhip in Communion with them, is no natural Duty, which always was incumbent on all Men; but came in with Chriſtianity, by poſitive Inſtitution, or particular Revelation. And beſides, though important in it ſelf, yet, in Compariſon, it is of leſs Importance, not only the *natural* Parts of the Miniſtration, but the *poſitive* too, as the *holy Sacraments*, &c. being, I conceive, of more Weight. And though the Want of this Union under our own Biſhops, by the oppoſite Paſſions and angry Tempers which Schiſm introduces, do greatly eat out true Devotion; yet doth it not make ſo wide a Breach and Waſte therein, as the Want of any miniſterial Offices at all would do.

NOW in any Competition of Duties, the Rule is, that *Things of poſitive Obligation, ſhall give way to Things of natural Obligation*; and *Poſitives of leſs Importance, to Poſitives of more Importance*; *in thoſe Caſes, and Times, where we can not do both.* The Natural there, takes Place of the Poſitive; and the greater, ſets aſide the leſs. Particularly, as to the *keeping up Religion*, and *Church-unity and Aſſociation*, if in any Caſe we can not maintain both, but a Competition happens to ariſe between them; the *Care of Church-unity*, muſt give way to the *Care of Religion*. We muſt look then to keep up as much Church-unity, as we may do in keeping up Religion, which being once loſt, Church-unity and Aſſociation ſignifies nothing. And not begin the other way, to content our ſelves with keeping up ſo much of Chriſtian Religion, as we may do in ſtrict Obſervance of the Rules of Church-ſociety and Union. For Chriſt's firſt and chief Deſign, was to plant and preſerve the Religion. And that Church-unity, which is either valuable, or deſireable in the ſight of God, is Church-unity with true Religion, not Church-unity without it: and we are tied to keep up Church-union for Religion's, not Religion, for Unions's ſake, as I ſhewed * before. And therefore the Duty and Obligation to communicate in ſome miniſteriel Offices, will be a fair

* Part. 3. Chap. 4.

Excuſe

Excuse for doing this out of the way of Church-unity or Dependance on our own Bishops, when both can not have Place.

And thus I think the Scripture determines in such Cases, and that,

2. THESE *Abatements, are what God himself has been willing to make on such Necessity, in other Duties.* He has not required, that Men should stick so fast to those Duties, or Parts of Duty, which are inferior, or subservient, or Appendages unto others; as that for their sakes, they should drop other Duties, which are principal or superiour to them: nor is he willing, that in Care of preserving their Practice of lesser Vertues inviolable, they should at any time let the weightier fall. So that to think he will abate, and relax something of the *Duty of Church-union*, when that is necessary to keep on the more *important Duty of publick Ministration*; and that he doth not tye the People up to such strict Care of communicating in the Unity of the Church, as must drop and let fall all Communion in ministerial Offices, when they are not to be had, but at the Hands of those who minister in Breach thereof: is only o think, that he is ready to make the same equitable Allowance, on any Competition in these, as he doth on like Competitions in other Duties.

AND that Almighty God is willing to make these Abatements on such Necessity and Competitions, I conceive may sufficiently appear by the following Instances.

CIRCUMCISION, and *Sacrifice*, and the *Sabbath*, are all positive Duties. But *Circumcision* and *Sacrifice*, being of more importance, they were to take place of the *Sabbath*; and whensoever it so fell out, that they could not observe both, Men might be excused in breaking the *Sabbath Rest*, * *to labour in Circumcision*, as they did whensoever the *eighth Day* of the Child's Age, which was appointed for his Circumcision, fell to be on the *Sabbath Day*; or in *Sacrifices*, with the Labour whereof, † *the Priests in the Temple continually prophaned the Sabbath, and were blameless*, as our Lord determines. And God himself declares, ‖ *I will have Mercy before Sacrifice*: which imports, according to our * Lord's Allegations and Applications of it, that Men should drop the Duty of Sacrifice to attend the Duty of Mercy, when, for the time, they must let one fall, and could not pay both. So, making the Necessity of performing natural Duties, an Excuse for the Omission of positive; and the Necessity of performing more important Duties, an Excuse for the Omission of less important, when there is a Necessity of letting one fall.

* Jo. vii. 22, 23.
† Mat. xii. 5.
‖ Hos. vi. 6.
* Mat. ix. 13. & c. xii. 7.

THUS also it was a positive Duty, and Rule among the *Jews*, that the *Priests should kill the Sacrifice*, accordiug to what is said in † the Law, *Lev.* i. 4, 5. The People, who brought it, as it is there order'd, were *to lay their Hands upon the Head of the Sacrifice.* But *it was left to the Priests to kill it*, as *Josephus* ‖ relates. Whence the Priests were able to give the Number of the Paschal Sacrifices at any Passover, as they did to (*b*) *Cestius Gallus*, as the same Author testifies. And this, is the Account of the (*c*) *Jewish Doctors.* But under (*d*) *Hezekiah*, when, by reason of the great and general Defection, which had been in the Days of his *Father Ahaz*, *the Priests, who had sanctified themselves*,

† 2 Chro. xxix. 24.
‖ Antiqu. l. 9. c. 13.

(*b*) Joseph. de Bello Jud. l. 7. c. 17.
(*c*) Vid. Episcop. instit. l. 3. c. 3. p. 74. & Grot. Annot. in Mat xxvi. 18.
(*d*) 2 Chron. xviii. 23, 24, 25.

were

were too few, as the Text ſays, *to ſlay all the Burnt-offerings*; rather than any of the Sacrifices ſhould drop, their *Brethren the Levites* ſlew them, and *helped the Prieſts therein till the Work was ended, and till the other Prieſts had* performed their legal Cleanſings, or *ſanctified themſelves*, 2 Chron. xxix. 34. And the ſame, on a like want of the regular and appropriate Miniſters, to have Recourſe to for this Miniſtration, was done again, 2 Chron. xxx. 17.

AGAIN, it was a poſitive Duty and Rule, that the legally unclean as *Lepers*, or *they who had touched dead Bodies*, or any Perſons, either Men or Women, under any Accidents or Things which their Law judged *Uncleanneſs, ſhould not eat of the Paſſover, or other holy Things*, Lev. xv. 31. & c. xxii. 3, 5, 6. & *Numb.* ix. 6. But yet, rather than loſe the *Paſſover*, at a time when there was the greateſt Reaſon for them to partake therein, they were allowed to let fall this legal Rite, and the legally Unclean were admitted under *Hezekiah*. When he came to the Throne, his firſt and chief Care, was to ſet up a Reformation of Religion, which had ſuffered ſo exceedingly in *Achaz's* Reign. And in purſuit thereof, he calls, not only *Judah*, but alſo *Iſrael, to the keeping of his* firſt *Paſſover, at the Houſe of the Lord at Jeruſalem*, which he had *cleanſed* and reſtored from the *Pollution of Idols*, to the Worſhip and *Service of the true God*, 2 Chron. xxx. 1. And when, upon *his Letters*, not only they of *Judah*, but ſeveral alſo of *Iſrael* were come; that he might not baulk the Beginning of the Reformation, nor the People loſe the End of their coming, eſpecially they of *Iſrael*, viz. out of *Ephraim, Manaſſe, Iſſachar, and Zebulon*, who had never been there before * *ſince the Days of Solomon*; they were admitted to eat in their legal Uncleanneſs without legal Cleanſings, rather than go without *the Paſſover*, tho' this was *to eat it otherwiſe than it was written*, 2 Chron. xxx. 18, 19. And in ſo doing, 'tis ſaid *God accepted them*, *v.* 20.

* Ver. 26.

THE like I may obſerve of the *Chriſtian Paſſover*, or of our *holy Euchariſt*. This, by a poſitive Rule among us, or by our Bleſſed Saviour's * *Commanaments*, and *Inſtitution*, is to be adminiſtered in *Wine*. And 'tis not lawful to conſecrate, or adminiſter the ſame in any other Liquor but Wine, or the Juice of the Grape, after it is perfected and purged by Fermentation. But this poſitive Duty, of *Doing it in Wine*, ſeems to be meant ſtrictly, only whilſt Wine can be had, wherewith to keep up this holy Adminiſtration; and with Allowance to thoſe Chriſtians and Countries, who have no Wine, rather than live without the *Bleſſed Euchariſt*, to adminiſter it in ſome other Liquor, which comes as near it, and is made as like to it, as they can. And *Julius* Biſhop of *Rome*, directed (*e*) *Egyptian Biſhops, that in Caſe of Neceſſity*, where they could not have them for this purpoſe, *they ſhould ſqueeze a Cluſter of Grapes into the Chalice, and mixing ſome Water therewith, uſe it inſtead thereof.* And like to this, is done at this Day, by the *Chriſtians of Habaſſina* (that large and potent Chriſtian Kingdom in *Africk*) who, (*f*) tho' they *have good Grapes*, yet through *the Heat of their Climate*, or other Cauſes, *can make no Wine thereof*; and alſo by the *Coptites in Egypt*, and by the *Chriſtians of St.* Thomas *in* India; *who*,

*Mat. xxvi. 27, 29. Luke xxii. 19, 20. 1 Cor. xi. 25.

(*e*) —*Nam quod de expreſſo Botro, id eſt de uvarum granis, Populus communicatur, valde eſt omnino confuſum: ſed ſi neceſſe ſit, botrus in Calice comprimatur, & aqua miſceatur.* Julius Papa Epiſcopis per Egyptum. Decreti Tert. Part. de Conſecratione, Diſtinct. 2. cap. 7. De his qui Sacrificando varie errabant.

(*f*) Ludolf. Hiſt. Æthiop. l. 1. c. 9. Nu. 19. & Com. ad Hiſt. Æthiop. p. 139. Nu. 71.

for

for want of true Wine, all use Water infused on Raisins, and squeezed from them, as we are told by (g) those, who have given the best Accounts of those Places.

3. THUS *the People and Church of God have held, and practised, under the greatest Schisms of former times.*

1. IT did so, I conceive, *in the Schism of the Kingdom of Israel, or of the ten Tribes.* The good People among them, were not without Sacrifices, and ministerial Offices, to be had in their *Synagogues* and *High Places*, as well as at *Jeroboam*'s *Calves.* And the Worship of the true God, must needs have failed, much more, and much sooner in *Israel*, than it did, had it been otherwise.

IN some Persecutions, indeed, raised against the Worshippers of the true God, there were none left to minister to them. As it was in *Jezabel*'s Persecution, when *she cut off the Prophets of the Lord*, and when those *Hundred Prophets*, whom good *Obadiah* saved, were *all hid*, and kept secret *in two Caves*, 1 King. xviii. 4, 13. So that *Elijah* knew of none, who went about affording any religious Ministrations, but himself; and accordingly tells God, that of *all his Prophets, he was left alone*, 1 King. xix. 10, 14. And then, the *Seven Thousand Souls*, who, as God tells the Prophet, *had not bowed the Knee to Baal*, but kept true to him all that time, *ver.* 18. could not resort to ministerial Offices, because they were not in the way of those, who could afford them. Or, sometimes, when *the Kingdoms were not at Wars*, and when *that would be connived at*, notwithstanding the *Order of the Kingdom of Israel* to the contrary, made at *first* by * *Jeroboam*'s *wicked Policy*; they might go up now and then, to the *Temple at Jerusalem.* As *Tobit*, who lived under such Failure of true Worship and Ministrations, † says *he did at the Feasts*, carrying his *First Fruits and Tenths with him, to give to the Sons of Aaron:* Though in this going up, he says *he was alone*, when *all the Tribes, and the House of his Father, sacrificed to Baal*, before they were *led away Captive* by the *Assyrians.*

* 1 King. xii. 26, 27, 28.

† Tob. i. 4, 5, 6, 7.

BUT that Way of keeping up Religion, and the Worship of the true God, in those *ten Tribes*, which was ~~both~~ *general*, to the Body of good People among them; and *constant*, or a Way of doing it in all Times: was the *Ministrations of their own Kingdom*; or such *ministerial Offices*, as were *performed among themselves.* That is, by their own *Prophets*, trained up in their *own Schools* or *Colleges*; and by their own *Priests*, who were to preach the Law, and to minister religious Offices. These *Priests* and *Prophets*, being in the *Place of Shepherds*, were *bound to administer these Offices*, and are *severely (h) blamed* and *threatned* by God in *Israel*, as well as others were in *Judah*, if, instead of *Feeding their Flocks*, they should only *feed themselves.* And if he required the *One*, to *minister them*; since the relative Carriage and Dependance ought always to be reciprocal between Relatives, he must in Consequence allow the *Other*, I think, under this Necessity to *Resort to them.* For I conceive, the Pastors can not stand bound, to preach to those, who are bound never to hear them; or to minister to those, who are in no wise allow'd to partake in their Ministrations. And these Ministrations, those good People had to communicate in, not only at *Jeroboam's Calves*, where God was prophaned by the Worship of Images, but also in their *Synagogues*, or *High Places.*

(g) Vid. Ludolf. Hist Æthiop l. 3. c. 6. Nu. 81, 82. & Com. ad Hist. Æthiop. p. 378.
(h) Ezek. xxxiiii. 2. & c. xiii. 2, 3, 4, 5, &c. & Isa. lvi. 8, 10, 11. & Jer. xxiii. 1, 2, &c.

BUT now, all this Communion of the good People among them, was *communicating with thoſe, who miniſter'd in a Schiſm.* For the *Altar at Jeruſalem*, God himſelf had * appointed as the *only Altar*, whereon they ſhould *offer any Burnt-offering*; ſetting it up for the *Principle of Union*, or as that, which ſhould compact together, or keep at one, *all the Tribes of the Jewiſh Church and Nation.* And the *New Altars at Dan* and *Bethel*, were ſet up * by *Jeroboam*, in oppoſition to the *one Altar at Jeruſalem.* As were alſo all thoſe other Altars, which the People ſet up, and where-at they *offer'd Sacrifice* and *burnt Incenſe*, in the uſual Places of their religious Aſſemblies: * *all the Children of Iſrael* being required *every Sabbath Day*, and *at other Set-times*, to *hold holy Convocations in all their Dwellings.* Or, in their *High-Places*, where ‖ *Jeroboam built him Houſes for Worſhip*, at the ſame time when he ſet up his *golden Calves at Dan and Bethel*, and made *Prieſts for them of the loweſt of the People*; out of * *which Prieſts of high-Places*, he took ſome *to be Prieſts at his Altar at Bethel.* At which *High-places*, when they were free from all *Heathen Idols*, the People, for their Devotion and Convenience, were very prone, and ſtrongly bent *to offer their Incenſe and Oblations*, as their Anceſtors had done, in the ‖ *Days of Samuel*, and alſo of * *Solomon before the building of the Temple.* And thus prone they were, not only in the *ten Tribes of Iſrael*, but in that of *Judah* too; where, under great and careful Reformations of Religion in other Reſpects, we read ſo often of *the People's burning Incenſe* ſtill, and *offering Sacrifices in the High-Places*: As under * *Jehoſaphat*, and ‖ *Azariah*, and *Jotham*, and under *Manaſſeh* after his *Repentance* and *Reſtoration to his Throne*, when though he reformed Religion, † *nevertheleſs the People did ſacrifice ſtill in the high-Places, yet unto the Lord their God only.*

* Deut. xii. 4, 5, 6, 13, 14, 26, 27. & Hoſ. viii. 11.
* 1 King. xii. 26, 27, 28.
* Lev. xxv. 2, 3, 4, &c.
‖ 1 King. xii. 28, 31, & c. xiii. 32.
* 1 King. xii. 32.
* 1 Sa. ix. 12, 19.
‖ 1 King. iii, 2.
* 1 King. xxii. 43.
‖ 2 King. xv. 3, 4.
* v. 34, 35
† 2 Chro. xxxiii. 17.

SO that the Prieſts in the *ten Tribes*, offering all their Sacrifices at one or other of theſe *oppoſite Altars*, *ſet up Altar againſt Altar*, and call'd all the People to take part with new Altars, or to * become guilty of a Schiſm, of the Criminalneſs and Danger whereof, they were admoniſh'd by *Hezekiah*, † who *ſent Poſts and Proclamations thro' all Iſrael*, to invite and call them *to come and keep the Paſſover at Jeruſalem, according to what is* * *written.* And this, *to* † *prevent Gods further Wrath*, and *carrying of the Remnant away to Babylon*, whither, * *for this*, among other Provocations, he had already carryed Part of them. Yet the Neceſſity of ſome publick Worſhip or miniſterial Offices, legitimated this Communion of good People in all lawful Services, with theſe *ſchiſmatical Miniſters*, after the Diviſion, when the Kingdoms being no longer one, the People were * ſtopped from *going up to worſhip at Jeruſalem.*

* Cypr. ep. 69. p. 182, 183.
† 2 Chro. xxx. 5.
* Deut. xvi. 5, 6.
* 2 Chro. xxx. 6, 8.
† ver 7.
* 1 King. xii. 26, 27, 28.

2. IT did the ſame, in *legitimating Communion with the ſchiſmatical Novatians*, when the Catholicks were ſo ſtraitned *by the perſecuting Arians*, and *at a loſs for miniſterial Offices in other Places.* The *perſecuting Arians*, were not for tolerating oppoſite Communions, but ſo forcing all others to communicate with themſelves: Perſecuting, as *Socrates* † relates, *not only the Catholicks*, but alſo *the Novatians*, *becauſe* tho' Schiſmaticks as to point of Diſcipline and Anti-biſhops, *they were Orthodox concerning the Nicene Faith.* But their greateſt Severities were *againſt the Catholicks*, to whom, as † *Sozomen* ſays, *they left no Oratories*; treating the ſchiſmatical *Novatians* ſomething more gently, to whom, as *Socrates* † adds, *they allowed three Churches, even in the royal City*, or *Conſtantinople* it ſelf.

† Eccl. Hiſt. l. 2. cap. 38. p. 142.
† lib. 4. cap. 20. p. 5 1.
† lib. 2. cap. 38. p. 144.

Now in this want of catholick Oratories, or of miniſterial Offices in Adherence and Unity with their own Biſhops; *The Catholicks*, ſay * *Socrates*

* lib. 2. cap. 38. p. 144.

crates and † *Sozomon*, *reſorted to the Novatian Churches, and joyned in their Aſſemblies and Prayers.* And yet, at that Time when they did this, the *Novatians were Schiſmaticks*, who having an Anti-biſhop of their own, diſtinct from the catholick Biſhop of that Church, and being incorporated as a diſtinct Body under him, thereby kept up two Heads and two Bodies in the ſame Church, which I think is plainly a State of Schiſm. Yea, and thoſe Rigours, of *refuſing Reconciliation to thoſe, who had fallen in Perſecution*, (on pretence whereof they fell into this Schiſm at *firſt*, by ordaining *Novatian* an Anti-biſhop at *Rome* againſt *Cornelius*) they ſtill kept on. And by Reaſon of this, which they alledged and inſiſted on as their † *original* or *ancient Precept*, *they refuſed*, as the aforeſaid Authors † teſtifie, *to come to a perfect Union.* And accordingly, the Communion, which they both mention as paſſing betwixt them, is *a (i) Communion in Prayers*; becauſe, according to this *ancient Precept* alledged, *the Novatians* (k) *denyed the Communion of Myſteries* or *Sacraments*, which are the Seal of Remiſſion, *which*, in the Caſe of thoſe *who had fallen, they would reſerve*, as *Socrates* obſerves, *to God himſelf.* So that what Communion the Catholicks thought it excuſable to hold with them, in this Neceſſity, or Want of miniſterial Offices from their own Clergy, was held with Men, who plainly officiated in a State of Schiſm.

† lib. 4. cap. 20. p. 521.

† Ἀρχαῖον παράγγελμα.

† Soc. lb. p. 144. & Soz. p. 571.

3. It did the ſame *in our own great Rebellion, when our Biſhops were all driven out, and depoſed with the King.* For then, the orthodox and loyal Adherents of the King and Biſhops, took up with the Communion of the Pariſh Churches, and thought, that for the ſake of publick Worſhip and miniſterial Offices, they might do ſo, where they had no Miniſters of their own to communicate with. And yet, what Aſſemblies were, not only in a more barefaced and wicked Rebellion, but alſo in a more flagrant Schiſm, than the eſtabliſh'd and complying Churches and Aſſemblies of that time? So that in the Opinion of thoſe our Anceſtors, it was a good Excuſe, for having divine offices in ſuch Aſſemblies, when they could have better no where elſe.

4. Lastly, this Neceſſity of having ſome miniſterial Offices, *is generally thought to legitimate Communion in thoſe Churches, which have no Biſhops.* Thus it is in ſome *foreign Proteſtant Churches*, who have no Biſhops, to head and unite them; (as our own Churches had not here at Home, in the Days of the *great Rebellion.*) And yet, the People there muſt unite with their Miniſtrations, becauſe they muſt unite with ſome. They muſt have ſome divine Service and Religion. And if they muſt have it, they muſt reſort to ſome who miniſter it. And if they can have no Miniſtration thereof in an epiſcopal Communion, they muſt take up with it from ſuch other as they can have.

I ſpeak of the Caſe of the People in thoſe Churches; and it is not the *Clergy's*, but *their* Liberty, of taking up with miniſterial Offices from the Hands of Schiſmaticks, in want of others, which I am here diſcourſing of. And in their Caſe, the Neceſſity is full for their Excuſe. For 'tis plain, they cannot have thoſe Miniſtrations in epiſcopal Communion, unleſs their Clergy, whom they can reſort to for the ſame,

(i) Συνερχόμενοι ἀλλήλοις συννύχοντο, Soc. p. 144. εἰς ταὐτὸν συνήεσάν τε καὶ συννύχοντο. Soz. 571.

(k) Μὴ δέχεσθαι τὰς ἐπιτιμήσεις εἰς τὰ μυστήρια, ἀλλὰ προτρέπειν μὲν αὐτὰς εἰς τὴν μετάνοιαν. δὲ συγχώρησιν ἐπιτρέπειν θεῷ, τῷ δυναμένῳ, καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντι συγχωρεῖν ἁμαρτήματα, Soc. l. 4. 28. p. 245.

would receive epiſcopal Ordination. And ſince, in the Place where their Lot is faln, they can not have epiſcopal Communion, they will be excuſed for wanting it. Though worſhipping God, or communicating in miniſterial Offices, is a natural Duty; yet the confining this to the Communion of a Biſhop, is a poſitive Limitation. And Neceſſity, though it can diſcharge no natural Duties; yet may ſometimes excuſe, and ſuperſede Poſitives. So that when they can not communicate in miniſterial Offices under Biſhops, they will be excuſed, I hope, for communicating in the ſame without them.

AND as to the Clergy, though I will not here diſcuſs, or determine their Caſe, yet is this Neceſſity, where it can be juſtly, and fully pleaded, thought by many to bid fair, for excuſing and warranting them, *in miniſtring without epiſcopal Powers*. For at one time, the Prieſt-hood belonged to the *Firſt-born*. At *firſt* it was lodged in the *Patriarchs*. And thus we read of *Abraham*, that *he would command* and inſtruct *his Children, and his Houſe-hold after him*, in the true Religion, *Gen.* xviii. 18. And of *him*, and *Jacob*, and *Job*, and other *Patriarchs offering Sacrifices*. And from the *Patriarchs*, it came to be veſted in the *Firſt-born*, till the *Levites* among the *Jews*, were appropriated and *given to God in exchange for them*, *Numb.* iii. 41. And this limiting it afterwards to *one Tribe*, or *Family*, *as the Line of Aaron* among the *Jews*; or to Men *eſpiſcopally called and ordained*, as it is among the *Chriſtians*; were Limitations of poſitive Inſtitution. And therefore Neceſſity, which ſuperſedes, or excuſes the Want of Poſitives, though it leave them ſtill under the Force of Naturals, is thought to bid fair towards taking off the Exactneſs of theſe latter Reſtraints, and bearing Men out in parting from them in thoſe Things where they can not avoid it, ſo long as they ſtill keep cloſe to them in others, where they can; if they have this Neceſſity, honeſtly and fairly to plead for themſelves.

NOW, if this Neceſſity of Peoples communicating in miniſterial Offices, will excuſe their communicating with Miniſters who have no Biſhops; I ſee not but it ſhould do the ſame, in Point of communicating with Miniſters, who are broke off from their own Biſhop. For ſurely it is a more flagrant Breach of Union, to break off from Epiſcopacy it ſelf, than from any particular Biſhop; and a deeper Schiſm, to caſt off all Biſhops, than to caſt off one. And therefore that Neceſſity of communicating in miniſterial Offices, which is allow'd to legitimate and excuſe the one, will not be denied to legitimate and excuſe the other too.

4. BESIDES this, of *God's People having held and practiſed thus, under the greateſt Schiſms of former times*; in further Confirmation of this Liberty, I obſerve, *Laſtly*, how it has done the ſame, *to give Relief in ſome other compaſſionable Caſes, about Communion, which have only like Pleas for Abatements, as this Caſe has.*

FOR great Purpoſes, (and what will be alledged greater, than preventing a total Want of publick Worſhip and miniſterial Offices?) the Church has abated *in ſhunning the Communion of Schiſmaticks*, eſpecially before they are cut off by judicial Cenſures; and *of excommunicate Perſons.*

FOR, in Abatement of this *keeping off from their Communion*, it has allow'd Men *to communicate with them at the Beginning*, 'ere *Schiſm* yea, or *Hereſie it ſelf is fully formed, and whilſt it is capable of being prevented.* An *Heretick*, * St. *Paul* orders not to be *rejected* from Communion, before he has had a *firſt* and *ſecond Admonition*: So that till then in hopes of prevention, they might communicate with him. And accordingly

* Tit. iii. 10.

accordingly, the Catholicks did for a good while communicate with the *Arians*, after the bursting out of that Heresie, whilst, by that Forbearance, and by the other Parties seeking still in their Definitions to come as near as they could to the Truth, they conceived hopes of Remedy, or Cure thereof. There being *no Breach of Communion, on account of their different Judgments*, for some time, *but all assembling together, and joining in the same Ministrations*, as *Sozomen* * says.

* L 2. c. 32. p. 492. & l. 3. c. 13. p. 514.

OR, after the Breach of Communion is made, and different Churches are set up, tho' we do not go to theirs, *it has allow'd them to come to our Assemblies, in hopes to cure them.* Thus, at the Beginning of our *Reformation*, after the Division from their Church, notwithstanding their Adherence to the *Pope*, and all their Errors both in Worship and Doctrines, the *Papists* were * allowed for several Years under *Queen Elizabeth*, to come to our Churches. And the *Dissenters* from the episcopal Communion among us, are all *Schismaticks*; but yet they have not been driven out thereof, but allow'd to join with us in publick Offices, when they would come into our Churches, as still they have been invited and encouraged to do, if they were not under Sentence of Excommunication from the *Bishops Courts*. Yea, tho' their Offences were liable to *ipso Facto Excommunications* by several † Canons: Such *ipso Facto* Excommunications, being only *sententia lata ab ipso jure*, a *Sentence pass'd by the Law*, which, as the *Canonists* say, needs *sententiam latam a judice, another Sentence pass'd by the Judge, (l) an ipso facto Excommunication* by any Canons, not barring Men from Communion, *till there be a declaratory Sentence*, as *Lyndwood* notes. Thus also, they, who, in Heathen Persecutions, *fell a Sacrifice to Idols*, (m) were *segregated*, or shut out from Communion, by the *primitive Canons*. And with Men excluded, it is made unlawful to communicate by the (n) *Canons of the Apostles*, and others, as I shew'd before. And *Gaius Diddensis*, and *his Deacon*, were *suspended from Communion themselves, for communicating with Lapsers*. And yet, in great Need thereof, and when there was hopes thereby to recover them; when in Prison, the *Egyptian Martyrs* did in great Charity *communicate with them*, both *at their Common Tables, and in Prayers, as* (o) *Dionysius Alexandrinus* reports. In these and other Rules of Discipline, where there are great Reasons for Favour and Abatements, the Church it self would have no want thereof. (p) *In Things, that will not bear Extremities, or the Rigour of Law, as* the *Fathers in the Council in* Trullo, and St. *Basil* also *in his Canons*, say, *they are to relax and make Abatements, according to Custom, and the Form received.*

* Cambden. Eliz. ad An. 1570.

† Can. 6, 7, 8, 9. E. c. Aug.

THUS, on great reason, have some equitable Abatements of the Rigour of the foresaid Rules, for *shunning of Communion with Men fall'n into Heresy, or Schism, or other depriving Crime*, still been made in the Church, and some reasonable Liberties indulged in those Cases. It was

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(l) *On the Words* ipso Facto *in a Constitution, his Note is*, Et sic est Constitutio latæ sententiæ. Requiritur tamen Sententia Declaratoria, *Lind. in Constit. Joh. Peccham. c.* Quia incontinentiæ vitium. *Lind* ib. *on the Word* Ferimus; Sic est Pœna sententiæ latæ, quam incurrit inobediens, ipso Jure. Executio tamen hujus pœnæ fieri non debet, nisi prius per ipsum, ad quem pertinet, Sententia Declaratoria super hoc fuerit promulgata.

(m) Cyp. Ep. 34. pag. 68.

(n) Can. 10. ap.

(o) Καὶ συνήγαγον καὶ συνέσπασαν. Ap. Euseb. l. 6. c. 42. p. 241. Eccl. Hist.

(p) Εἰδέναι χρὴ, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀκριβείας καὶ τὰ τῆς συνηθείας, ἔπεσθαι δὲ ἐπὶ τὰ μὴ καταδήλως ἔχοντα τὴν ἀκρότητα, τῷ παραδόντι θεῖναι τῷ. Can. 102. Conc. in Trullo, vid. Bals. & Zon. in loc. & Can. 3. S. Basil. ad Amphiloch

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thought reaſonable to recede thus, and to take theſe Liberties, when put thereto to ſerve other Peoples Neceſſities; muſt it not needs be to the full as much ſo, when put thereto to ſerve our own? It was allowable, to ſerve the ſpiritual Wants of the Offenders: Can it be leſs ſo, to ſerve thoſe of Innocent Men? So that, as it ſuits, as I ſhew'd before, with the Reaſon of Things, and with the equitable Allowances made by God himſelf on ſuch Competitions: It ſuits no leſs, I conceive, with the Practice of the Church, and with the Conceſſions and Allowances thereof, to take up with miniſterial Offices, from one in a Schiſm, rather than to live without any at all, or when they cannot be had at the Hands of other Men.

ALBEIT therefore, to avoid the Guilt of Schiſm, Men are to diſclaim, and ſtand off from the Communion of Anti-Biſhops and their Adherents, and not to participate in their Miniſtrations: Yet is that ſtrictly, I think, on Suppoſal of Room or Opportunity to participate more regularly with others. But Want of other Miniſtrations, will be an Excuſe for the Faultineſs of ſeeking them from them; and it will be allow'd, I conceive, to take up therewith from Schiſmaticks, rather than to live without any miniſterial Offices at all.

AND thus, under the Paucity or ſmall Number of the rightful Biſhops and Clergy their Adherents, and their Inſufficiency, as is alledged, for affording general Opportunities, eſpecially in a perſecuting time, which allows no Freedom of open and promiſcuous Aſſemblies: will both a *due Conviction* and *Conſcience of the Criminalneſs of Schiſm*, and the *Exerciſe of publick Worſhip and Devotion*, be kept up, and provided for in the Church of Chriſt. They will preſerve a *conſcionable Senſe of Schiſm*, by owning the Unlawfulneſs of Communicating with the Miniſtrations of Schiſmaticks, where they can have others, perhaps on all Occaſions, however for the moſt Part, at leaſt in competent Meaſure, though not Returns ſo conſtant as they wiſh they could; yea, and though in theſe Caſes, they muſt be at ſome pains for theſe Miniſtrations, or have them with Peril, or Perſecutions. I ſay, though with *Pains* or *Perſecutions*. For, in ſuch DIVISIONS, we muſt not think it an indifferent Thing, which Aſſemblies we reſort to for Communion: nor hold our ſelves free, to go among thoſe, who are met in the Unity of the Church, in the Morning; but to a ſchiſmatical Congregation, in the Afternoon. Nor muſt any fancy themſelves at Liberty, to ſeek religious Offices from Men miniſtring in a Schiſm, when that is neceſſary to qualifie themſelves for ſome ſecular Office or Advantage, or to ſerve a worldly Turn. Nor when it is neceſſary to ſave their Pains, or to ſhun fleſhly Perils, where they might have the ſame religious Offices in the Unity of the Church, but with Perſecutions. For in the Abatements here pleaded for in the preſent Caſe, from *Neceſſity*, I ſpeak not of *worldly Neceſſity*, or of Abateing where it is neceſſary for our Worldly Intereſts and Convenience, or to prevent outward Loſſes and Sufferings. But of *Neceſſity for Religion*, and *Goa's Service*; for our Duty, not for our carnal Ends: Or, of Abating of the ſtrict Obſervance of this Command of *keeping Unity*, where it is neceſſary to the Keeping and Diſcharge of *other of Goa's Commandments happening to ſtand in Competition therewith*, which he ſets more by. And they will keep up the Practice of Devotion, and the publick Miniſtries and Profeſſion of Religion, by admitting the Neceſſity of ſome Miniſtrations for an Excuſe; and ſo taking up with miniſterial Offices from them, when they can not otherwiſe, though with Perſecutions, be ſupplied therewith, but muſt live without any at all.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Of Communicating in like Neceſſity, where there are ſome Prayers ſinful in the Matter of them.

BUT in Communicating with Anti-biſhops, and their Adherents ſet up to head immoral Prayers and Practices, as is ſet forth in the fore-mentioned Caſes, there is not only the *Schiſmaticalneſs* of *the Aſſemblies*, but the *ſinful Matter of the Prayers* to be conſidered. There is a Fault in *what they pay*, which is a corrupt and ſinful Worſhip; as well as in the *Society where they pay it*, which is not in the *Unity of the Spirit*, and the *Bond of Peace*, but in *ſchiſmatical Congregations*. And though the Neceſſity of having ſome miniſterial Offices, and the Want of Opportunity for any others, will excuſe the *firſt* Faultineſs, *viz. The Schiſmaticalneſs of the Aſſemblies:* What ſhall ſuch People do to get over the *ſecond*, *viz.* the *unrighteous Petitions*, or *ſinful Matter of the Prayers*, which are offered up to God therein?

As to this, to concur and go along in any immoral or unrighteous Petition, or Thankſgiving, is certainly an immoral and unrighteous Thing; as *praying*, is moſt ſolemnly *taking part* with, and *endeavouring* for them. Nay, to offer up theſe, in Prayers and religious Addreſſes, is a moſt impudently and horribly prophane Thing; it abuſes the Great and moſt Holy God, by making him a Preſent of the moſt hateful Abominations; it blaſphemes and aſperſes him, for an Immoral and Unrighteous God, who can accept a Preſent of Unrighteouſneſs, who can be pleaſed, or think himſelf honoured therewith, or be entreated to become the Patron and Maintainer thereof. So that when ſuch Prayers occur in ſacred Offices, or when they have the acceſſional Allotment and Furtherance, of ſet Days, of Faſting, or Thanſgiving; no Man, who would preſerve any Reverence for God, or Reſpect for Religion, or Care of his own Soul, muſt concur therein: but, inſtead of helping on, all true Worſhippers of God, and Lovers of Righteouſneſs, as I conceive, muſt utterly deteſt and abhor them.

BUT in mixt Prayers, where ſome are holy, and ſome are ſinful, what may be done by thoſe, who would pick and chuſe, and join with them only in the good, but keep off from the evil?

Now as to this, the *ſinful Mixture* may be of *idolatrous Worſhip or Prayers*. And not to diſcuſs, whether it may be excuſable in any Caſes, to reſort to Churches, where there are ſuch Mixtures of idolatrous Service; I think however, theſe are not on the ſame Level with others, but that there is a greater Bar to all Communion in Worſhip, by ſuch Mixtures. For *Idolatry*, doth more peculiarly and heinouſly affect Worſhip. In reſpect of it, God declares himſelf a * *jealous God*: and ſo is leſs likely to accept of any Worſhip in Partnerſhip with Creatures; or, in ſacred Offices, to admit of, and go halves with Rivals. And with particular Reſpect to this, St. *Paul* ſets out the Incompatibleneſs of † *communicating*, both with *Chriſt* and *Belial*; and the Scripture-precepts, of ‖ *be ye ſeparate, and come out from among them*, do more directly and forceably affect this, than other Sins in Religious Aſſemblies.

* Ex. xx. 5. & c. xxxiiii. 14.

† 2 Cor. vi. 14, 15, 16.

‖ v. 17. & Rev. xviii. 3, 4.

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OR the *good Parts of the Worſhip*, which are intermixt with the evil, *may not afford them all that is neceſſary in Chriſtian Worſhip*; or *not in ſuch a Way, as it is neceſſary they ſhould have it.* And then, there is a Bar to Communion in ſuch Worſhip, not only from the Mixture of ill Prayers, from which the Partakers in other Parts would ſeparate; but alſo from the Defectiveneſs of thoſe good Parts thereof, which are to recommend it, becauſe they do not ſupply the Worſhippers with all that is neceſſary in chriſtian Worſhip. Thus, inſtead of *whole*, they may adminiſter *half Sacraments*, ſacrilegiouſly with-holding the *Cup* from the People, which Chriſt has appointed to be received by all the Communicants, as well as the *Bread*. Or, what good Prayers and Oblations they do put up to God, may be all in an *unknown Tongue*: which is not to pray in that Way that is neceſſary for Chriſtians, who are to offer up a * *ſpiritual Worſhip*, which is to be done by † *praying with underſtanding*.

* Joh. iiii. 23, 24.
† 1 Cor. iv. 15, 16.

OR the evil Parts, which are intermixed with the good, are indiſpenſably to be performed together with them, and he, who would communicate in one, muſt not be allowed to let the other alone. As there can be no *receiving of the Sacrament*, without *Worſhipping* it, in the *Church of Rome*. It impoſing a Compliance with its Corruptions, as a Condition to thoſe, who would partake in any ſound Parts of its Offices.

AND theſe are ſuch Hindrances of communicating with that Church in the *Maſs*, which are not to be urged in Bar of Communion, under all immoral Mixtures of Worſhip and Devotions.

AND much leſs is the Allowance of ſome Communion under ſuch immoral Mixtures, to be extended for a Juſtification of the ſame Communion, in the *Aſſemblies of Jews*, yea, or even of *Mahometans*, on pretence of joyning, in like manner only with the good, but ſtanding off from the ill Parts of their Offices. For that *Church-Communion*, which, as Chriſtians, in our *Creed* we all profeſs to believe, and ſeek, is *the Communion of Saints*, that is, in the Language of thoſe Times, of *Chriſtians*, not any Church-communion of *profeſſed Unbelievers*.

BUT ſuppoſe, that in a chriſtian Church, retaining all the *Eſſentials of Faith*, or *Articles of the Creed*, all that is neceſſary in chriſtian Worſhip, is to be had pure, and unſpotted; and in a Tongue, which all underſtand; but ſome immoral Petitions, or Prayers, are intermixt therewith, which People may be tolerated to paſs over, and to expreſs Diſſent from, whilſt they ſhew Concurrence with all the good Prayers, which come along with them: Are they barr'd from ſuch Communion, by ſuch Mixtures?

AS to this, it may depend much upon the Degree thereof, according as the evil Paſſages, are *tolerable* or *intolerable*, (I mean not to be done, as if any Man were to expect a Toleration to do a wicked Action, but to be born,) on the Point of *this Unlawfulneſs*. In care of *keeping Union*, much would be bore withal for Peace, and in hopes of ſeeing a Cure thereof, whilſt more Modeſty is ſhewn, in theſe unrighteous and immoral Petitions. And, in want thereof other ways, for *the Benefit of Communicating in ſome miniſterial Offices* and publick Devotion, Men would bear more. If ſuch unlawful and immoral Paſſages, were fewer in Number, and occurr'd more ſeldom in the Service, to ſhock and gall good Minds; or, if they are any Ways uncertain, and leſs peremptory in Signification, or ſome Way or other accomodable to an innocent and lawful Senſe: Good People, though they could not concur in, would yet more patiently endure them. But they are leſs to be born, when more expreſs and unavoidable in Signification, and more grown

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in Number. So that as any Aſſemblies multiply theſe Petitions, they increaſe theſe Difficulties and Diſcouragements to thoſe, who, for the ſake of Peace, yea, or (on the ſetting up of a Schiſm, after which they are no longer bound to maintain Eccleſiaſtical Peace and Union with them,) for the Benefit of having publick Offices and Miniſtrations, would fain meet at their publick Service.

IF once the Minglers of ſuch Immoralities in Prayers, ſhall, to this Impediment of *immoral Mixtures*, add another, *viz.* Of *breaking the Unity of the Church*, eſpecially *by ſetting up of Anti-biſhops*, and forming a *flagrant Schiſm*: There is an End of bearing with theſe Mixtures *for the ſake of Peace*, and *for Maintenance of Communion with them*. For this Peace and Union, is not to be kept with Schiſmaticks, as I have ſhewn; the ſcriptural and Eccleſiaſtical Rules, being not to ſeek, but to ſhun Communion with ſuch Perſons. It is to keep united to thoſe Biſhops, who are the Orthodox and Rightful Heads, and to ſuch as depend on them, and adhere to them; not to ſuch Heterodox Dividers, as break off from them. So that this bearing with the Irkſomeneſs of ſuch Mixtures, for the ſake of Union, is a Reaſon of bearing only *before the Formation of the Schiſm*; but is never to be urged that Way more, but has all its Force turned another Way, when once that is done.

OR, before ſuch Formation of a Schiſm, the Immorality of thoſe Petitions may be ſo expreſs and unavoidable, the Iniquity of them ſo ſtaring and heinous, or the Repetitions thereof ſo numerous, and the Uſe thereof ſo fixed and ſettled; that good People neither would, nor ought to bear them, could they have any Opportunity of doing otherwiſe.

INDEED, Sin and Wickedneſs, eſpecially in any plain, groſs, and great Inſtances thereof, if once evidently made the Matter of Worſhip, and put up in Prayers, ſets People at Liberty in any Church, as I have *ſhewn, to refuſe them, and join in others, whoſe Matter is pure and ſinleſs. * Ch. 3. Part 3.

WHEN once therefore Corruption gets into the Matter of Prayers, and Sin makes a Part of ſacred Offices, it gives a Liberty for People to withdraw from thoſe Prayers, though adminiſtred by their lawful Paſtors; and, if any Miniſters regularly empower'd will give them the Opportunity thereof, to change them for a pure and ſinleſs Service. And ſtill, the higher and more open the Iniquity of ſuch Prayers or Clauſes, and the more numerous the Repetition of them is; the more are they, not only ſet free, but forced and neceſſitated to this. And the more anſwerably, are the Orthodox and Faithful Miniſters neceſſitated, to afford them Opportunities thereof.

LOVERS of Peace, out of an ardent Deſire of Union, may forbear a while, ſo long as thoſe Churches are more modeſt in their Corruptions, or whilſt there may be Hopes of curing them, eſpecially at the begining, and of cloſing the Breaches. And this Allowance of Forbearance for a time, in Caſe of ſuch *Corruption of Worſhip*; is no more than we ſee is made in Caſe of *Hereſy*, which is a *Corruption in Faith*. This Corruption of Faith, as well as Corruption of Worſhip, gives a Diſcharge of Communion, as I have * ſhewn. And yet Communion is not ſo diſcharged thereby, but that it may be kept on for a time, as I obſerved it was with the *Arians* in the Beginings of that *Hereſy*: The Rule being, not to † *reject an Heretick* from Communion whilſt he may be thought ſanable, or not till he has had a *firſt* and *ſecond Admonition*. And thus it was judged and practiſed, by thoſe *Orthodox at Antioch*, who *kept a Meeting for ſome time* in the *Arian Aſſemblies* under *Leontius*, after their Error and Impiety was introduced into their publick Offices and Miniſtrations, * Ch. 4. Part 3. † Tit. iii. 10.

ſtrations, and was put up to God in *derogatory Doxologies.* In which Union of Aſſemblies, theſe Orthodox were headed and lead on by *Flavian* and *Diodorus, that admirable Pair of beſt Men,* as they are ſtyled by *Theodorit* ſpeaking of this Buſineſs, and *who firſt brought in the Doxology at the End of the Pſalms,* which continues ſtill to be uſed at the reading thereof, in our Days. But who, whilſt they ſhew'd Concurrence with the *Arians* in all the good Parts of their Office, thought fit to ſhew their ſtanding off from them in their corrupt and derogatory Doxologies, as oft as they came in the Courſe of the publick Service. For when, (*a*) *at the End of the Hymns,* the *Arians ſung, Glory be to the Father, in the Son,* or, as others, *Glory be to the Father, by the Son, in the Holy Ghoſt,* aiming by this Change of Particle, to intimate Diſſimilitude and Inferiority: The Orthodox *ſang, Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghoſt,* by that Particle of *Conjunction,* making the three Perſons all alike in Receipt of this Glory, or expreſſing their Equality.

BUT whatever Compliances may be made thus for a Time; yet, as the ſinful Mixtures grow more fixed, and the Iniquity is more open and bare-faced; when it greatly and evidently pollutes Devotions, and corrupts Men's Principles and Practices, and is carried on by all Arts and Endeavours to intrap and catch Souls: There is more apparent Neceſſity to ſtand off, from them. And then they are bound, I conceive and as, I think, I have ſhewn * to afford God's faithful People, more ſafe, and ſalutary, and chriſtian Adminiſtrations: and the People without any Hindrance from the Precepts of Peace and Union, are to break off from the other, and to joyn therein. So that ſuch unlawful Matter in Prayers, eſpecially ſtill as it grows more apparent and heinous, and more firmly fixed therein, is enough to carry People off, notwithſtanding their Deſires of Peace and Union, from any Aſſemblies, though they had not added Anti-biſhops to head their unlawful Mixures, or made an open Schiſm in the Church.

* Part. 1.

AS to this Mixture of immoral Prayers then, with ſuch a Service as is wanting in nothing elſe, but has all that is neceſſary in Worſhip, if theſe Additions might be alone; let the Deſire of keeping Peace and Union in Aſſemblies or Churches, whatever it may do for a while, or in ſome Caſes, will not always get over them. And if once the Makers of immoral Additions, do moreover ſet up Anti-biſhops, and make a Schiſm for Maintenance thereof; Unity is no longer in Duty to be kept, but broke with them; ſo that the Deſire of Unity, will be no Reaſon to bear therewith, but to do quite contrary, after that time.

BUT there is beſides another, and a ſtronger Ground of bearing, *viz.* The *Neceſſity of having ſome miniſterial Offices, and publick Devotion,* when they live under a Want of better Opportunities, and muſt take up, either with theſe or none. And this, as it will excuſe the Faultineſs of *meeting with thoſe who are in a Schiſm:* So, I conceive, (*b*) will excuſe Men too, in bearing with theſe corrupt Matters and immoral Additions, whilſt they can be allowed ſufficiently to ſignifie, and expreſs their Diſſent from them.

(*a*) Theod. Hiſt. Ecl. l. 2. c. 24. Soz. l. 3. c. 20. & Niceph. l. 9. c. 21.
(*b*) See Dr. *Hammond*'s Practic. Cat. l. 2. Sect. 1. on the *Beatitude of Meekneſs.*

THEY

THEY come then, 'tis true, and, (as the forementioned *orthodox Chriſtians* did *at Antioch*, under the *Derogatorineſs of the Arian Doxologies*) for the ſake of many good Prayers, ſubmit to be preſent at others, whereby they will ſee God's Worſhip prophaned, and hear his ſacred Name diſhonoured and libelled, which is, and ought to be, a grievous Mortification to every pious Mind. But they ſubmit to be preſent at all this, in the Way of a *neceſſary Duty*, viz. *attending on ſome miniſterial Offices*. And in want of all Opportunities, of having thoſe more pure in any other Places; as was alſo the Caſe of *thoſe Orthodox at Antioch*, where (*c*) *Conſtantius* had *refuſed to allow them ſo much as one Church*; and where we may well ſuppoſe they were too numerous for thoſe orthodox Clergy, that were left there, to ſupply with Opportunities, and miniſter to them, in private Rooms, or by Stealth in Corners. And meeting it that way, though they may ſee and hear it, they are only aggrieved and wounded, but not polluted thereby. As *Servants*, or any others, are not polluted by hearing God's Name blaſphemed, or ſeeing other Wickedneſſes committed, which they are like to meet in the neceſſary Duty and Diſcharge of their Attendance or Stations: Who are not guilty of the Evil, that is uttered or acted, eſpecially if they are allowed to ſhew Diſlike, and to be Reprovers of it, So that when others are guilty, by concurring in theſe immoral Petitions; he contracts no Guilt, by being preſent at them much againſt his Will, and in the neceſſary and due Payment of ſome publick Devotion, which he has no Opportunities of paying any where elſe, ſo long as he apparently ſingles out the Good, and lets all the Bad alone.

IN Preſence at unlawfull Prayers or Services, there is ſometimes Room to diſtinguiſh, of the Cauſes, and Pretences of thoſe who are preſent there. And when they are brought thither in juſt Diſcharge of other neceſſary Duties, they may innocently afford their Preſence even at thoſe unlawful Prayers, if it appears that their Preſence there is not at all to do Honour or Service unto them, but only to thoſe other neceſſary Duties. And this *Tertullian*, a Man ſtrict enough, and in ſome Things too rigorous, did allow of old in the Caſe of Preſence even at *idolatrous Sacrifices*. For there, he thinks Servants may attend upon their Maſters, and Officers of Courts and Government upon their Præſidents, ſo long as that Attendance is not any ways to profeſs Service for the Idol, or to contribute or to miniſter to the Sacrifice, but merely to pay the Duty of their Places and Relations. *If they are called*, ſith he, (*d*) *to come themſelves to the Sacrifice, that Coming is in Service to the Idol, and their Appearance there would be idolatrous. Or if they contribute to the Sacrifice, by their Counſel, or Purſe; or perform any Miniſtry, or give Help therein, as by delivering Wine to the Sacrificer, or by prompting and ſuggeſting any Forms or Words which are neceſſary to the Adminiſtration thereof, they would alſo be held thereby to have miniſtred to Idolatry. But if they come thither only to pay the due At-*

(c) Theod. l. 2. c. 12. Soz. l. 3 c. 20 Niceph. l. 9. c. 24.

(d) Si propter Sacrificium, vocatus aſſiſtam, ero particeps idololatriæ.—Vocatus non ibo, proprium im idoli officium eſt. Sed neque, concilio, neque ſumptu, aliave opera in ejuſmodi fungar.—Si rum quis Sacrificanti tradiderit, imo ſi verbo quoque aliquo Sacrificio neceſſario adjuverit, miniſter ebitur idololatriæ. —Quod ſi me alia Cauſa conjungit Sacrificanti, ero tantum Spectator ſacrificii.—uſæ ſunt conſiderandæ, quibus præſtatur Officium. – Si ſim vocatus, nec ad Sacrificii ſit Titulus Officii Operæ meæ expunctio. Utinam —nec videre poſſemus, quæ facere nobis nefas eſt. Sed quoniam ita lus circundedit ſeculum idololatria, licebit adeſſe in quibuſdam, quæ nos homini non idolo Officioſos ent Tertull. de Idololat. c. 16, 17.

tendance of their Places, in waiting on their Patrons, or Preſidents; their due Diſcharge of theſe Offices, muſt not be ſtyled a Participation of the idolatrous Service. Here, as he ſays, *we are to conſider the Cauſe, for which they perform this Office. It were to be wiſh'd, indeed, that they needed not be there to ſee what they cannot joyn in. But ſince the evil one has fill'd and inviron'd the Age with Idolatry,* ſo that in all Places, and in the Payment even of our domeſtick or civil Services, it will be ready to meet us; *we may lawfully be preſent at it in ſome Caſes; when that which brings us to the ſame, ſhews not any Officiouſneſs to the Idol, but only unto Men.* And if their Preſence may be lawful, as *Tertullian* thinks, at idolatrous Services, when 'tis to pay the neceſſary Duties of their civil Stations or Relations; I ſuppoſe the ſame will be lawful at immoral Petitions, when 'tis to pay the neceſſary Duty of publick Worſhip which is due to God himſelf, and to make a neceſſary Proviſion for their own Souls. For, methinks, as much, if not, more, may be allowed for God, or for a Duty that reſpecteth God himſelf, as for any earthly Maſters, or for payment of Duties that reſpect Men; and an Immorality in any Petitions, is not ſo ſtrong to drive us away from an Office, which otherwiſe we have juſt Cauſe to attend, as Idolatry is.

NOR is any Perſon's mere Preſence at theſe additional immoral Prayers, an interpretative Profeſſion of his Concurrence in them; tho' he profeſs to joyn in others at the ſame time whilſt he rejects them. 'Tis too rigorous, I think, to make Coming to any religious Aſſemblies, a Profeſſion of concurring in every Particular, which, in any Part of the Miniſtration, is profeſſed, or put up to God there. Men are liable to have various Apprehenſions, about ſome Paſſages or other, that may happen to be in the publick Service, whether in the Profeſſions which are made to God, or in the Prayers which are put up to him. And alſo about ſome Undertakings, Events, or Tranſactions of this World, which may be brought, as Occaſion is, into the common Service and Devotion, though all are not of one Mind or Belief about them. And under this Liableneſs to ſuch Variety of Apprehenſions about theſe Matters, we could never be able to *keep up publick Communion*, eſpecially to keep it up ſo *fixt* and *conſtant*, and *to keep all Perſons in one Communion*, as our Lord requires they ſhould be kept, upon theſe Terms. And they are more liable ſtill, to have the ſame Variety of Apprehenſion, about *private Compoſures in Pulpit-Prayers*; which may be more ſubject to the Tincture, either of ſome particular Opinions, or Expreſſions, which all cannot aſſent to, or approve off. Conſidering which, it would be harder ſtill to keep up ſuch Communion, under the Allowance of theſe Pulpit-prayers of private Compoſure; which yet, beſides what they have been formerly, or are at this Time in other Places, are now allow'd of by our own Church.

IN publick *Faſts*, indeed, or *Thankſgivings*, where the very Meeting or Aſſembling is made ſignificant of any Purpoſes; to be preſent at them, is a Profeſſion of what is ſignified by them. And it is inſincere for thoſe, who abhor that Deſign, which they are appointed to carry on, to afford their Preſence, or meet at them. But I think it is not ſo, with any particular Paſſages and Petitions, in the ordinary Devotion at other Times; and that coming to Church Aſſemblies at ſuch Times, which are for Devotion at large, is no determinate and limited Profeſſion of Concurrence in thoſe Paſſages, from which though a Man would profeſs to diſſent, yet might he ſtill reſort to the Aſſemblies for ſo many other Purpoſes. And of this Difference betwixt theſe *Two*, as to *their being a Profeſſion of Concurrence*,

Concurrence, they who liſt, may ſee more in a * Book entituled, *Of Chriſtian Prudence*. * Ch. 6. Sect. 1.

'Tis true it will prove ſome Preſumption of Concurrence in theſe Petitions, if they viſibly manifeſt no Diſlike; but whatever they are in their Hearts, appear externally to joyn in them, as much as they do in others. And therefore, I conceive, it were not amiſs, as they come in the Courſe of the Service, by ſome external Sign, to ſhew they diſclaim, and ſtand off from them. As I noted the Orthodox did, whilſt (in the Beginnings, and, as was hoped, more ſanable Age of the *Arian Hereſie* before they broke Communion quite off) they *met in the Arian Aſſemblies under Leontius* at *Antioch*. But there is no Room, or Pretence for ſuch Preſumption of Concurrence, (and they would be ſtrange Preſumptions, that ſhould be made in Contradiction to expreſs Declarations) if we ſignifie the contrary by ſome external Sign. For none muſt preſume, or we are not anſwerable for it if they do, that we joyn in ſuch Paſſages, if by ſome external Sign we proteſt to all that we ſtand off from them; whilſt, by like viſible Signs, we ſhew Concurrence in all thoſe good Prayers, which are put up together with them.

I grant, the Communion of Prayers, ſhould be an intire Communion; and no Petitions of publick Aſſemblies, ſhould be the private Deſire of ſome, but the joynt Deſire of all in common. And where any Thing is inſerted, which all cannot joyn in, it makes a broken Communion. But there, the Inſerters thereof make this Breach; and others, who are driven by Neceſſity to bear the ſame, only ſuffer it as their Misfortune. And when they can have no other, which they would embrace, though with Perſecutions; yea, and it may be are illiterate, and unable by Reading, to carry on the Worſhip of God, and the Work of Inſtruction, in their own Families: It is better, I think, to take up with a broken Communion than with none. And though their Wiſhes are to have one more intire, yet till they can have their Wiſh, I conceive, there Way will be to communicate in moſt Prayers, rather than in none at all.

WHILST they are careful then, by ſome ſufficient external Sign, to ſhew their ſtanding off from theſe additional immoral Paſſages; the Neceſſity of having ſome miniſterial Offices and Devotions, will bear them out, I conceive, when they can have no better, in reſorting to ſuch mixt Service, for Concurrence in the Body of other good Prayers. But all this, as I ſay, is whilſt ſuch viſible Signification and Refuſal of the ſinful Matters, will be allow'd of. For if all, either in Reality muſt, or in external Shew and Appearance muſt ſeem to concur therein: They ought not to be guilty, either of Iniquity, or Hypocriſie; and ſo, upon that Account, are utterly barr'd and ſhut out from ſuch Communion.

AND thus much, as it is greatly needed, ſo I have adventured to ſay on this Point, concerning that Liberty and Allowance, which, in Compliance with the Love of Peace, and the Neceſſity of ſome miniſterial Offices, may, as I conceive, be made in *Abatement of the ſtrict Rules againſt Communion with Schiſmaticks*. I know all the Uſe ſome are apt to make of ſuch Conceſſions, is, inſtead of making them relieve others, only to turn them againſt the Authors, and taking hold of them as Principles, to try if thereby they can overthrow the main Cauſe. I think this is very diſ-ingenuous; and a wrong Way of Reaſoning too. For it is Beginning at the wrong End in theſe Matters. Theſe Conceſſions, are not ſet up for main Principles, much leſs as Points to be held againſt them; but as Points of Favour and Eaſe, that may be thought fairly and

and equitably conſiſtent with them. Which, ſhould it happen otherwiſe the Principles muſt ſtand firm, (unleſs they can be overthrown by Arguments intrinſick, and proper to themſelves;) and all that can be ſaid as to theſe Conceſſions of Eaſe, is, that there is an End of them. So, by that courſe, Men do not ſo much oppoſe the eſtabliſhed Principles, as themſelves; and what they ſhow is, that, in conſiſtence with Truth of Principles, no Conceſſions can be made; and that the Truth will not permit them to make ſuch Approaches, or to come ſo near to them, as they fain would do. But theſe Liberties in the preſent Caſe, ſeem to me fairly reconcileable, on the Grounds here given, with the Reaſon and Reality of Things; and with the Intent of the foreſaid Principles: And every Man is left to judge for himſelf, whether they are or no.

AND thus, I think, it may appear, both how careful we ought to be, in ſhunning the Communion of Anti-Biſhops, and their ſchiſmatical Adherents, where we have other Opportunities: And how, for the Benefit of ſome miniſterial Offices, we may be at Liberty to take up with them, when we can have the ſame from none elſe. Yea, for all they happen at any time to have made an Addition of immoral Mixtures, to a Body of otherwiſe good, and ſufficient Prayers, if we openly and ſufficiently expreſs our Diſlike and ſtanding off from them, whilſt we as openly concur, and joyn in others. And as it was before ſhewn, who make the Schiſm in any Diviſions of Churches, and who can cure it in the foreſaid Caſes: So, having found who are to anſwer for the Schiſm, this may ſuffice to ſhew what Communion may be held with ſuch, and how good Chriſtians are to carry it towards both Parties.

AS to that Exerciſe of ſpiritual Miniſtrations then, which Faithful Paſtors ſtand ſo many Ways obliged to, notwithſtanding any Deprivation of State, yea, or of Synods, as I have ſhewn: The Care of preſerving Unity, or preventing Schiſm in the Church, ought to be no ſtop thereto in the foreſaid Caſes. Nay, if to head their immoral Prayers, Doctrines, and Practices, the Defectors ſhall ſet up Anti-Biſhops, and ſo make a Schiſm in the Church: The conſcionable Care of preſerving Unity, will bind them faſt to ſuch faithful Miniſters, who are their rightful Paſtors. And the conſcionable and truly chriſtian Dread of Schiſm, will make them effectually keep off from the Communion of thoſe Defectors, who, by Erection of Anti-biſhops, have ſet up, Altar againſt Altar, and ſchiſmatically broke off from them.

AND thus I have gone through thoſe Particulars, which I thought fitteſt to be conſider'd, and of moſt Force to clear up this Argument. And from what has been offer'd in theſe Papers, I think it will not be difficult for honeſt Inquirers, to ſee what their Duty is, under any unhappy Differences or Diviſions of Churches, at ſuch times. I pray God neither the Deſire of Thriving, nor the fear of Suffering, may make Men afraid to ſee it, or to follow what they ſee they ought to do, when they are try'd with ſuch Caſes.

IT extreamly concerns all Men, who would ſhew any ſerious Care of their immortal Souls at ſuch Times, to diſcern the right Way, and to take it in theſe Matters. 'Tis not for any to think lightly of theſe Points of Difference: For 'tis hard to ſay what Things would concern their eternal Salvation more, or wherein to go wrong would be of more fatal Conſequence. If any Things will lie hard upon us at the great Day of Accounts, ſure the Breach of Faith, and of the moſt Solemn Oaths, of civil Subjection and Obedience, and of common Honeſty and Juſtice, will ſting and terrify us to the height, and be a Burden unſupportable. Such Wickedneſſes will ſink Heathens; how much more Chriſtians, who

act them againſt ſo much plainer Revelations and ſpiritual Advantages. They are any of them enough to condemn thoſe, who at any Time have been guilty of them, unleſs they truly repent and amend them. How much more muſt all of them, everlaſtingly confound thoſe who always live in them, and daily repeat the ſame; whoſe Hearts, have reſiſted all Reproofs, and Convictions; whoſe Conſciences, are thereby harden'd therein, and grown callous; and who, not content to provoke God thereby in their daily Practice, have horribly preſumed as daily to prophane him at ſuch times, by a Blaſphemous Tender thereof in their daily Devotions.

NOR is it ſafe, on pretence of any Subtleties ſtarted about theſe Points, by irreligious and ill employ'd Wits on ſuch Occaſions, to hope for finding an Excuſe, by pleading Miſtake or *Ignorance*, ſhould thoſe ſubtle Salvo's prove falſe. For whatever it may with ſome Perſons, whoſe ſincere Care, as well as Deſire, to ſee and follow the Right, is beſt known to God himſelf: Yet in the general, I muſt remind them, that 'tis ill truſting to Ignorance, in ſuch plain Matters of natural Conſcience, as Men cannot ordinarily miſtake or be ignorant of, till they have blinded themſelves. It needs no Skill, nor Learning, to ſee the Wickedneſs of all theſe Ways. And accordingly, when they are firſt tryed with them, the Conſciences of moſt Perſons, who can pretend to Sobriety and Juſtice, and are not debauch'd with corrupt Principles, are ſtartled at them, and in their firſt Judgments, when they judge of themſelves, and from natural Sentiments and Convictions, they ſcruple and condemn them. But it needs much Learning, or Pains, to blind our own Eyes, and overcome our natural Convictions and ſee no Wickedneſs in them. And if Men of Parts, ſhould ſet their Parts and Learning as much to Work, (which God avert) to baffle Men's common Convictions of any other Wickedneſſes and Immoralities; I do believe, they would give the Diſobedient as much Pretence for Miſtake and Ignorance in thoſe Offences, as, after all their pains, they are able to alledge in theſe.

THE *Zeal againſt Popery*, is given out often in theſe latter Days of the World, to go furtheſt in blinding many. But though *Popery*, on account of the many dangerous Errors and unlawful Practices thereof, is a moſt dangerous Religion; yet muſt they be a ſtrange Sort of Religious Perſons, who can think nothing but Popery will endanger them. Whatever be the Religion, of falſe, and for-ſworn Men, of Rebels, Thieves, and Murderers; their Religion ſhall do nothing to ſave them; but Perjury, and Rebellion, and Unrighteouſneſs, will be ſure, without true Repentance, to condemn them. So that if they are afraid of Popery, becauſe of its Sinfulneſs, and of the Dangers it brings upon their precious Souls; they muſt not be leſs afraid of groſs Injuſtice and Immoralities, which are not leſs ſinful, and are more ſurely deſtructive, than it is, having leſs *Favour* and *Plea of Ignorance* and *Miſtake* for well-meaning Minds to offer for their Excuſe. And I beg all ſuch as are in earneſt for the Salvation of their Souls, to conſider, that it is as wretched a Part, both of Folly and Wickedneſs to throw away their Souls, in any immoral or otherwiſe unlawful Ways, to keep out Popery; as it would be, to throw them away in turning to it.

THERE is alſo the Conſideration of Schiſm in theſe Matters. And how light ſoever too many, God knows, may make of it, yet, in the Account of God, it is full of Guilt; and in the lamentable Experience of the World, it is fruitful in other Wickedneſſes, and abounds in Miſchief. It rends Unity, which Chriſt, among his laſt Requeſts to his Father, was ſo earneſtly concerned to have kept up in his Church. It breaks Peace, and, like a Canker, eats out the Heart of Charity, which ought to be the very

very Badge of his Diſciples. It turns Devotion, into Contentiouſneſs; and Humility and the Love of our Brethren, into Pride and Self-pleaſing, and a Studiouſneſs by all Ways to maintain what we have once done ill, and bear up our own Reputation; into bitter Zeal, and angry Paſſions, and a deplorable Train of other Wickedneſſes. And therefore if all the Guilt of Schiſm ſupervenes, to that of the foreſaid Immoralities in any Caſe, how broad is the Net ſpread there for Deſtruction? How many there are like to be drawn into the Snare, and how loud will the Blood of thoſe Souls cry, who are caught therein?

METHINKS this muſt needs be enough, to ſhew Men the infinite Weight and Conſequence of theſe Debates, and to cure all Indifference, and Unconcernedneſs about them, on ſuch Occaſions. If they are careleſs what becomes of their Souls, and care only or chiefly for Worldly Intereſts; all theſe Things, indeed, will eaſily be ſlighted and over-look'd, when they oppoſe the Clamours of Fleſh and Blood. But Men, who would pretend Religion, or ſecure their eternal Happineſs in the World to come, muſt needs ſee how deeply, and cloſely theſe Matters affect it, and how infinitely it concerns them, not to go wrong, or to be miſtaken therein. And 'tis only to Men ſo diſpoſed, that Diſcourſes of this Nature are like to do any Good. To ſuch therefore this is tendred with a ſincere and charitable Intent, of miniſtring to give them right Notions and Apprehenſions of theſe Matters, and of ſerving them in the Way of their everlaſting Concerns. I humbly requeſt of them, for their own ſakes, that they would fully reſolve to ſet up God, and not this World, in theſe Matters. And if they will ſeek Truth ſincerely, and conſider and examine what they read impartially; then let them judge of all, and apply what is here ſaid, for the Determination of their own Minds, and for making ſuch Judgment of Practices on ſuch unhappy Differences, as they ſee Cauſe.

AN
OFFICE
FOR
PRISONERS
FOR
CRIMES,
Together with Another for
PRISONERS
FOR
DEBT.

CONTAINING

Proper Directions, and Proper Prayers and Devotions,
For each of their Needs and Circumstances.

By *JOHN KETTLEWELL*,
late a Presbyter of the *Church* of *England*.

LONDON:
Printed, in the Year MDCCXVIII.

DE BT

FOR

PRISONERS

Together with Advice for

CRIMES

FOR

PRISONERS

FOR

OFFICE

AN ADVERTISEMENT TO THE READER.

IT is thought neceſſary to aſſure the *Publick*, that the following Treatiſe is a *genuine Piece* of that Reverend Author, whoſe Name it bears; 'twas left finiſh'd under his own Hand, and may ſerve as a freſh Proof of that *true Chriſtian Zeal* which inflamed his Mind, and extended his Concern, to the Neceſſities of thoſe miſerable Wretches, who are confined to Priſons for *CRIMES* and *DEBT*.

Such afflicting Circumſtances, naturally incline Men to Conſideration, the Want whereof is for the moſt Part the true Cauſe of all their Misfortunes; but ſince it is as impoſſible to make that undone, that is once done, as it is to call back Time; the only Remedy that is left for the returning Sinner, is to make all thoſe Reparations to God and Man, which his particular Caſe will admit of: Now to this Purpoſe he is here furniſh'd with Variety of Directions both how to begin and compleat his Repentance, and with Variety of Devotions to implore the Aſſiſtance of that Grace, which is ſo neceſſary in Order to his Recovery.

There has been ſo little writ upon this important Subject, that I perſwade my ſelf the Publication of it will be very grateful to all good Men, who rejoice at any Means that are uſed to reſcue Captives from the Slavery of Satan: Beſides the accurate Management of the Argument, will recommend it to the Approbation of the moſt Judicious.

Compoſures of *Devotion*, when perfect in their Kind, I think may very well be ranked among ſome of the difficult Performances in *Divinity*; ſince they require not only Propriety and Decency of Expreſſion, but a mature Judgment; ſpiritualized Affections; and a moſt comprehenſive Knowledge of all Chriſtian Duties, to render them compleat; that while the

Mind is ſtor'd with Rules to make a ſound Judgment, the Will may be determined to the Choice of what is juſt, and all the Faculties wing'd to the ſwifteſt Proſecution of it.

How far this *devout Office* anſwers that Character, muſt be left to the World to judge; but the Talent our *Pious* and *Learned Author* had that Way is ſo well known, that I need ſay no more to ſatifie the Reader, than to aſſure him this is of a Piece with what he has already publiſhed in that Kind.

God grant that it may attain that End which he aimed at in this and all his other Writings, which was the Service of his Bleſſed Maſter, and the Salvation of thoſe Souls which were redeemed by his moſt precious Blood; *that they may both perceive and know thoſe Things which they ought to do, and may have Grace and Power faithfully to fulfill the ſame,* AMEN.

8th *March*, $169\frac{6}{7}$.
Blackheath.

NELSON.

TO THE READER.

READER,

THE Case of poor Prisoners, both for CRIMES, and also for DEBT, is very lamentable, and uncomfortable, with Relation to their Bodies; but more with Relation to their most precious Souls. And I think it a good Piece of Charity to direct them, how in their most dangerous Circumstances they may, however, set their Souls safe, and also provide for their bodily Straits; making them as easy and advantagious to them, yea, and I add really as safe too, as their Case admits to make them.

But when such Helps are provided for them, these miserable Persons are neither like to inquire after them, nor be at any Charge to buy them for themselves. And therefore another Sort of Charity will still be wanting to their Relief, and that is, the Charity of some pious Persons to distribute such Helps among Prisoners, and put them into their Hands. And when compassionate and charitable Persons, do not visit Prisons themselves, methinks such of them as are of Ability, should not think much to send such Visitants and Companions as these among them.

I have prepared this little Piece to be sent abroad, both to furnish them with particular Directions, and also with particular Prayers, for their several Needs and hard Circumstances. And I hope God will from Time to Time stir up the Spirit of some or other of his devout and charitable Servants in several Counties, to send some of these Pieces (or others which they like better) to be distributed some due Time before the Assizes in their neighbouring Prisons. By Gods Blessing they may help to save many Souls by this Means; at least they will greatly benefit, and recommend their own to his Mercy, who sets not so much by any Charity, as by that of Converting Sinners, from the Error of their Ways.

Brief

Brief Directions
FOR
PRISONERS
FOR
CRIMES, &c.

I. Special Directions, for Prisoners for Crimes.

CHAP. I.

How to Behave and Employ themselves, after Commitment, and before the Tryal.

I. AS soon as you are committed to the Prison, begin seriously to consider, and resolve within your Self, how to spend your Time there.

Do not once fancy, that you must lie shut out there from all Business, and condemned to a State of Idleness. But set your Self with all your Might, to mind the *one Thing necessary*, viz. The great Work of Repentance, and making your Peace with Almighty God: And know assuredly, that this will cut out Work enough for you, and of more Comfort and Profit to your Soul, than any other Employments which you have formerly been used to.

AND do not think of leaving this most necessary and important Work for an After-game, and that it will be time enough to fall to it after you have received Sentence of Condemnation. For this shews, that you do not yet think Repentance to be the Work of a living, but only of a condemn'd and dying Person; and that if you could have any Hopes to live on, you would reserve your Self and are resolved to sin on. And when you come to it with this Mind, you are never like to do much Good in the Way of Repentance; nor is it like to do much Good to you. Besides, the Review and Amendment of a whole Life, and making your Peace with God and Men after a long Course of Provocations against both, if it be done as it should be, is a Work of more Time, and Difficulty, and Thought-

Thoughtfulneſs, than you are aware of. And after Sentence is once paſſed upon them, the wretched Criminals often times are either ſo dejected with their Misfortunes, or ſo diſtracted with Terrors, that their Minds are not capable, to be any Thing near ſo compoſed, intent, and thoughtful, as the Work of Repentance requires; or to make half ſo much Uſe as they ſhould of that little Time which is left them. Not to put them in Mind likewiſe, that conſiderable Parts even of that little Time will be ſnatched away from this grand Buſineſs, to be taken up in farewell Viſits, ſome of Buſineſs, others of Love and Kindneſs, and in other Avocations and Interruptions, which both the noiſy and incommodious State of Priſoners, and the Condition of Perſons taking a deliberate Leave of this World, muſt expect to meet with.

As ſoon therefore as you are ſhut up from others, fall to converſe with your Self, and call your own Heart and Ways to Remembrance. And apply your Self with Seriouſneſs to think of leaving this World, and of giving a ſtrict Account to the dreadful Judge of Heaven and Earth, of all the Good or Evil which you did whilſt you lived in it, and of the many Things which you need to amend, and have to do, to make your Peace with God, before you leave it.

Firſt, FIX your Thoughts on Heaven and Hell, and look upon them as moſt real and certain Things, and as States of utmoſt Joy or Grief, and of endleſs Continuance. They who will not believe that there is an Hell, ſhall ſurely feel it: And when, by feeling the moſt exquiſite Pains thereof, they come to be convinced to their Coſt that there is One; they ſhall be for ever incapable, either to bear it, or to get out of it. Who can abide the raging Torture of Fire and Flames, and * *Dwell with everlaſting Burnings*? Who can endure to be perpetually gnawed, and pierced to the quick, with the Worm of Conſcience, always accuſing and tormenting Him, and eating through his Spirit? To lie down in a Bed of ſorrow, yea, and which he has madly Choſen, and obſtinately ſought out for himſelf: Where there is nothing, but Anguiſh without Abatement, and Horror without Hope; and wherein there neither is, nor can be the leaſt Glimpſe of the Divine Mercy, but inexorable Juſtice comes armed with Power, to heap on ſuch Plagues, as an Almighty God can inflict, and an immortal Sinner can ſuffer, for evermore.

* Iſa. xxxiii. 14.

AND aſſure your Self, that this will ſurely be the juſt Wages of the Crime for which you are made a Priſoner, and the unavoidable End of your miſpent Life, unleſs you employ that little Space of Time, which you have yet remaining, to prevent the ſame, by true Repentance, and making of your Peace with God before you die.

BEING therefore without Delay to ſurvey your paſt Life, and to repent of all that needs Repentance,

READ over your baptiſmal Vow in the Church-Catechiſm, upon the Ingagement and Undertaking whereof, God admitted you to the Hopes of his Mercy and eternal Life in Chriſt Jeſus; and ſtrictly bethink your Self how you have kept it. And read over your Duty to God and to your Neighbour, and at every Particular of each of them, propoſe to your ſelf, and conſider how you have performed the ſame. And this will ſhew you what Commandments you have broken, and what Sins you have to bewail and amend, that you may recover God's Favour, and prevent the Torments of eternal Fire.

AND having thus diſcover'd what your Sins and Offences are, which expoſe you to God's Wrath, ſet your Self inſtantly to humble your Soul for

for them before him, that ſo you may be fit for his Mercy. With hearty Self-abaſement, and Condemnation of your Self for the ſame, acknowledge before him, your own Baſeneſs, and abominable Unthankfulneſs, and wretched Folly therein. And fix in your Heart the firmeſt Purpoſes of Amendment thereof, as ſeeing aſſuredly, that there is no other Way, either of ſhewing your Duty, your Love, or Thankfulneſs to God, or of ſaving your Self from everlaſting Miſery.

AND having thus conſiderately, and fully purpoſed this Amendment with your Self, and that of all the ſeveral Sins which you find you have been guilty of, faithfully promiſe him, that by his Help you will amend them. And beg his Grace to fix you in this Purpoſe, and to enable you, as Occaſion is offer'd, to perform it. And then humbly and earneſtly beg his Pardon for all your Sins, for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake. And every Day afterwards, as it comes, apply your Self with utmoſt Care and Diligence, to make good your Work, and perform theſe Promiſes, conſidering, that it is the honeſt Keepers of Promiſes, who are to claim the Benefits of them; and therefore in all the Opportunities you meet with afterwards, you muſt be ſtrictly mindful according to your Promiſe to do better, in all thoſe Points wherein you had done amiſs before.

AND as for all Wrong and Damage, which you have done to any by your Tranſgreſſions, eſpecially by this for which you are now a Priſoner; reſolve within your Self, to make them full Satisfaction if you are able; or elſe, to make them as much Satisfaction as you can, and to beg their Pardon, and their Prayers to God to pardon you, for the reſt. And contrive how to do this, and have Things in a readineſs, that it may be done effectually and without Delay, as ſoon as ever it may be prudent and convenient to do it; providing at the ſame time againſt Caſualties, that whatever happens to you, it may not be finally dropt and be undone. And give out ſuch general Intimations before, of your true Repentance and fixt Intentions, of doing Juſtice according to your Ability, to all who have ſuffer'd by you, as may be ſafe for you, and ſomething of Satisfaction to them, in the mean time. And look on this Reparation for Wrongs, as a Thing that muſt take Place of any Proviſions, which you would deſire to make for your Self, or your Family, out of your worldly Goods; and that it is a neceſſary Courſe, to prevent God's future Wrath, and to clear your Conſcience.

IN this great Work, of poſing, and purging of your Conſcience, and perfecting the Courſe of your Reſtitution and Repentance, and expreſſing your Heart thereupon to Almighty God, you will have great Need of, and may receive much comfortable Aſſiſtance and Benefit from godly Directions, and Forms of Prayers fitted for this purpoſe. And if you are not otherwiſe provided therewith, your Needs herein may be ſupplied by a ſmall Book, intitul'd, *A Companion for the Penitent*, wherein is *An Office for the Penitent to carry on their Reconciliation with God: And a Tryal or Judgment of the Soul, to diſcover the Safety of their ſpiritual Eſtate*, &c. lately printed.

AND during all the Time, which God ſhall ſpare you after your Commitment, to attend this grand Buſineſs, make pious Books your Companions, which you may converſe with often, and as much as you pleaſe, and always with great Comfort and Advantage to your Self; and diſcreet and religious Friends likewiſe, if you have any ſuch who will come at you. For their Diſcourſes and devout Breathings, will be like gentle Blowing on dying Embers, and help to kindle any Sparks of Virtue and Goodneſs

that lye dormant in you. They will call forth your penitential Relentings, and increaſe them, and bring you by Uſe to take Comfort therein, and direct you how to carry on the ſame. Eſpecially if you have a wiſe and faithfull Guide of Souls for your Friend, prize his Viſits, and make the moſt of them, and prepare your Self ſtill to receive both Direction and Warmth from his Lips. And be free in opening your Self to him, and in begging his Judgment and Direction, upon all the great Paſſages of your Life, and the preſent Conduct of your Repentance, how you are to order it ſo, as that you may be moſt ſure of making your Peace with Almighty God. And be careful to receive his Directions with Thankfulneſs, and to follow them with Care.

AND this Way of ſpending your Time, in tranſacting and perfecting your Repentance and Peace with God, let me again beſeech you to look upon, not only as an Incident, to fall in now and then, but as your Work and Buſineſs in Priſon. And be ſure to keep your ſelf to it, as much as your Spirit will bear. Remembring, that you have a great Work to do, and no Time to throw away. That if you fail or fall ſhort therein, you are irreparably undone for ever. And that there is great Danger of your Failing, unleſs you ſhew ſuch an early, a watchful, and inceſſant Care as I adviſe you to. That you have been deſperately fooliſh, as well as wicked, in throwing away the former Days of your Life, and therefore ſhould now ſeek to redeem them, and to be doubly diligent in the good Husbanding and religious Improvement of that ſmall Shred thereof which ſtill remains.

TAKE not therefore more than needs of your precious Time, eſpecially not any great Portions, from this moſt neceſſary and ſalutary Employment, to attend unprofitable Viſits, or to throw away in Idleneſs. But by no means ſpend any Portions thereof, in that Cure and Diverſion of Cares, which, alaſs! Is too often the Refuge of impriſon'd Malefactors, *viz.* Wine and Jollity and prophane and looſe Converſation. Go no more into ſuch Society, than you would into an infected Room: But ſhun it as you would do the Plague, or as you would do Perſons who are throwing Fire-balls among combuſtible Stuff, and ſpreading endleſs Ruin.

AND in this Courſe, wait for the Seſſions or Aſſizes, and continue thus to employ your Self till your Tryal comes.

CHAP. II.

How to behave and employ themſelves, in Order to, and at, their Tryal.

AND then, in the next Place, as to what concerns your Tryal, look up to God as your only Deliverer to bring you off there. All Tryals in human Courts, are of uncertain Iſſue. Even the Innocent have Cauſe to fear, and the Guilty much more. For there Men ſtand or fall, by the Underſtanding and Diſpoſition of Judges and Juries. And their Hearts and Minds are in no Hand but God's, who turns and governs them as he pleaſes. Their Verdicts and Sentences in Tryals, are influenced and determined, either in Favour of the Priſoners or againſt them, according as ſome Things are offer'd in Evidence, or others omitted, which are apt moſt

moſt to affect them in their ſeveral Ways of Reaſoning and Believing, and ſway moſt with them. And though theſe particular Suggeſtions or Omiſſions in Evidence, whereon the Judgment thereof is like to turn, ſeem Accidents to us, and were not foreſeen nor dreamed of by the Priſoners; yet are they all wiſe Orderings and Providences in God, ſo that in the Verdict brought in thereupon, we have what he pleaſes.

IF you do eſcape therefore at all, lay down this beforehand within your Self, and be both attent and fixt in the Belief thereof, that it is he alone who muſt ſend you Deliverance. And if your Deliverance muſt come from thence, direct your Eyes to Him from whom your Help comes, and place all your Confidence in his Kind and watchful Providence: And when you truſt to him for Deliverance, ſeek for it with earneſt Prayers, and beg a longer Reſpite in this World if he pleaſes. But withal ſeek this with Reſignation to his Holy Will, humbly ſubmitting to his Juſtice, if he think fit to bring you to deſerved Puniſhment for this Offence, for an Example to terrifie others; and praying, that whatever Vengeance he exacts for your Crimes here, he would by no Means extend his Wrath further, but for Chriſt Jeſus's Sake ſpare your Soul hereafter.

AND thus you ſee that the Religious ſpending of your Time, which I have adviſed you to, is really the beſt Way you can take to prepare for your Tryal, and to deliver you from the Sentence of Death here, as well as of Damnation hereafter. For if God and his moſt undeſerved Care and kind Providence, muſt be your Deliverer, theſe religious Exerciſes, which are the ſureſt Way to gain God, muſt be the ſureſt Ways of Deliverance, and they have moſt Hope to eſcape the Danger, who have done moſt and taken the beſt Care to ſecure his Favour.

IF you have any Matters to order relating to this World, do them, as much as you are able, before your Tryal comes on, and leave them not to be cared after Sentence of Condemnation is paſt upon you. For all your Time after that, will have Care and Work enough of its own, and ſhould therefore be kept as free from all other Interruptions as it can.

WHEN you are going to your Tryal, go firſt to your Prayers, and put your Self into God's Hands, and beg his Aſſiſtance. Deſire that his Grace and Holy Spirit, may govern all your Carriage, and all your Anſwers there, and prepare your Heart to expreſs your Self with Wiſdom and Uprightneſs, and the Hearts of Judges and Juries to receive the ſame with Favour and Tenderneſs: Remembring, that both *the Preparations of the Heart* in him who needs and asks Favour, *and the Anſwer of the Tongue* in thoſe who are either to grant or deny it, *is from the Lord.* Prov. 16. 1.

WHEN you are brought upon your Tryal, I think you may ſafely make the legal Plea of not guilty: For though you are guilty in Reality, yet you are not guilty in the Eye of the Law, till you are legally found to be ſo. And when the Law asks you this, I conceive you may anſwer, not according to your real, but your legal Guiltineſs, being innocent in legal Eſtimate till you are convicted. For 'tis the Humanity and Equity of our Law, as I take it, not to require Criminals, eſpecially in capital Caſes, to accuſe themſelves, which would be very unnatural, and caſting off all Tenderneſs and due Regard to humane Weakneſs. But whatever they are in Truth, it allows them to put their Guilt upon the Proof, by pleading *not Guilty*; that where they cannot voluntary publiſh themſelves, and glory in a Fact as Confeſſors, they may be convicted thereof by due Proof as Criminals, and brought to ſuffer Puniſhment for the ſame, as common Humanity allows Puniſhments ſhould be

ſuffered, againſt their Wills. Yea, further to manifeſt its Moderation and Diſpoſition to Clemency in this Caſe, after they have thus put their Guiltineſs upon the Proof, the Form and Voice of the Court is, to pray them *a Good Deliverance.*

AND having put your Self upon the Tryal of this Plea, you may ſay ſuch Things in your own Favour, as you can ſay truly. But ſeek not for Safety in Lyes, and Falſification of Things againſt your own Knowledge; denying what you know to be true to ſave your Self, or poſitively affirming what really you do not know, or perhaps know to be otherwiſe. Much leſs ſeek it in miſchievous Lyes, to caſt your Faults on others, and either bring innocent Men under Suſpicion, and into Dangers, or make other guilty Perſons guilty of more than really they are: For this is to give God freſh Provocations, and back an old Sin by a new one, and to forſake him when you ſtand in the greateſt need of Him, which is the readieſt Way to forfeit both his Peace hereafter and his Preſervation here, and utterly to loſe both Him and your Self too.

TRUST your Life therefore in his Hands, by keeping your Defence thereof within the Bounds of Truth and Juſtice: This is a great Tryal of your Faith. But 'tis a Tryal which you have wickedly brought your Self into. And under the ſame it is neceſſary for you thus to approve your Faith, in his Mercy and Care of you. You have no Faith in him left, or none that he will accept of, if you forſake him and his Ways in this difficult Caſe, and fly to Sin to ſave your Self. But if you can truſt wholly to his Providence and not at all to evil Ways, and have Faith to contain your Self within your Duty under the Hazard of your Life, this noble Faith will be a mighty Endearment, and of great Account in his Eyes; nothing ever recommending poor Sinners more to God than Faith doth, when it keeps them innocent and obedient in ſuch hard Tryals.

AND therefore ſet your Self reſolutely to act this great and moſt concerning Part well, and to approve your Faith in Him when it is tryed. And look upon this truſting of your Self to him to be the wiſeſt Way of ſaving your Life, as well as of preſerving your Innocence. For if you are preſerved at all, as I ſay you muſt owe your Preſervation above all Things to his watchful Care and kind Providence. And if you muſt receive your Life from his Hand, ſeek to him for it, and truſt him with it; and by no Means leave him, to ſeek out other unlawful Helps, which will be like to deceive you in this World, and are certainly the Way to deſtroy you afterwards, in that which is to come.

AND when you have heard your Accuſers, and have been heard to make as wiſe a Defence as you could make for your Self with Truth and Juſtice, lift up your Heart to God when you are taken from the Bar, and humbly and devoutly commit the Event of all to him. And pray that he will be pleaſed to order it in Favour to you, waiting with Patience and Reſignation of Spirit, to ſee how he will diſpoſe the Hearts of Judges and Juries to deal with you.

IF you are acquitted, give him the Praiſe thereof, and receive it with utmoſt Devotion and Thankfulneſs. But if you are brought in Guilty and condemn'd, humbly ſubmit your Self, and own the Juſtice of your Sentence: and give Glory to God, by juſtifying his Providence, which has recompenced your high Crimes with a deſerved Vengeance; and by juſtifying his lawful Miniſters, who bear the Sword in his Place, and uſe it any Time upon ſuch Criminals as you are, confeſſing freely that 'tis uſed now in your Caſe, for the Puniſhment and Terror of Evil-doers.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

How to behave and employ themſelves after Sentence of Condemnation, and at the Time of Execution.

AND after you have received Sentence, ſet your ſelf to loſe none of thoſe precious Moments of Time which are left you, but to make the wiſeſt and carefulleſt Uſe thereof which you can, in preparing for Death. You are to diſcharge this Great and laſt Part of Dying but once, Oh! Therefore take Care to do it well. You can rectify or amend nothing after, Oh! Then labour as much as in you lies to make all ſure, and ſet all ſtraight before. Finiſh all your intended Acts of Reſtitution, and repeat anew all your former Acts of Repentance, add Earneſtneſs and Vigour to them, and perfect what is defective therein, and ſend them up to God in continual Strains and Breathings of Devotion, either ſhort and occaſional Ejaculations, or more ſet and ſolemn Prayers. And to conſummate your Repentance, and to comfort up your Spirit with the Pledges of God's Love and Peace, take Care before you die to receive the holy Communion, after you have endeavoured the beſt you can to fit your Self for it, and to ſatisfy the holy Man who adminiſters it to you, of your fitneſs for the ſame. And if you can often have the Bleſſing of a prudent and pious Miniſter's Direction in that diſconſolate Time, prize it highly, and improve it diligently, and take ſuch further Ways for the ſecuring of your Peace and quieting of your Conſcience, as in his Diſcretion he ſhall direct you to.

AND when you are brought from Priſon to Execution, own the Juſtice of your Sentence: Profeſs your Abhorrence and true Repentance of the Crime which you die for, and of all your other Sins. Declare the Satisfaction you have made, or would make, were you able, to all you have wronged. Beg all Perſons to forgive you, who have ſuffered by you in any kind, and all who have ever learnt any Ill from your Acquaintance and Example. Declare that you do from your Heart, forgive all Perſons, and that you bear not the leaſt Ill-will againſt any of your Proſecutors, or the Judges and Juries who were concern'd in bringing you to Juſtice. And when you make this Proteſtation of Forgiveneſs and Good-will to them, be ſure nothing fall from you, that may bring the Sincerity thereof into Queſtion. And therefore take diligent Care, not to ſhew uneaſie Remembrance and Reſentment, of the Evils or Injuries which you have ſuffered, but only of thoſe which you your Self have done: And to keep your laſt Breath from being an hurtful Blaſt upon any Perſons, and your dying Words from caſting out Darts and leaving a Sting in your Enemies, remembring, that you are to leave the World and come to Execution, not as a wild Beaſt, fighting with your Foes, and puſhing and goreing; but as a Lamb, meekly ſubmitting, as your Bleſſed Saviour did, though he had no real Guilt but was perfectly Innocent, who ſuffered the worſt Things without aggravating them or being angry at them, and on the Croſs ſpake nothing of his bitter Enemies, but to excuſe them, and pray for them.

AND having thus teſtified your Godly Sorrow for your Sins, deſire all the By-ſtanders to learn of you Repentance (tho' by no means to delay it

ſo

ſo long as you have done) and to be horribly afraid of the ſad End of evil Doers, and of the Vengeance of God, which is oft-times ſwift, but when it is moſt ſlow, will be ſure at laſt, and utterly inſupportable to all thoſe, who will not take Care in time to appeaſe him by Amendment of Life. Beg all that need it, to take Warning by your Puniſhment, that your moſt juſt and lamentable Death, may terrifie more from continuing in their Sins, than the Example of your evil Life had led into Sin.

LIKEWISE, if you can do Right to any Perſons falſely accuſed, or wrongfully ſuſpected, fail not to do it the beſt you can, before your Breath is ſtopt.

PROFESS alſo your Faith, whereinto you were Baptized, devoutly and audibly repeating the Apoſtle's Creed, and declare the Religion, wherein you die; and lament the Diſhonour, which you have brought upon them by your Wickedneſs, and declare your earneſt Deſires to do ſome Right to them now by your Repentance.

AND when by all theſe Ways, you have expreſſed before them all, how truly Penitent you are for your Sins, then humbly profeſs your lowly Hope in God's free Mercy and moſt gracious Promiſes, who for the Death and Merits Sake of our moſt bleſſed Saviour Jeſus Chriſt is ready to pardon, even the greateſt Sinners, ſuch as you are, upon their true Repentance.

AFTER this, beg the Prayers of all the Beholders, and the Prayers of all good People. And then fall to your own private Devotions, praying earneſtly for your ſelf, and for them. Then pray with the Miniſter, who ſtands ready to perform this laſt Office of Charity for Dying Men; and deſire all preſent to help you by their affectionate and fervent Concurrence therein.

THEN take a Kind and Decent leave of all the Company, and pray God to make them all the better by the ſadneſs of this Sight. Thank them all heartily for their Pity, and their Prayers, and deſire the Continuance thereof to aſſiſt you in your laſt Agonies. Then turn your ſelf to take a fitting Farewel of your particular Friends or Relations, if any are there preſent, and after that commit your ſelf to the Mercy of God through Jeſus Chriſt, and with continued and earneſt Prayers and Ejaculations, wait till the Executioner or Miniſter of Juſtice ſtops your Breath.

TO remember all theſe Points at the place of Execution, may be thought hard for the poor Priſoner. But he may have this little Book in his Eye, for his Remembrancer. And however he may expreſs himſelf on as many of them, as he can think of; and then ſatisfy his own Mind, that altho' he has not done ſo much as he deſires, yet he has done the beſt he could do.

Brief

Brief Directions FOR PRISONERS FOR DEBT.

II. *Special Directions for Prisoners for Debt.*

When you are made a Prisoner for Debt, it first concerns you to consider how you came in Debt. And if you are made poor and disabled from paying your Debts, merely by the Hand of Providence, you deserve Pity from all, and Patience and Forgiveness from your Creditors. They lose nothing by you, that you have squander'd, but only what God has taken away. But if rigorous and unchristian Creditors will still be hard upon you. You must do them all the Justice you can, and when that is done, bear the rest with Resignation, and conform your Will to the Will of God, who calls you hereby to the Patience, religious Trust, and Dependance of an hard Condition, remembring all the while to your Comfort, that you have not sought this afflicted State to your self, but may receive it as a State of God's chusing for you, who knows best what is fittest for us all, and as a Visitation of his sending.

But if you can charge your self with any great Wickedness, and have highly offended God, to bring these Losses and Impoverishment upon you, as a Judgment; or if you have run your self in Debt, by rigorous and luxurious Living, by the Expensiveness of Riot, Pride, Gaming, or by Idleness and Neglect of Business; then you must humble your self, and be heartily sorry for these Sins, for which you suffer, and bear the Confinement you have brought upon your self patiently, and set your self to learn Repentance thereby. And for working this Repentance, you may have recourse to the foregoing Directions about the same *for the Prisoner for Crimes, Chap.* I.

But which Way soever your Debt comes, when you are their Prisoner, be sure to deal candidly and openly with your Creditors. If you cannot fully satisfy them, lay your Condition truly before them, and shew your self disposed to do Right to all as far as you can. Do not pretend Ways of raising Money for them, which are not true; nor promise Payments, which you cannot perform. 'Tis your Duty to be sincere and plain with them, and Plain-dealing may mollifie and engage them; but it will be your Sin, and may double their Resentment, if you abuse and delude their Expectation.

And

AND let them be firſt ſerved out of your Eſtate, ſo far as it will go; unleſs in Compaſſion to your Needs, they are willing to allow you ſome Part of it. But think not firſt of ſaving Maintenance (whether they will allow of it or no) for your ſelf, or for your Family, and then of letting them take what remains. For your Duty is firſt to be juſt to all Men, and not live your ſelf, nor maintain your Dependants, upon other Men's Goods kept from them againſt their Wills; which is to live upon withholding Right, and perverting Juſtice.

MUCH leſs think of forcing them to Abatements and ſcanty Compoſitions, to reſerve and raiſe a good Eſtate for your ſelf, or for your Heirs, out of their Purſes. Nor chuſe to endure the Tedioufneſs and Hardſhips of a Goal for your Life, to ſuperſede all legal Remedy againſt your Heir, for your Debts, which he cannot be ſued for a ſecond time, after you have died a Priſoner for them. For this is paying very dear for doing Wrong, and denying Men their own; and is certainly the Way to carry off a very unrighteous and guilty Conſcience with you, and to leave the Curſe of ill reſerved Goods and of unpaid Debts, to your Heirs who ſurvive you.

AND ſeek not to Tricks, or any diſhoneſt Fetches and Miſuſe of the Law, to ſet aſide Debts, or put them off and poſtpone them, inſtead of paying them. Nor ſpend any of your Money, in defrauding, or hindring your Creditors of their juſt Right, which is all little enough, it may be too little, towards the honeſt Satisfaction of it.

AND if by your Inſolvency, any of your Creditors are brought againſt their Wills to abate Part rather than loſe all, look on that Part as reſpited not remitted, and pay it afterwards (if God enable you) in the Sum it ſelf, or (if you cannot do that) be ſtudious to make it up in good Offices and grateful Services, and for the reſt have recourſe to God by Prayers in their behalf. And what After-recompences you make them, do the ſame with Good-will, chearfully, and diligently; and thank them heartily for their Patience and Kindneſs, in being content to want it ſo long as they have done, when you do at laſt pay them the Sum it ſelf, or, when you cannot do that, in accepting your Services in lieu thereof.

AND having firſt taken this upright Care of your Creditors, and of their Payments, then look to your ſelf, and provide the beſt you can for your own Maintenance. If you have any Thing of your own left, after your Creditors are ſatisfied, live frugally and thankfully upon it. If you have not, then you are called to get your Lively-hood ſtill as you need it, and in the Way of honeſt Induſtry look up to God to *give you Day by Day your daily Bread.* If he has enabled you to ſeek this, by earning it for your ſelf in any lawful Labour or Buſineſs, look on that as the beſt Way, and plie it with Diligence and Contentedneſs. But if thro' Diſability, or the Numerouſneſs of your Family, or otherwiſe, you need to be helped out by Gifts of Charity, humble your ſelf to your State, and repreſent your Neceſſities modeſtly, and receive an Alms with Thankfulneſs. Firſt repreſent your Wants to your near Relations, who are more eſpecially bound to relieve the Needs *of their own Houſe*; and then to any other charitable Perſons, as your Caſe requires.

AND whether you live by Alms, or by taking Pains, bear always in Mind, that you are called to act the Part, and diſcharge the Duties, of a poor Eſtate: And let it be your daily Study, to bring your Mind to it, and to think only of having ſuch Accommodations, as are fit for a poor Man; not ſuch as you had whilſt you were in a wealthier Condition.

Brief

Brief Directions
FOR
BOTH.

III. *General Directions for Both.*

BUT when Men are Priſoners, whether for Debt or for Crimes, they will be like to groan, eſpecially where they are kept long in Priſon, under the burden of *Solitude*, or *Want*, or both. They are ſhut up from their Friends and Acquaintance; and are much ſtreightned for Conveniences, or it may be for Neceſſaries. And for a Concluſion of theſe Advices, I ſhall give them ſome *Brief Directions* for their due Reception thereof, and for their Carriage and Improvement under each of theſe bitter Ingredients, and ſorrowful Appendages of the State of poor Priſoners.

AND, *firſt*, as for *Solitude*, that indeed is a Puniſhment as coming to them againſt their Wills, as their Impriſonment is; but nothing is more fit to be their Choice, if they will make Repentance their Buſineſs. For he muſt retire from the World, who would fall in earneſt to converſe with God, and to look into himſelf. The greateſt Saints fall to this at certain Times, as the beſt Means of evening their Accounts with God, and perfecting their Repentance. And all Men have Reaſon enough to wiſh for ſome ſuch Thing, before their Deaths! Eſpecially if theſe dying Perſons are but young Penitents. For when Men at firſt enter upon the great Work of Repentance, 'tis extremely adviſeable, and more than ordinarily needful for them, to retire from the Noiſe, and Buſineſs, and Diverſions of the World, that they may have little elſe to do, but to attend it. And that they may keep out of the Way of their former evil Courſes, till they have unlearnt them; and of their corrupt Acquaintance and Companions, till they can withſtand and deny their Sollicitations; and of thoſe Temptations of the World, which have ordinarily been too hard for them hitherto, till they have conſiderately formed, and fixed and fortified their holy Reſolutions to ſuch a Degree, as may be able to overcome them.

LET the Priſoners therefore make Repentance their Work and Buſineſs in Priſon, as I have adviſed them in the foregoing Directions, and then they may thank their Proſecutors for the Benefit of their Solitude and melancholy Retirement, and make it their own hearty Deſire and free Choice. If they employ it to converſe with God, and to know and amend Themſelves, which they may do if they pleaſe, and will do if they are wiſe to do well for Themſelves, their Confinement will be as good to them in a Goal, as it is to a *Devoto* in his Cell, and may be as welcome to them when put upon them by others, as his is to him when he ſeeks it for himſelf. And thus, what God ſends to puniſh your Sins, O, ye poor Priſoners, by your wiſe Uſe thereof, you will turn to cure them. And this alone will change that Confinement, which may come upon you as a Curſe, into the greateſt bleſſing.

AND to make that Confinement eaſy to you in the Practice, which this Way will be ſo bleſſed and beneficial in the Effects, keep your Fancy from running out after the Noiſe, the Diverſions, and buſie Occupations and Entertainments of the World. Diſcontent and roving Deſires abroad, are the greateſt Sting in being ſhut up. But keep your Mind at home, and your Deſires within Bounds, and the Want of thoſe Liberties abroad which you covet not, and which you daily ſee do Hurt to others, and have formerly done very much to your ſelf, will ſit light upon you.

AND conſider, that as you are hereby kept out of the Enjoyment and Affairs; ſo are you likewiſe out of the Temptations, and, if you pleaſe, may be cut off the Cares of this World. And ordinarily the Temptations of Liberty have more of Danger, and of the Cares of Trouble and Sorrow, than the Enjoyments thereof can fairly recompence.

AND if you are ſhut up from your Friends, you are ſhut up alſo from your Enemies. For a Priſon is a Guard againſt all other Wrongs, and you are ſafe there in Stirrs and Tumults, in publick and in private Dangers. And though it be hard to be without the Company of thoſe that love us, yet is it no deſpicable Recompence, if thereby we are ſecured from the Envious and Malicious, and from the further Attempts of all that hate us. For ordinarily we are not to promiſe our ſelves ſo great Effects from the Kindneſs of our Friends, as we have Reaſon to apprehend from the Malice of our Enemies; Spite and Envy being uſually more induſtrious and watchful of Opportunities to ſhew it ſelf, and eager to do it to the full, than Love is.

PERHAPS you fancy, that now you are as one taken almoſt out of the World. But what if you be? You have ſeen Evil enough, and done too much in it, to be fond of it; and this Receſs from the World, affords you great Advantages of making your ſelf ten Thouſand times more happy in another World. And if Impriſonment is bidding adieu to the World, conſider, that this Time of your Commitment to Priſon, is not the firſt Time of your Renouncing the World. For every Chriſtian doth this, when he is baptized. They all profeſs to be as Perſons out of this World, and to keep Hearts free and looſe from it, and to live above it: And if People are really of this Mind, it will not affect them much, whereſoever God calls them to make their abode in it.

YOU are reſtrain'd alſo to one Place, and muſt move but in a narrow Compaſs. But if by God's Bleſſing, you can have your Health, and be eaſy and quiet under this Confinement to one Place, may you not well be contented not to change whilſt you are well; and whilſt the Will of God is ſo, reſt ſatisfied without trying new Places. And if it pleaſe God to ſend Sickneſs, though you were at Home, Sickneſs would tye you to your own Houſe, or it may be to your Bed, which is a narrower Compaſs than a Priſon is. 'Tis worſe being Priſoner to a Diſeaſe, than to the Keepers of Common Priſons. And Diſeaſes, as the worſt of Goalers, bring their Priſoners into ſuch a cloſe Cuſtody, as is much more irkſome and afflictive, than any other is. For under others, you are ſhut up, indeed, but that is to ſit at Eaſe and Reſt. But under a Diſeaſe, you are ſhut up too, and likely cloſer confined, and that to have conſtant Pain and Sorrow with it.

BUT whatever Reſtraints you are under in Priſon, as to your Body; yet remember, that even there your Mind is Free. Your Thoughts may go abroad, and run over all the great Occurrences of your Life, and fetch in Matter enough to buſy your ſelf withal, even all thoſe Things thro' all your Life, which you ſhould be ſenſible were done ill, and which you have

have yet Space before you die, to correct and make better, you have Liberty to think as much as you pleaſe, of God, and of your ſelf, of the Joys of Heaven, and the Terrors of Hell, and the Vanity of this World, and of all Things elſe, which may either direct or comfort you, and be of uſe either to your Soul or Body. Nay, the more your Body is reſtrained, and the leſs you have left to mind of other Things, the more Liberty you have for theſe Thoughts. And therefore by ſpiritual Things and Employments thereof Deſign, inſtead of being a Place of Incumbrance and Reſtraint, your Priſon is a Place of Leiſure and Freedom. *Take away* the Name of Priſon, as *Tertullian* adviſes, and *call it a Receſs*; and that is no Let, but the greateſt Opportunity and Advantage to true Penitents, and ſpiritually and heavenly minded Perſons.

AND then *Secondly*, as for the other Embitterment of *Want* and *Poverty*; when God is pleaſed to ſend it too, be patient under it, and ſet your ſelves to gain as much as you can by it. And if you pleaſe, you may gain Abundance more thereby in ſpiritual Exerciſes and Improvements, than your bearing all its temporal Hardſhips and Inconveniences will amount to.

WHEN you are brought therefore to a poor Eſtate, be ſure you take Care to be poor in Spirit, or to have no Thoughts or Deſires as I hinted before, after the Fineries and Satisfactions of this World, but what are ſuited to your Poverty. Do not let your Deſires run, or your Fancy pleaſe it ſelf with the Thoughts of what Table you kept, what Servants you retain'd, what Garments you wore, what Conveniences you had, or Reſpects you received once. But look now only for ſuch Things, as are fit for a Perſon in your preſent Want, and poor Eſtate, to deſire and think of.

AS a poor Man then, be content if you are reduced to a coarſe and frugal Diet, and a mean Habit, and an hard Bed. Be content if you have nothing elſe but Neceſſaries, which God provides for all his Creatures, even the *Beaſts of the Field*, and the *Birds of the Air*, who, as our Lord obſerves, have no Contrivance to *lay up Stores* for themſelves.

Nay, eſteem and own your ſelf unworthy, even of theſe neceſſary Proviſions, and think it not enough to be contented with them, but be thankful for them. And ſeek them without Solicitude, or Miſtruſts of Providence: But after a chearful Care ſpent in the beſt Ways you have to compaſs them, quietly rely on God, and truſt him for them. Do what you can, to have them of your own; if that ſucceeds not, ask of them, who are like to pity and relieve you, and if one denies you, try others; but if that miſſes too, God will ſend it, and put it into the Hearts of thoſe to give whom you do not ask, and ſend it to you, you know not how.

AND in your Poverty, be ſure you be humble. Be willing and contented to be maintained what Way God pleaſes. And if he brings your State to need an Alms, let not your Spirit be above it. Think not your ſelf too good, to receive, nor if need be modeſtly to ask it. And be patient where you meet with Repulſes, and thankful for all that is given you, whether it be little or much; yea, even for good Words and compaſſionate Anſwers where you receive nothing elſe. And if under a poor Eſtate, you can, by God's Grace, arrive to this true Poverty of Spirit, you are a very rich poor Man; you are poor in this World, but *rich in Faith and Good Works*, as our Bleſſed Saviour Chriſt, and his Apoſtles and earlieſt Saints for the moſt Part were; and may comfortably hope through his Grace, to have your humble, holy, and obedient Poverty rewarded at laſt together with Theirs, with unſpeakable Riches, Honour, and Happineſs in his heavenly Kingdom.

AND having after this ſort received, and improved, both your Poverty, and your Solitude, look upon them again, with a diſcerning and impartial Eye, and then tell me what Cauſe you have to repine, or to complain of them. Judge of them, not by the Opinions which other People paſs, but by the good Uſe which you your ſelf make of them. They are certainly good, exceeding good to you, when you receive and improve them after this manner; and therefore are Things, not only for you to bear, but to bleſs God, and be heartily thankful unto Him for.

An Office for PRISONERS FOR CRIMES.

Scriptures for Priſoners for CRIMES.

Pſalm li.
Ezek. xviii. *v.* 10. to the End.
Pſalm xxv. *v.* 7. to *v.* 20.
Rom. i. *v.* 28. to chap. ii. *v.* 8.

I.

THEY that plow Iniquity, and ſow Wickedneſs, reap the ſame. Job. iv. 8.

His own Iniquities ſhall take the wicked himſelf, and he ſhall be holden with the Cords of his Sins. Prov. v. 22.

Bloody and deceitful Men ſhall not live out half their Days.

My Heart is ſore pained within me, and the Terrors of Death, are fallen upon me.

Fearfulneſs and Trembling are come upon me, and Horror hath overwhelmed me. Pſal. lv. 4, 5, 23.

What Glory is it, if when ye be buffeted for your Faults, you ſhall take it patiently? 1 Pet. ii. 20.

My Son, Give, I pray thee, Glory to the Lord God of Iſrael, *and make Confeſſion unto him; and tell me now what thou haſt done.*

And Achan *anſwered* Joſhua, *and ſaid, indeed I have ſinned againſt the Lord God of* Iſrael, *and thus and thus have I done.* Joſh. vii. 19, 20.

We indeed ſuffer juſtly, for we receive the due Reward of our Deeds. Luke xxii. 41.

II.

II.

Fools, becauſe of their Tranſgreſſion, and becauſe of their Iniquities, are afflicted.

Then they cry unto the Lord in their Trouble, and he delivereth them out of their Diſtreſſes. Pſal. cvii. 17, 19.

Oh! Let the ſorrowful Sighing of the Priſoner come before thee, according to the Greatneſs of thy Power: Preſerve thou thoſe that are appointed to dye. Pſal. lxxix. 11.

The Lord hath looked down from the Height of his Sanctuary; from Heaven did he behold the Earth.

To hear the Groaning of the Priſoner: To looſe thoſe that are appointed to Death. Pſalm cii. 19, 20.

III.

If our Heart condemn us not; God is greater than our Heart, and knoweth all Things. 1 Jo. iii. 20.

The Law is not made for a righteous Man, but for the Lawleſs and Diſobedient, for the Ungodly and for Sinners, for Unholy and Prophane, for Murderers of Fathers, and Murderers of Mothers, for Man-Slayers.

For Whore-mongers, for them that defile themſelves with Mankind, for Men-Stealers, for Lyars, for perjured Perſons, and if there be any other Thing, that is contrary to ſound Doctrine. 1 Tim. i. 9, 10.

Without are Socerers, and Whoremongers, and Murderers, and Idolaters, and whoſoever loveth and maketh a Lye. Rev. xxii. 15.

Know ye not, that the Unrighteous ſhall not inherit the Kingdom of God? Neither Fornicators, nor Adulterers, nor Aluſers of themſelves with Mankind, nor Thieves; nor Drunkards, ſhall inherit the Kingdom of God.

Such were ſome of you: But ye are waſhed, but ye are ſanctified, but ye are juſtified in the Name of the Lord Jeſus, and by the Spirit of our God. 1 Cor. vi. 9, 10, 11.

The Lord hath ſent me to proclaim Liberty to the Captives, and the opening of the Priſon to them that are bound. Iſa. lxi. 2.

They that be whole, have no need of the Phyſician, but the ſick, I came not to call the Righteous, but Sinners to Repentance, Mar. ii. 17.

If the Wicked reſtore the Pledge, give again that he had robbed, walk in the Statutes of Life without committing Iniquity, he ſhall ſurely live, he ſhall not die. Ezek. xxxiii. 15.

Zacheus *ſtood, and ſaid unto the Lord, behold! The half of my Goods I give to the Poor: And if I have taken any Thing from any Man by falſe Accuſation, I reſtore him fourfold.* Luk. xix. 8.

Father, I have ſinned againſt Heaven and before thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy Son. Luke. xv. 18, 19.

God be merciful, unto me a Sinner. Luke xviii. 13.

PRAYERS

Prayers for Priſoners FOR CRIMES.

I. *A general Prayer for all Priſoners, taken out of the* Companion *for the* Perſecuted, *pag.* 135.

O! Almighty and Everlaſting God, thou ſeeſt the Streights and Sorrows which I endure in this Place, and how unable I am to help my ſelf, or to bring about my own Deliverance. But the leſs Hope and Support I have in my ſelf, the more I look up to thee, and place my Truſt in thy Mercy. And when my own Care can avail the leaſt, let thine, O! Thou bleſſed Helper of the Helpleſs, appear the moſt for me.

GIVE me a Body, O! My God, fit to bear the Inconveniencies of this cloſe Place, and Grace to be content therewith; whilſt I lye up here, let me not want neceſſary Proviſions nor repine at the Meanneſs thereof. Suit the Lowneſs of my Deſires, to the Hardſhip of my Circumſtances, and let the Greatneſs of my Study and Care be [*to do* † *Juſtice*] and ſhew Temperance and Self-denials, not to pleaſe my Self, or to gratify my own carnal Eaſe and Appetites.

†*To indemnify and content my Creditors* when for Debt.

WHILST I am here kept a part from my former Acquaintance, Grant, O. Lord, that *I* may carefully retire into my ſelf, and *call my own Ways to Remembrance*. And, Oh. That I may amend whatſoever is amiſs there, and ſet all ſo ſtreight with thee, that I may delight to look into my own Heart, and to *ſearch out my own Spirit*. Lord. Now thou haſt left me nothing elſe to do, make me apply my ſelf *to the one Thing neceſſary*: To grow in holy Reverence and Devotion of Spirit, in the Study of dealing juſtly and fairly with all, who are any Way concerned with me; in Humility and mortified Affections, in Patience and Contentedneſs, Oh! Plant and fill my Soul with all Heavenly Virtues, and make bright all the cloudy and dark Parts thereof, with the Rays of thy Divine Image. And then, O! My God, I ſhall ſee ſomething of thee, as oft as I look into my ſelf, and learn to be pleaſed with my own Company though others are kept from me,

AND in whatſoever Want I am of other Comforts, Grant, O! Father of Mercies, that both here and ever hereafter, I may have the Comfort of thy Preſence. When all elſe are taken from me, do not thou forſake me, though I dwell in a diſconſolate Room, let thy Spirit dwell with me. Let thy Law at all Times direct me, and let the Senſe of thy Love comfort me. And after thou haſt graciouſly improved this melancholy

melancholy Restraint, to wean me from vain and carnal Delights, to set my Soul free in thy good Time. O! My Refuge and Strength, deliver me out of this Prison, and set my Body too at Liberty, for my dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ's sake. *Amen.*

And for the more particular Necessities of imprison'd Criminals, they may use these Prayers following.

A particular Prayer for Prisoners for CRIMES.

I. *For Deliverance from his Sins and Sorrows.*

O! Blessed Lord, who art the Comforter of all sad and sin-sick Souls, comfort me, I humbly intreat thee, in this Height of my Fears and Sorrows. But first convert me, and then comfort me. I am over-laden with Sins, which overload me with Sorrows. And do thou, O God, rid me of my Sins, that I may get rid of my Sorrows. Nay, rid me of my Sins, tho' for my just Punishment in this World, thou leavest me under my Sorrows. Whatever befal my Body, for just Punishment of my grievous Crime, for which I am here in Custody; let true Repentance set my Soul safe, and secure it of thy everlasting Mercy, for the Merits of thy dear Son, and of my sweetest Saviour, Jesus Christ, *Amen.* *Or crimes.*

Our Father, &c.

Prayers

Prayers for Priſoners

FOR

CRIMES.

II. *The Priſoners Confeſſion of God's Juſtice in his ſad Circumſtances.*

I AM come into this Priſon, O! Moſt Holy and Righteous Lord, laden with Sins and Sorrows; and am here ſhut up for the Curſe and Shame of an untimely End, which my heinous Wickedneſſes have moſt juſtly deſerved. I am terribly afraid of my earthly Judge, and of that heavy Sentence which my Crimes make me juſtly lyable to receive from him. But infinitely more afraid, of that far more heavy and eternal Doom, which I am lyable to receive for the ſame at thy righteous Bar.

Pſal. lv. 5. NOW *Fear and Trembling have ſeized upon me, and an horrible Dread hath overwhelmed me* Without is the Proſpect of Death and Diſgrace; and within, is Guilt and Anguiſh. *My Spirit is broken within me*, and *I am even at my Wits End*, and *my Heart faileth me:* And though my Burden is intollerable, yet O! Almighty Lord, I cannot ſay, but it is infinitely juſt. 'Tis a moſt reaſonable and righteous Return, for my daring Provocations of thy Juſtice: And much more, for my vile Abuſes of thy Mercy and Patience. I muſt needs acquit, and juſtify thee; and have none to accuſe but my own Self, for all my preſent Fears and Miſery.

Pſal. xxxviii. 8, 10. Pſal. xl. 1.

* *Prov.* xi. 6. † *Job.* iv. 8. ‖ *Job.* xv. 16.

I am * *taken*, O! juſt Lord, *in mine own Naughtineſs*, and am only left to lye down in that Bed of Guilt and Sorrow, which I have been long a making for my ſelf. All my Life, I have been † *Sowing Wickedneſs*, and am now brought to reap the Fruit thereof. I have ‖ *Drunk up Iniquity like Water*, and though to my mad and diſtempered Fancy, it ſeemed to yield a Slight and ſhort Pleaſure, while it ſlid along the Palate; yet now I find it leaves an immoveable Bitterneſs, and is nothing but Gall and Wormwood, when it is got into the Belly. I have drunk it up with Greedineſs, and fill'd up the Meaſure of my Sins, till I perceive now, alas! That there is like to be no Meaſure of my Sufferings, and I am in Danger to be ſwallowed up and utterly to ſink under the Number and Weight of them.

THUS, O thou righteous Avenger of all ungodly and incorrigible Wretches, has thy Juſtice at laſt overtaken me. And although thy Vengeance is oft Times ſlow, yet to my Grief, and thy Glory, I find 'tis ſure, and, when it comes, inſupportable. I can in no wiſe bear my Load, though I have not the leaſt Exception againſt the Reaſonableneſs, and Juſtice of it. Only my Hope is in thy Mercy, which thou art wont

wont to remember even when thou takeſt upon thee to ſhew Judgment. And as thou art the Avenger of Sinners; ſo remember, gracious Lord, that thou art alſo the Saviour of them. Oh ſave me, the chiefeſt and moſt wretched of Sinners: And ſhew Favour unto me, not according to my Deſerts, but according to thine own boundleſs Mercies, for our deareſt Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt's Sake, *Amen.*

Prayers for Priſoners

FOR

CRIMES.

III. *His Profeſſion of Repentance under the ſame.*

I HAVE ſinned, O Almighty Lord, and ſinned grievouſly, and have continued irreclaimable in the ſame for many Years. But now, by the Alarm of mine own Dangers, and by the Help of thy Grace, I am made ſenſible of mine Iniquities, and am made truly ſorry for my Sins. I ſadly lament all the wicked waſt of my Time and Strength, and all my long and heinous Courſe of Ungodlineſs, and Abuſe of thy Patience, which has provoked thee to give me up to this great Sin, for which I am now moſt deſervedly made a Priſoner, and may be called to anſwer ſhortly with my Blood.

I am touched to the Quick, and ſorely afflicted, O! Righteous God, with the Trouble and Sorrow, which this Crime has brought upon my Self; but more with the Offence, which it has given thee; and the greateſt Care I have upon me, is to have thee forgive me, Lord! I do from the Bottom of my Heart, repent of all my Sins, but eſpecially of this great * One. I am grievouſly troubled for what is paſt, and am fully bent againſt falling any more into it for the Time to come, and am ready to take Shame to my ſelf for the ſame. I am vile in mine own Eyes, and am content to be ſo in the Eyes of other Perſons. I am truly willing to make any Submiſſions, where I have given juſt Offence, and as far as I am able, to repair the Wrong which I have done thereby. And Oh! That thou wouldeſt ever keep me moſt ready to do this fully and faithfully; and then direct me to do it prudently, and in ſuch ſort, as may not be more prejudicial than needs to my wordly Safety.

* *Here you may name the Sin.*

Tho' thou lookeſt upon me therefore, O! Almighty Lord, as a Sinner, yea, as one of the greateſt of Sinners: Yet for Chriſt's Sake, look upon me as a penitent Sinner. And tho' my Sins are great, my deareſt Saviour ſhed his Blood for the greateſt Sins; and thro' the Merits of that Blood, true Repentance is accepted by thee, O! Mereiful God, from the greateſt Sinners. Oh! For his Sake, ſpare thy ſinful, but repenting Creature, and tho' Juſtice be exacted of me for my Crimes here, yet admit me to ſome comfortable and well-grounded Hopes of thy Mercy for the ſame hereafter, thro' the Merits of my deareſt Saviour and Redeemer, Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

Our Father, &c.

Prayers for Priſoners FOR CRIMES.

IV. *Prayers for Learning Righteouſneſs, and Improvement of remaining Moments of Life.*

I.

THY Rod, O! Bleſſed Father, which is lifted up in Juſtice, to puniſh our Iniquities; is uſed alſo by thy Grace, to cure them. Oh! Let this my moſt deſerved Affliction teach me Wiſdom. Make my Goal, my School wherein I may learn Righteouſneſs; and let my Chains be Preachers of Repentance. Now I feel the Smart and Puniſhment thereof, give me Grace to be fully ſenſible of the Wretchedneſs and Folly, of an ungodly and miſpent Life. Let me loath the Sin, as well as the Sorrow; and be duly affected with the Injury and Diſhonour which I have thereby done to thee, as well as with the Danger and Diſtreſs which I have thereby brought upon my ſelf; that my Contrition being truly for my Sins againſt thee, I may be duly qualified for thy moſt gracious Pardon of the ſame, thro' the Merits of my bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

II.

II.

AND Help me, O! Gracious God, carefully to improve all my remaining Moments, and to employ all the Time which I have now to live, in minding the true Work and Buſineſs of Life. Habituate my Heart to thy Fear, to Humility and Patience, Temperance and Self-denials, Faſting and Prayers. Teach me to prize and ſet a great Value upon all Helps and Opportunities of Inſtruction and Improvements in the Way of Godlineſs: To be deſirous above all Things of thy Grace; and of the Company of good People whoſe Diſcourſe and Carriage may affect my Heart therewith; and of their Prayers, ſince I am moſt unworthy thro' the Multitude of my heinous Offences, to pray unto the for my Self, or to preſent unto thee any Petitions from my polluted Lips.

LET not my corrupt Luſts, O! God, run at Liberty, whilſt my Body is under Guards and Cuſtody. And let me by no means reſort to the Company of deſperate Sinners, to keep off Remorſe for my own Guilts; nor ſeek to drown the Agonies of my Mind, in Exceſs of Wine, nor to divert them by vain Converſation. But what Space thou ſhalt graciouſly ſpare me, Oh! that I may carefully employ, and lay out with the utmoſt Diligence, to make my Peace with thee, and to prepare for Eternity.

LORD! Help me to true Repentance, that with all my Heart I may return unto thee. Do thou help me, now I call unto thee. Help me, O! God of Mercy, for none elſe can help me. Help thou me, or I ſhall die eternally. Make my Repentance true and acceptable in thy Sight, that if I die, I may depart in thy Peace; or, if by thy Grace, I be ſpared to live on ſtill longer, I may return from all my former Errors to a Life of Holineſs, and devote all the Remainder of my Days to thy Glory, thro' our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt. *Amen.*

Our Father, &c.

Prayers for Priſoners FOR CRIMES.

V. *Prayers for Acceptance of Repentance, though late, and for the Sincerity and Integrity thereof.*

I.

THESE good Thoughts of Mine, O! Moſt merciful God, I know are late Purpoſes, in one drawing towards the End of his Days. And Purpoſes, of one affrighted with the near Approach of Death; who whilſt he was at Eaſe and Liberty, was wont moſt wretchedly to ſlight thy Calls, and to abuſe thy Grace.

BUT O! Father, accept me, tho' I return late into thy Service, and * *have tarried till it is the laſt Hour of the Day.* Accept me, tho' it is the Rod that has given Repentance, and Affliction that has made me wiſe. Be graciouſly pleaſed, O! Good Lord, with any Thing, and at any Time, that ſhall bring me back to thy ſelf. And deſpiſe not my Repentance, altho' it is the Repentance of a Malefactor in Agonies; more than thou didſt deſpiſe that of *the Penitent Thief upon the Croſs.* But make me find that true Repentance is welcome to thee at all times, and that in this World it is never too late to grow wiſe, nor will ever be in vain to return with our whole Heart to thy Service, thro' Jeſus Chriſt our Lord, *Amen.*

* Mat. xx. 9.

Luk. xxiii. 42, 43.

II.

AND, Oh! Merciful God, by the Power of thy Grace, make my Repentance true, and my Return intire, that it may be acceptable in thy Sight thro' the Blood of my deareſt Lord. What good Purpoſes I have begun, through Fear of this World; carry me on to perfect, by the Conſiderations of the next World. Improve my Horror of Pain, into an Hatred of Sin; and my Sorrow for the Dangers, which I have brought upon my ſelf, into a godly Senſe of the Diſhonour which I have done to thee. Oh! Cut me not off from my Sins, till thou haſt cured me of them, and finiſh'd the Work of Grace upon my poor Soul. That I may have all my

Puniſhment

Punishment in this Life, but Peace with thee, and Rest after Death, in the Joys of Paradice, for my dear Saviour's sake, who died to save Sinners; yea, to save such capital Offenders, as I am, and as suffer'd with him, when he hung upon the Cross between two Thieves, *Amen.*
Our Father, &c.

Prayers for Prisoners FOR CRIMES.

VI. *For Respite, and longer Time in this World; and against the Day of Tryal.*

I.

LORD! If it be thy good Pleasure, spare me a little longer, and let me escape that untimely End, which my Crimes have deserved. I would fain live on some Time, to make Proof of my good Purposes; and having abused so much Time to contract evil Habits, I should be most glad and thankful to have a little more, to wear them off again. Tho' I have many worldly Reasons for this Respite; yet, O! Great and Righteous Judge, I desire it not so much upon any other Account, as of Redeeming my former Years of Vice, and of growing more perfect in thy Service, and of being better fitted than, alas! I am at present, to appear before thy Judgment Seat. Hear me, O! Lord, for thy Mercies and thy dear Son and my only Saviour Jesus Christ's sake, *Amen.*

II.

Oh! Thou God of Patience and Long-sufferance, shew thy accustomed Forbearance unto thy wretched Servant. Save me from that *Pit of Destruction*, which I have Digged for my self; and from the Sentence of Death, which I am horribly affraid to hear from the Mouth of my earthly Judge.

But let this Deliverance be brought about, O! My God, only by the wise ordering of thy good Providence, and not by any Falsehood of mine, or

or other unlawful Arts. I fear Death, O! Righteous God. But that which makes me moſt affraid of it, is, becauſe I have ſinned. And I deſire to fear Sinning, more than dying.

O! Therefore, gracious Father, ſuffer me not to yield to any new Wickedneſs, tho' it be to ſave my Life. Make me diligent, in all innocent Ways, and Means, for my Preſervation, and direct me to the wiſeſt. But let me reſort to none that is ill, nor ſay or do any Thing for my own Defence at my Tryal here, which will riſe up againſt me, and be Matter of Accuſation, when I come to be tryed again at thy dreadful Bar. And the leſs Care I may ſeem capable hereby, to take of my ſelf; the more do thou care for me, O! My God. And when my Cauſe comes to be heard, ſo order Things by thy Mercy, that there may not be a full Evidence produced againſt me; and that neither the Judge, nor Jury, may be diſpoſed to ſtretch Things to my Prejudice; that ſo thy Servant may eſcape.

BUT if in thy Juſtice, thou haſt determined, to cut me off untimely for this Offence: Thy Bleſſed, and moſt Righteous Will be done. But then, gracious Lord, perfect my Repentance, before I go hence, and for the Voice and Merits of thy dear Son's moſt precious Blood, pardon my Sins. I am more concerned for thy Favour, than how to come off here. I am content to ſuffer, what thou pleaſeſt in this World; ſo thou wilt let me go off in thy Peace, and admit me among the meaneſt of thy Servants in the World to come, for our Lord Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, *Amen.*

Our Father, &c.

EJACULATIONS FOR THE *PRISONER* for *CRIMES*, At his TRYAL.

LORD, Hear the Cry of the Priſoners, and deliver thou thoſe who are appointed unto Death, *Amen.*

HERE the Cry of my Wants for Mercy, not of my Sins for Juſtice, *Amen.*

HELP me, O! Lord, for I have none but thee to look unto: My Defence lies not in my own Innocence, but only in thy meer Mercy and tender Providence, *Amen.*

Ejaculations

EJACULATIONS

After his TRYAL, if Acquitted.

LORD, thou redeemest me from the Grave; and this Acquittal of me, is as Life from the Dead. Blessed, yea, for ever blessed be thy most endearing Mercy, *Amen.*

LORD, the Life which here thou hast given me, I do most humbly and entirely give back, and devote to thee. Oh! Accept me, and let me have nothing more to do with Sin and Vanity, *Amen.*

OH! Let me never forget this inestimable Mercy, or fail to make the best Use of this Remainder of Life, which out of thine abundant Goodness thou hast now lent me, *Amen.*

If CONDEMNED.

LORD, I meekly receive this Sentence, as my just Punishment: I have the due Reward of my Deeds.

BUT as my Sin brings this untimely and shameful Death; Oh! Let my true Repentance, thro' my dear Lord and Saviour's Merits, secure the Forgiveness of my Sins, and bring me to everlasting Life, *Amen.*

Prayers for Prisoners FOR CRIMES.

VII. *Prayers after Sentence of Condemnation, or any Time before Execution, and at Execution, only making the* Changes *as they are* noted *in the* Margin.

I.

O! Almighty, and most righteous Judge, to thee it belongeth to take Vengeance, and to me to suffer it. I must clear thy Justice, and confess I have my Deserts, and have none but my Self to blame for this heavy [* Sentence.]

* *At Execution instead of* Sentence, *say* and shameful Death.

BUT now, O! Lord, when the Sword of Vengeance is unsheathed, and is come to the Stroke, do thou stand by me, and comfort me. Deal not with me, as I have done with thee; but tho' I have basely, and wretchedly forsaken thee all my Life; yet leave me not, I humbly intreat thee, in † my last Hour.

† *Add* this *at execution.*

[‖ WHEN] the Justice of Man lays my Blood upon my own Head, let thy Mercy, O! Blessed Jesu, lay thy Blood upon it too, to expiate the Guilt of mine. Let that purge me from all my Sins, that altho' I die stained therewith here, I may appear without Spot before the Tribunal of my Heavenly Father, *Amen.*

‖ Now *for* when *at execution.*

II.

SWEET Jesu! Thou disdainest not to cast an Eye upon the * *Penitent Thief on the Cross.* Oh! Despise not me, † [when I] suffer in like Case, as he did; and I hope truly repent me of my Sins, and fix all my Hopes in thee under my Distress, as he did in his. Thou once hungest upon a Tree thy Self, for the Sins of others. Oh! By the Blood of thy Cross, save me, who [† stand justly condemned] to suffer the same for mine own Sins. Save me, O! Lord, a great and wretched, but a penitent contrite Sinner. In thy Merits, do I trust, ‖ *Into thy* merciful *Hands do I commend my Spirit.* I believe, that thou, O! Lamb of God, art * *the Saviour of Sinners:* Oh! Save me, who am chief among Sinners, and rescue my trembling and departing Soul from eternal Misery. I freely, and from my Heart, forgive all mine Enemies; Oh! Do thou, in the abundant Riches of thy Mercy, forgive me. Accept of such Recompence, as I am able to make to those, who have suffered by me, and make up the Wrongs, which I have done to any, and which now I am no

*Lu. xxiii. 43.

† *who am now to* for, *when I* at execution.

† *at execution say* am now.

‖ Lu. xxiii. 46.

* 1 Tim. i. 15.

no longer able to repair. Supply all that to them, and their Families, by thy Mercy, which they have lost by my Wickedness, that they may neither be tempted nor burden'd by the Loss, nor I tormented by the Punishment accruing thereby.

GIVE me Strength O! Almighty and most merciful Lord, under * my last Agonies. Help me, to bear all patiently, and to resign my self wholly to thy Mercy. Let the Example of my Fall, be a Warning to others, that the Prevention of their Crimes may make some Reparation for the grievous Scandal, which I have given by mine. And tho' I taste thy Justice in my ignominious Death, yet, O! Gracious Father, let me find the Sweetness of thy Mercy after it, for my dearest Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ's sake, *Amen.*

* *Add* these at Execution.

III.

LORD, save me, for I flee unto thee for Safety. Save me, or else I perish everlastingly. Save me a wretched Sinner, O! Jesu, thou Saviour of Sinners. I have been a lost Sinner, but thou * *Camest to seek and save that which was lost.* And after all my woful and wretched Course of Sins, my own most deserved Afflictions, and thy most undeserved Grace, I hope, have brought me now at last to true Repentance; and thou hast order'd * *Repentance and Remission of Sins*, to be preach'd to all Sinners. Oh! Save me a penitent Sinner, and as thou didst with * *The Thief upon the Cross*, receive and comfort me in this my last Hour, *Amen.*

Our Father, &c.

* Lu. xix. 10.

* Lu.xxiv. 47.

* Lu.xxiii. 43.

EJACULATIONS

For him at the Time of EXECUTION.

INTO thy Hands, O! Lord, I commend my Spirit, *Amen.*

I return thee a Spirit, alas! loaded with Sins: But wash'd, I humbly hope, with the Tears and Sorrows of true Repentance.

LORD graciously accept my Repentance, and pardon my Sins, for the Merits of that most precious Blood, which was shed to wash away the Sins of all truly penitent Sinners, *Amen.*

Prayers for Prisoners FOR CRIMES.

VIII. *A Thanksgiving for Deliverance out of Prison, whither they had been justly committed for capital Crimes.*

I.

O! Almighty Lord, who art the blessed Author of all Life and Happiness, with a most thankful Heart, I humbly adore and praise thy Mercy, which hath now lent me my Life anew, and rescued me out of the Jaws of Death. My Sins, had set a Snare for my own Life, and I had digged a Pit for mine own Soul. Yea, my ungodly Ways, had most heinously injured thee, at the same time they threaten'd to destroy my self: And yet, neither my own Madness in seeking Misery; nor the Resentment of the grievous Wrongs thereby done to thee, could put by thy Love, O! Father of Mercies, and God of all Comforts, from shewing Mercy unto me. *I called out to thee, and was holpen; I put my Trust in thee, and was not confounded. I sought thee* earnestly, *and thou wast found of me. The Snare is broken, and I am delivered.* The Pit is cover'd, and to the Glory of thy free Mercy, and tender Care of me, I have happily escaped: For which all Praise and Thanks be ever ascribed to thee, thro' Jesus Christ my Lord. *Amen.*

II.

And Lord, keep, the Memory of this surpassing Mercy always fresh upon my Spirit, and let me ever be praising thee for the same, with joyful Lips. Never suffer me to forget the Vows, which I made in my Distress; but let my whole Life be one acceptable Sacrifice to thee my Redeemer, and make all my Actions to shew forth thy Praise. When I was in Trouble, O! Blessed Lord, it was not so much out of the Love of Life, as out of the Love of Innocence, that I desired to be respited. Oh! grant me Grace now to employ my Life, as I then designed to do, and to make good now, what I did then pretend. Fix me unalterable in all the Ways of Godliness, which I have begun. Preserve me from repeating any of my former Wickednesses, especially this Great one, which was so like to bring down Vengeance on my Head for all the rest.

Tho' I am cleared thereof before Men, yet I know, O! Righteous Lord, that I shall ever stand Guilty of it before thee, unless I shew true Amendment of the same, and make Restitution for all the Wrongs done to any thereby, in the best Sort I can. Oh! Keep me ever ready to do that fully, whatever it cost me; and carefully to slip no Opportunities of doing the same. And make me so watchful, to spend all the Remainder of my Days, in all holy and thankful Obedience, that I may not only have the Purposes and Promises of Repentance, which, alas! was a great Part of what I had to shew before, but the Proofs thereof to produce, and to comfort my Heart withal on any new Alarm. And then, O! Gracious God,

God, when thou ſhalt bring me to fear Death a ſecond Time, thy bleſſed Will be done, and by thy Grace I ſhall be able, and in Condition to bid it welcome, thro' the Merits of my bleſſed Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

II.

ONCE more Bleſſed, yea, for ever Bleſſed be thy great and glorious Name, O! Almighty Father, for bringing me into this Diſtreſs, as well as for bringing me out of it. I reverence thy Juſtice, for bringing it upon me. But at the ſame time, I moſt thankfully own thy Mercy, which, when all other Ways failed, would order this to reduce me to thy Self, and to make me break off my wicked Courſes.

AND ever deal with me, O! bleſſed Lord and Saviour, in this manner. Diſtreſs my Body, when thou ſeeſt that is neceſſary to ſave my Soul. My Fleſh is very deſirous of Eaſe; but my Heart, O! My God, thro' the Help of thy Grace, is more deſirous of Innocence: And whatever elſe I am given up to feel, let me not lie harden'd and paſt feeling in my Sins. Spare not the Rod of Diſcipline towards me, when thou ſeeſt there is Need thereof to make me wiſe; and let me paſs, tho' it be thro' preſent Miſery, if that alone can keep me in the Way of thy eternal Mercy. Which Grant, O! Almighty, and moſt Gracious Lord, that I may here comfortably hope for, and at laſt enjoy, for our bleſſed Saviour and Redeemer Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, *Amen.*

Our Father, &c.

An Office for PRISONERS FOR DEBT.

Scriptures for Priſoners for DEBT.

Pſal. cxlii.
Lev. xix. *v.* 11. to *v.* 16.
Luk. xii. *v.* 22. to *v.* 32.
Pſal. cxxx.
Deut. xxiv. *v.* 10. to *v.* 16.
Chap. xv. *v.* 7. to *v.* 12.

I.

THE Lord executeth judgment for the oppreſſed, the Lord looſeth the Priſoners. Pſal. cxlvi. 7.

I have ſent forth thy Priſoners out of the Pit, wherein is no Water.

Turn ye to the Strong Hold, ye Priſoners of Hope. Zech. ix. 11, 12.

I give thee for a Covenant to the People, that thou mayeſt ſay to the Priſoners, go forth; to them that are in Darkneſs, ſhew your ſelves. Iſa. xlix. 8, 9.

The Lord heareth the Poor, and deſpiſeth not his Priſoners. Pſal. lxix. 33

He ſatisfieth the longing Soul, and filleth the hungry Soul with Goodneſs.

Such as ſit in Darkneſs, and the Shadow of Death, being bound in Affliction and Iron.

Becauſe they rebelled againſt the Words of God, and contemned the Counſel of the moſt High.

Therefore he brought down their Heart with Labour, they fell, and there was none to help.

Then they cryed unto the Lord in their Trouble, and he ſaved them out of their Diſtreſſes.

He brought them out of Darkneſs, and the Shadow of Death, and brake their Bands in ſunder. Pſal. cvii. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14.

II.

The Wicked borroweth and payeth not again. Pſal. xxxvii. 21.

Defraud not one another in any Matter. 1 Theſ. iv. 6.

For he that doth Wrong, ſhall receive for the Wrong which he hath done, and there is no Reſpect of Perſons. Col. iii. 25.

Render to all their Dues. Owe no man any Thing, but to Love one another. Rom. xiii. 7, 8.

Have Patience with me, and I will pay thee all. Mat. xviii. 26.

III.

Forgive us our Debts, as we forgive our Debtors. Mat. vi. 12.

A Servant was brought unto his Lord, who ought him ten thouſand Talents.

And for as much as he had not to pay, he deſired Forbearance: And the Lord was moved with Compaſſion, and looſed him, and forgave him the Debt.

But the ſame Servant went out to his fellow Servaut, which ought him an hundred Pence. And he would grant him no Forbearance, but laid Hands on him, and caſt him into Priſon till he ſhould pay the Debt.

Then his Lord called him, and ſaid unto him, Oh! thou wicked Servant, I forgave thee all that Debt, becauſe thou deſiredſt me.

Shouldſt not thou alſo have had Compaſſion on thy fellow-Servant, even as I had Pity on thee?

And his Lord was wroth, and delivered him to the Tormentors, till he ſhould pay all that was due unto him.

So likewiſe ſhall my heavenly Father do alſo unto you, if ye from your Hearts forgive not every one his Brother their Treſpaſſes. Matt. xviii. 24, to 36.

To whom much is forgiven, the ſame loveth much, Luk. vi. 47.

VI.

IV.

Hath not God chosen the Poor of this World, rich in Faith, and Heirs of the Kingdom, which he hath promised to them that love him? Jam. ii. 5.

Blessed are the poor in Spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven. Mat. v. 3.

I am instructed, both to be full, and to be hungry; both to abound, and to suffer need. Phil. iv. 12.

As having nothing, and yet possessing all Things. 2 Cor. vi. 10.

Glory be to the Father, &c.

Prayers for Prisoners

FOR

DEBT.

I. *The General Prayers for Prisoners*, which the Prisoner for Debt, may find for his Use in the foregoing OFFICE.

And for the more particular Necessities of *imprison'd Debtors*, these *Prayers* following may be made *Use of.*

II. *Particular Prayers* for *Prisoners* for *Debt.*

I. *The indebted Prisoner's Prayer, for clearing the Score of his Sins.*

O Almighty and most righteous Lord, my worst Debts are my Sins, which are many and grievous, and which are all to be accounted for to thy Justice. And * *who may abide, shouldest thou be extreme to mark what we do amiss?* Much less could I abide, who have done amiss extremely, and have [† brought, not only the Fear of thy ture Wrath, but my present Restraint and Sorrows upon mine own Head, by my own evil Doings.] * Ps. cxxx. 3.

† *This, when the Debts are contracted by our own Faults, in Luxury or Mispence. But if thro' innocent Misfortune, and mere Hand of Providence; instead of,* brought not only *&c. say.* Deserved, not only to be made a Prisoner for the same, in this uncomfortable Place, but to be committed among the left Angels, to Chains of everlasting Darkness, till the terrible Judgment of the great Day

But

But O! Gracious Lord I am ſenſible of my Wickedneſs, and am truly contrite and ſorry for my Sins. And altho' this Senſe of my Sin and Folly, comes too late to prevent this my uncomfortable Reſtraint, and worldly Miſery: Yet 'tis not too late, to move thy pardoning Mercy. Oh! For Chriſt's ſake, ſtrike off theſe Scores, that they may neither ſink my Soul, nor terrify my Conſcience. [* Particularly, O! Gracious Father, ſtrike off the Score of all thoſe Sins and expenſive Vices; and of all my unlawful, or unwiſe and ſelf-will'd Projects; and of all my impoveriſhing Neglects, or Miſmanagements; which have drawn all theſe Streights and Hardſhips upon my ſelf, and have brought all this Damage and Trouble to my Creditors.] Cleanſe me of all the Guilt of theſe Sins, Good Lord, that my Soul may not hereafter be made a Priſoner, or arraigned again for the ſame, at thy dreadful Bar. And when once thou haſt blotted out thine Account againſt me, I ſhall the better bear to have mine earthly Creditors exact theirs; and patiently endure their Rigours, in Hopes of thy free Mercy and Forgiveneſs, thro' the Merits and Satisfaction of my bleſſed Lord and Saviour, Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen.*

Our Father, &c.

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* *In Caſe of Debts, contracted by meer Hand of Providence, omitt this within the Hooks.*

Prayers for Priſoners

FOR

DEBT

II. *A Prayer for Mercy from his Creditors.*

O! Father of Mercies, move the Hearts of all, who have ſent me hither, and who have it in their Power to ſet me free, to have pity on me Touch their Humanity and good Nature, with a compaſſionate Feeling of what I ſuffer. Let a Sight of my Neceſſity, pierce their Souls and move their Compaſſion; yea, moreover, make their Conſciences ſenſible, O! Lord, how for their own Souls ſake, they are indiſpenſably obliged to ſhow Charity towards ſuch Debtors, as are ſincerely willing and deſirous to pay them what they owe them, but cannot do it. Shew them, that *all Sinners are Debtors*; and that they are *thy Debtors*, as well as *I am theirs*; and that for infinitely greater Sums than mine

mine is. Yea, and that they are no more able to pay thee, O! God, than I am able to pay them.

OH! then, that their own Necessity may make them wary, and prompt them to shew Mercy. That *they may have Patience with me*, till I can raise as much as I am able, towards the Discharge of their Debt; and mercifully forgive the rest, when I can raise no more. Oh! That they may not be rigorous, in exacting the *hundred Pence*, which I am not able to pay them; because then thou † declarest, that thou likewise wilt *exact the many Thousands of Talents*, which they are as unable to pay thee. And that thus, by mutually shewing Mercy, we may all be prepared to receive it at thy Hands, for thy dear Son, our most blessed Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ's sake, *Amen*.

Our Father, &c.

† Mat. xviii. 25. *&c.*

Prayers for Prisoners FOR DEBT.

III. *Prayers for an Heart to be honest to his Creditors.*

I.

O! Almighty Lord, who † *lovest Righteousness, but hatest Iniquity*; let me not take up with a Prison, as an Art of Defrauding: nor chuse to rest thus uncomfortably confined in mine own Person, to leave the Guilt and Curse of ill gotten Goods, and of unpaid Debts, to my Family. Make me willing, O! God, to do Justice to all who are any Way concerned with me, to the utmost of that worldly Estate, which I have to dispose of: And ready to give every Man what I owe him, tho' I keep nothing to my self, but am left thereby to live upon thy good Providence. If Want must be my Share, Oh! Let me want the Conveniences, or even the Necessaries of Life, rather than the Innocence thereof. And grant good Lord, that the Place of my wanting, may be here in this World, where my Wants will soon have an End; not hereafter in the next World, where they will know no End, for Jesus Christ's sake, *Amen*.

† Psal. xlv. 7. & Psal. xi. 7.

II.

II.

ENABLE me, O! Bleſſed Lord, if thou pleaſeſt, by thy good Providence, and put me again into a Condition, fully to diſcharge and clear my Accounts with all my Creditors. Let none of them, O! My God, be Loſers in the End by me. But bleſs me in my Ways, that I may have enough wherewithal to ſatisfy all their juſt Demands, and give me an Heart to pay it out accordingly, and that with Thankfulneſs for their Forbearanc, and without unneceſſary Delays. And diſpoſe them to have Patience with me, till this can be done. And ſuffer not me in the leaſt to abuſe that Patience; but make me apply my Self diligently, to raiſe it for them, as faſt as I can, and honeſtly to pay it to them as faſt as I can raiſe it for them.

BUT if I am not able to pay them all that I owe them, grant them the Heart to forgive me what I cannot pay. And ſince what is thus *given to me* is *given to the Poor*; look upon it, O! Lord, as † *lent to* thee, and be *thou their Pay-maſter*. As they very charitably conſider my Neceſſities, do thou carefully prevent theirs: And whatſoever they abate to me of my Scores, do thou make up abundantly to them and theirs by thy good Providence.

† Prov. xix. 17.

AND after they have forgiven me, tho' I am no longer anſwerable to them in Law, yet make me ever ſenſible, O! God, that I ſtill owe the ſame to them in Equity. And give me always the Heart to repay, whatſoever they acquit, if ever thou ſhalt put me in a Capacity, either by proper Payments, or by grateful Offices, ſo to do. And by living always in this inward Readineſs and Preparation of Mind, to do them all exact Juſtice; tho' I can never fully clear my Debts, yet by thy Grace I ſhall clear my Conſcience, and be fit, not only for their Charity, but alſo for thine eternal Mercy, thro' the Merits and Mediation of my bleſſed Lord and Saviour, Jeſus Chriſt, *Amen*.

PRAYERS

Prayers for Prisoners FOR DEBT

IV. *A Thanksgiving for a Prisoner for Debt, on his Release from Prison.*

I.

O! aFther of Mercies, and God of all Consolations, † *the sighings of the Prisoners have come before thee*, and thou hast graciously heard my Prayer, and set my Feet at Liberty. To thee, O! Blessed Lord, do I owe this comfortable Freedom, which I have now obtained; and to thy boundless and undeserved Mercy, will I ever thankfully ascribe it. And Oh! That in all my Life, and thro' the whole Course of my Conversation, I may ever remember, that I am thy Freeman. O! That I may always adore and praise thy Goodness, for my Deliverance, and walk so humbly, and thankfully, and obediently towards thee, as may shew that I am never unmindful, that thou gracious God, hast given me my Liberty, and that I am ever to improve and spend it to thy Glory, thro' Jesus Christ my Lord. *Amen.*

† Psal. xix. 113.

II.

And Lord, let me never lose those good Thoughts and Purposes, nor forget those Vows, which I made to thee when I was in Trouble. Give me a Mind suited in all Things to my Circumstances, and Grace to deny my self, and to study to the utmost of my Ability to do Justice to all my Creditors. Never suffer me, to forget their Kindness in my Release, nor to give them any just Cause to repent of it: Nor do thou ever forget it, O! Merciful God, but remember it always for their Good. Keep me thankfully sensible of all the Kindness of my Friends and Neighbours, of all who did me any good Offices, who shew'd me Countenance, or supplyed my Necessity, in the Days of my Adversity. Oh! Do thou make each of them that Requital, which I ought to do; and keep me always willing and ready to requite them, after the best manner I can; and, when I am able to do no more, to pray earnestly to thee, that thou wouldest make up for me whatever Returns of Kindness I fall short in.

REMEMBER alſo, I humbly intreat thee, O! Moſt merciful Father, all thoſe poor Priſoners, who are ſtill under their uncomfortable Reſtraints, and in thy good Time, do the ſame for them, which in thy Mercy thou haſt now done for me. Oh! That † *having felt the ſame in my ſelf*, I may ever *have a* moſt *compaſſionate Senſe*, and *tender* Feeling of their Afflictions, and may joyfully embrace all Opportunities of recommending them to the Pity of others, eſpecially of thoſe Perſons, from whoſe Charity they are to hope for their Releaſe, but above all, O! Bleſſed God, of recommending them to thine everlaſting Mercy; which grant, that both they, and I and all thy faithful People, may ever earneſtly ſeek, and ſucceſsfully find, for the ſake of our only Saviour and Redeemer, Jeſus Chriſt, *AMEN*.

† Heb. iv. 15.

THE

THE GREAT EVIL AND DANGER OF PROFUSENESS AND PRODIGALITY; IN A LETTER TO A FRIEND.

By the Reverend

Mr. *JOHN KETTLEWELL*,
late a Presbyter of the *Church* of *England*.

Falluntur quibus Luxuria ſpecie Liberalitatis imponit.
Tacit. Hiſt. lib. 1. c. 30.

LONDON:
Printed, in the Year MDCCXVIII.

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THE PREFACE.

THE great Uſefulneſs *of the following* Treatiſe *will ſufficiently recommend it to the* Publick; *and I muſt confeſs it is not without a great Deal of Pleaſure, that I am any Ways inſtrumental in retrieving it from that Obſcurity it might probably have been buried in; becauſe, if I miſtake not, we wanted a juſt* Diſcourſe *upon this* Argument; *and I am very ſure the* great Vanity *and* growing Luxury *of the preſent* Age, *in deſpite of thoſe Difficulties we contend with, makes an* Admonition *of this Kind highly* ſeaſonable.

Beſides, ſome farther Juſtice *is hereby done to the* Memory *of that* learned *and* excellent Perſon *the* Author *of it; who, as he ſpent himſelf with great Chearfulneſs in the* publick *Services of* Religion, *ſo we find he did not neglect to promote the Intereſt of his bleſſed Maſter among his Friends and Acquaintance; and herein has ſet us an admirable* Pattern *of the* Perfection *of true* Chriſtian Friendſhip, *which ſhould always diſpoſe us to labour what we can in our Stations, to make our Friends and Relations ſincere and hearty Followers and Servants of the* Bleſſed Jeſus; *to expreſs our* Diſlike *of any* Evil *that reigns among them,* prudently *to* reprove *what we know deſerves it, and to* venture *the* promoting *their* eternal Welfare, *tho' at the* Hazard *of their* Diſpleaſure.

When I publiſhed the poſthumous Diſcourſes *of the* pious *and* judicious *Mr.* Kettlewell, *it is true that I then declared they were the only* Remains *of that Kind the World was to expect from him; and I did it upon this Ground, that among the Papers he left behind him, nothing appeared upon this* Subject *prepared for the Preſs. But it being known that the* Reverend Author, *from the undeſerved good Opinion he had of me, had thought fit to intruſt me with the publiſhing of his* Writings, *a* Deſcendant *from that* Gentleman *to whom this* Letter *was really* addreſt, *and for whoſe ſake ſo much good Counſel was prepared, ſent me* the following Piece, *and at the*

ſame

ſame Time was pleaſed to ſubmit it to my Determination whether it ſhould be printed; inſiſting only upon this Condition, *that the* Name *of the* Gentlman *might be concealed; a* commendable Care *not to expoſe the real Faults of our Friends, when no End of* Juſtice *or* Charity *can be attained by it. Upon the firſt* View *of the* Manuſcript *I found it was all writ in the* Author's *own Hand, with which I was very well acquainted; and upon Inquiry I was confirmed from the Teſtimony of his* worthy Widow *that ſuch a* Letter *had been writ, and there was no Reaſon to doubt its being* Genuine. *All this is neceſſary to be related, that the* Reader *may be aſſured he is not impoſed upon, and that he may ſatisfy himſelf how it came to paſs, that this* valuable Tract *did not ſooner ſee the* Light.

After a careful and conſiderate Peruſal *of the* Letter, *I eaſily concluded the* Publication *of it might be ſerviceable to the* Intereſt *of* Religion, *and might do a great Deal of Good in this* inquiſitive Age; *where tho' there are too many that diſtinguiſh themſelves by their* Profaneneſs *and* Immoralities, *yet God be thanked, there are* Numbers *that are preſſing towards* Chriſtian Perfection, *and readily catch at any* Helps *that are offered either for the* Building *them up in their* holy Faith, *or for making their* Obedience *to* God uniform *and* univerſal.

But leſt Favour *and* Affection *ſhould make me* partial, *and leſt the great* Reverence *and* Reſpect *I paid to the* Author *ſhould* biaſs *my Underſtanding in the* Judgment *I formed in relation to this* Performance, *I communicated it to ſome* learned *and* judicious Divines, *who confirmed me in the Opinion, that it was* worthy *of the* Author, *and fitly framed to rectify the* exorbitant Extravagancies *of the* Age.

And if Arguments *drawn from the* Conſideration *of the next* World, *and thoſe Miſeries we ſhall there expoſe our* Souls *to by* Profuſeneſs *and* Prodigality, *will have any Effect upon Men, as they muſt upon thoſe that ſincerely* believe *and ſeriouſly* conſider *them, they are here laid down with ſo much* Clearneſs *and* Solidity, *and urged with ſo much* Warmth *as well as* Reaſon, *that it will* be difficult *to reſiſt the* Influence *of them.*

But if Men *are drown'd in* Senſe, *and govern all their Actions only by a* Principle *of preſent* Pleaſure, *they may poſſibly be moved by thoſe* Evils *that threaten their* Bodies; *and then we may hope that the apparent* Miſchiefs *which are here ſhewn* naturally *to* reſult *from* extravagant Courſes, *may prevail upon them*

them to correct ſuch fooliſh Vanities, *as* baffle *their own* Pretences *and* Expectations, *and rob them even of that* Happineſs *they propoſe to themſelves in this World.*

There are few Men that are Deaf to the Charms *of a* good Name; *and to neglect what others think of us, is made the* Character *not only of an* arrogant *Perſon, but of a* conſummated Debauchee. *And indeed it is highly reaſonable we ſhould have a great regard not to forfeit a* good Reputation, *becauſe thereby we loſe ſo much* Power *of doing* Good *in our Generation. But tho' Men are inclinable to* value *their* Credit, *they ſeem to court the Favour of the World more by the* Goodneſs *of their* Underſtandings, *than by the* Honeſty *of their* Minds; *they don't ſo much bluſh for their* Crimes *as their* Weakneſſes, *and will more patiently ſuffer their* Virtue *to be called in queſtion, than their* Wiſdom *and* Prudence. *So that if Men did but conſider what a Reproach* Profuſeneſs *is to their* Diſcretion, *what a* Reflection *it is upon their* Judgment; *even to ſupport a* Character, *they would live within the* Limits *of their* Fortunes, *and not ſuffer their* Expences *to ſwallow up their* Revenues, *leſt at the ſame Time they ſhould be ſtigmatized with* Folly *as well as* Beggary; *the laſt of which is then only a compleat Misfortune, when we have taken Pains by our* Vanity *to draw it upon our ſelves. And the* Weight *of this* Calamity *has been ſometimes ſo heavy and* intolerable, *that Men have choſe to force themſelves out of Life in a violent manner, rather than endure the Smart and* Anguiſh *of it; of which our own* Age *has given us but too many* tragical *Inſtances. All this is agreeable to the* Advice *the* wiſe Son *of* Sirach *gives,* Be not made a Beggar by banquetting upon borrowing, when thou haſt nothing in thy Purſe; for thou ſhalt lie in wait for thy own Life, and be talked on. *The* Civil Law, *which is the reſult of the* Wiſdom *of many* Ages, *treats Men of this Character very roughly, and ranks* Prodigals *in the Claſs of* Children *and* Madmen, *appoints* Curators *for the Management of their Concerns, of which they have rendred themſelves incapable by their ill Conduct. And as it does not think fit to* entruſt *them with the government of their Affairs whilſt they live; ſo neither doth it permit them to diſpoſe of their* Eſtates *at their Death.*

Cicer. de Offic.

Eccl. xviii 33.

If all theſe Conſiderations ſhould fail, our Author *ſummons the* Force *of* Nature, *and provokes us by the* Example *of brute* Beaſts, *not to abandon our own* Off-ſpring; *and not* gaily *to make thoſe* miſerable, *to whom in a Senſe we may be ſaid to have given Being. It is not eaſie to diveſt our ſelves of thoſe*

Impreſſions *which are work'd up in our* Conſtitution; *but if we do not provide for our own Houſhold, as* Chriſtianity *has declared us* worſe than Infidels, *ſo a Man will always be thought deſtitute of* Natural Tenderneſs *as well as* Religion, *that can purchaſe his Pleaſure by the* beggary *of his* Poſterity. *And I cannot but obſerve from all the* temporal Inconveniences *that accompany* Profuſeneſs *and* Prodigality, *what great Obligations, we have to the* Infinite Goodneſs *of God, who has made our preſent* Satisfaction *and our* Duty *ſo much of a Piece, that we cannot tranſgreſs many of his* Holy *and* Righteous *Laws, without forfeiting our* Happineſs *in* this *World as well as in the* next.

The moſt pernicious Maxim *that betrays the generality of Mankind into Straits and Difficulties; is that* falſe Opinion *founded upon* Vanity *and* Pride, *that their* Quality rather than their Eſtates ought to be the Rule of their Expences, *and that they ought not to Regard ſo much what they can ſpend, as what is neceſſary to ſupport that* Figure *they think themſelves obliged to make in the World. But as this is very* unreaſonable *in it ſelf, becauſe not* Birth *and* Title, *but* Money *is made the Standard of Commerce; ſo in the Iſſue of Things it will be found highly* diſhonourable *and* unchriſtian, *becauſe it tramples upon the* Laws *of* Juſtice, *in the Obſervation of which, all true* Honour *ought to be founded; and diſables Men from exerciſing that* Charity *which the Precepts of the* Goſpel *have made neceſſary to Salvation.* Prodigality *indeed ſeems to aim at raiſing a Reputation from* Splendour *and* Magnificence; *whereas all the Advantages of Life have no real Matter of Praiſe and Commendation in them; this is only due to what properly belongs to a Man, which is a* wiſe *and* ſober *uſe of thoſe good Things God gives him to enjoy; when he is not* puffed *up by* Power, *nor grows* inſolent *by* Advancement; *when his* Riches *do not adminiſter to* Pride *and* Luxury, *but are inſtrumental to ſet his* Temperance *and* Charity *in a true Light. Beſides, let the Differences of Men's Fortunes be never ſo great, he will always be* Poor *whoſe* Expences *are more than his* Income; *and he* Rich, *who can ſatisfie his Deſires without exceeding the* meaſures *of his* Revenue. *The Neceſſaries and Conveniencies of Life lie in a ſmall compaſs, but* Luxury *is boundleſs, and the* Revenues *of the* Roman Empire *were not ſufficient to ſupport the Profuſeneſs of an* Elagabalus.

It is a ſenſible Obſervation of Plutarch *in his admirable Diſcourſe againſt* running in Debt, *That* the Goddeſs *Diana* in

the City of *Epheſus* gives to ſuch Debtors as can fly unto her Temple, Freedom and Protection againſt their Creditors; but that the *Sanctuary* of *Parſimony* and *Moderation* in Expences, into which no Uſurer can enter to pluck them thence and carry away any Debtor Priſoner, is always open for the Wiſe, and affords them a long Space of joyful and honourable Repoſe. For as the *Propheteſs* which gave *Oracles* in the Temple of the *Pythian Apollo* about the Time of the *Median Wars* anſwered the *Athenians*; that *God* had for their Safety given them a *Wall of Wood*, upon which forſaking their Lands, their City, their Houſes, and all their Goods, they had Recourſe to their Ships for the Preſervation of their Liberty. So *God* gives us a Table of Wood, Veſſels of Earth, and Garments of coarſe Cloth if we deſire to live and continue in Freedom. *Whereby it plainly appears, how much the Misfortunes we ſuffer, and the Guilt we are involved in, are owing to the* Vanity *of our own* Conduct. *So that tho' ſome Men have all the Materials of Happineſs at their Diſpoſal, yet by a perverſe and unaccountable Management they make a ſhift to render themſelves compleatly miſerable.*

The judicious Reader *will eaſily perceive that the* Argument *of this* Letter *is treated with greater Heat and Warmth than uſually occurs in any other Compoſure of this* Worthy Author's. *He diſtinguiſhed himſelf in his* Writings *rather by the* Strength *of his* Reaſon *and the* Solidity *of his* Judgment, *than by the* Brightneſs *of his* Fancy. *But when a particular* Application *is made to a* Friend, *the Nature of it requires that the* Heart *ſhould ſhare in the* Addreſs *as well as the* Head; *and that upon ſuch Occaſions we ought not only to ſecure the* Point *of* Reaſon, *but expreſs our Concern after ſuch an* affectionate Manner, *that our Friends may be melted by the* Senſe *of our* Kindneſs, *as well as conquered by the* Strength *of our* Argument.

God grant that what was compoſed only for private Uſe *may be ſerviceable and beneficial to the* Publick, *and help to recover Men to ſuch a Senſe of Things, as ſeems abſolutely neceſſary to their* preſent Enjoyment, *as well as their* future Happineſs.

St. Michael *and* All-Angels. 1704.

ROB. NELSON.

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THE

THE GREAT DANGER OF Profuſeneſs, &c.

IN A LETTER *to a* FRIEND.

My dear Friend,

SINCE I laſt parted with you, the Diſcourſe we had the Night before I left you, about your preſent *Condition* and *Circumſtances* in the World, has been no Stranger to my Thoughts. For the great Love and paſſionate Concern I have for your Perſon, makes me deeply concern'd in your great Intereſts; ſo that I cannot but make that a Matter of my moſt repeated and ſerious Conſideration, which doth ſo importunately call for your own. And becauſe the Poſture of your Affairs, and Courſe of Life at preſent has a very threatning Aſpect; and the farther I look into it, the greater Reaſon ſtill I ſee to fear it; I cannot forbear to give you ſuch a *Picture*, as upon a full and laſting View I have of it, that by ſhewing you the true Shapes and Meaſures of your *Danger*, I may either *affright* or *draw* you from it. For without all doubt, that great Train of *Evils* that I ſee hang at the End of that Line your paſt and preſent Courſe of Life is deſcribing, are ſuch as you cannot poſſibly chuſe when you ſee them. You could not run after them, if you did but duly underſtand them; nor ever be reconciled, and much leſs enamour'd of any Courſes and Practices that are attended with them. But the only Method whereby they win upon you is *Inconſideration*. You think not whither that Way you are in will bring you, and that alone makes you go on without Fear. And this being your Caſe, (as you will be convinc'd as well as I, if you can be willing to take the Pains deliberately to read, what I have taken ſo much to write and think of, as I cannot in the leaſt queſtion but you will;) I ſay, your Caſe being this, I cannot look upon my Self as truly loving you, if I ſhould not forewarn you of the Precipice, whoſe Brink you are juſt upon, and, in a Caſe that ſo nearly concerns you, let you ſee with my Eyes, where you will not uſe your own.

AND here, my *dear Friend*, I know you are wiſer than to expect I ſhould ſooth and flatter you, and deſcribe thoſe Dangers as few and ſmall, which you will find in the Event of Things to be great and many. Alas! what Friendſhip is it to repreſent a Thing only as trivial, which will indeed deſtroy

ſtroy and kill? To give great *Evils* ſoft Names, doth not ſoften their *Natures.* They will be as great and ruinous as they really are, whatever we are pleas'd to call them: So that whatever falſe Words I ſhould fix on them, you will feel all the true and real Evil of them. And therefore ſuch Miſrepreſentations of Things can ſerve no Ends of Love, but are idle and unprofitable.

BUT alas! this is not all, it is the greateſt *Cruelty* and *Injuſtice* too. For to ſet off great and dreadful Evils in a ſmall and deſpicable Appearance, is the ready Way to betray Men into them. It encourages them to venture where they are made to believe the Danger is but ſmall; and confirms them in that Courſe which they are perſuaded they ſhall not ſuffer much by. So that ſince to deceive and impoſe upon a Man in any Caſe, is a grievous Affront; thus to delude him to his Hurt muſt be found to be both Reproach and Ruin. It is Falſeneſs, armed with a poiſon'd Dart, and to Couſenage and Deluſion ſuper-induces Murther.

UPON theſe Conſiderations I do not doubt, but you will be as willing to have me uſe all the Freedom of a Friend in the true and full Repreſentation of what I foreſee, as I ſhall be to take it: So that I ſhall give you my Thoughts with the greateſt *Liberty*, and without any *Reſtraint.*

AND now taking it for granted that your preſent *Rate* of *Expences* will, in a very ſhort Time, run you out of all, let us take a View what the *Effects* of that will be.

AND let me adviſe you beforehand that you do not *undervalue* them, and think them *lighter* upon this Account, that as yet they are at a Diſtance, and only future. For that which is now future, when the Tract of Time that lies between it and us is paſt, will be preſent, and affect us then, juſt as it would were it upon us now. All that which we can at any time clearly foreſee, we ſhall in its own Time be ſure to ſuffer. The Evil is all the ſame, whatever be the Time of ſuffering it. All its Sting muſt be felt, and its Continuance endured, whether it be ſooner or later that it befals us. So that betwixt a future and a preſent Evil, there is no Difference as to the Pain and Trouble; they are the ſame in both, and muſt be equally run through whenſoever they happen. Their Difference is only in the Time of ſeizing us, which neither alters nor diminiſhes them.

NAY indeed, ſince the Evils to be felt in both are equal, the *Futurity*, inſtead of leſſening, doth *augment* the Trouble, and kills, as well by a continued Fear, as a painful Senſe and Feeling. It will not only fill us with Grief and Sorrow in the Suffering, (which is all a preſent Evil doth) but alſo with vexatious Fears, and ſolicitous Horrors ot the Expectation of it. So that whatever the Evils you are to meet with in your preſent Courſe be, they are never the leſs for being at preſent at a diſtance, ſince their Futurity doth in no reſpect *impair*, but in ſome much *heighten* and *augment* them.

And now to repreſent to you with the greateſt Clearneſs I can, thoſe frightful Evils which accompany your running your ſelf out of your Eſtate, and being plunged deeper into Debt than you can have any Proſpect of getting out again; we will for the more Diſtinctneſs take a View of them in theſe Particulars.

1ſt. *Thoſe which will affect you in what, I hope, is, I am ſure ought to be, of all Things moſt dear to you, your Soul.*

2dly, *Of thoſe others which will grieve you in your Body.*

3dly, *Of ſuch as will wound and pierce you in your Reputation and Credit.* And,

4thly, And Laſtly, *Of thoſe that will afflict and grieve you through your ſecond ſelves, your Friends, and Wife, and Children.*

And

AND if you do but attentively view all that frightful Train of Evils which will ruſh in upon you like an armed Man from all theſe Quarters; I am ſure you will not, cannot be any longer reconciled to any *expenſive Courſes*, tho' otherwiſe never ſo delightſome, which would let them all looſe upon you. I will begin with a View of the firſt.

Firſt then, *Thoſe Evils that will ſeize you upon your running your ſelf out of your Eſtate, and plunging your ſelf deeper into Debt than you can have any reaſonable proſpect of recovering out of again, are ſuch as will affect you in your Soul.*

AND here I ſhould be tedious if I ſhould reckon up all that Pain which ariſes from *Perplexity* of *Mind*, when you will ſee your ſelf ſurrounded with Difficulties, and be able to diſcern no Eſcape from them. All that *fretting* and *vexation* of Soul which will reſult from the Regret and Senſe of your own Folly; when you will with the greateſt Bitterneſs condemn your ſelf for having wilfully run upon thoſe Streights, which you might with a little Conſideration and Care ſo eaſily have avoided. Theſe Inſtances of Grief and Anguiſh of Soul, deſcribing its preſent Miſery in this World, with ſeveral others that might be mention'd, I purpoſely omit, leſt the repreſenting them fully, as they ought, ſhould prove too tedious both to you and me; and ſhall content my ſelf to ſhew you what great Bitterneſs and Sorrow will be created to it, from ſuch a State of unpayable Debts and irrecoverable Poverty, in reſpect of its uncomfortable Condition and Poſture for the next. For in that Day, not only the Difficulties and Loſſes of this preſent World will torment it; but, but what is moſt of all conſiderable, the Relation and Poſture it will diſcern it ſelf to be in for that World which is to come.

AND the Miſeries, which the conſideration of this World will afford it, will accompany it in all States, and obtrude themſelves upon it from all Quarters, whether you repent of your Folly, or impenitently continue in it.

1*ſt*, I ſay, the *Sight and Senſe of that Evil and Danger which your expenſive Folly has ſtored up for you in the other World, will extremely trouble you, if we ſuppoſe the beſt that can be*, viz. *That you* repent *of it, which is the* Goſpel-condition *of forgiving it.*

'TIS true indeed, that this is the great *Promiſe* of the *Goſpel*, and that great Benefit purchaſed for us by Chriſt, that whatever our Offence againſt God be, yet if we are heartily ſorry for it, and our Minds ſo truly changed, that if we were to act it over again, we would never do it, God will forgive, and not condemn us for it to everlaſting Miſery. And upon this account our Sins of *Profuſeneſs*, as any other wounding Sins, may, upon our *Repentance*, and forſaking of them, be pardon'd to us. But put the Caſe, you do indeed honeſtly repent of it, and thereby deliver your own Soul from being eternally puniſhed for it; yet if you repent not till it is too late, if your Mind is not changed from a Spender to a Sparer, till you have nothing left to ſpare; then, notwithſtanding all your Repentance, a great Load of Evils will ſtick as ſo many Thorns to your Sides, and continue to grieve and afflict you.

FOR in the *firſt place, one great Ingredient in Repentance it ſelf is Sorrow.* Its Scene is not acted without a quick Pain, and bitter Smart, and piercing Regret from the Senſe of our paſt Follies. It includes Sorrow, and it Works it; it implies Lamentation in its Nature, and creates it in its Effects. For it is ſuch a Sorrow as ſpends it ſelf in pious Indignation, and a holy Revenge, and religious Penances upon our own ſelves, for having been treacherous to our own chief Intereſts.

NOW

Now as Sin and Sorrow thus anſwer and accompany each other in their Natures, ſo do they likewiſe in their Degrees. The higher and the longer we have ſinn'd, the longer and the deeper in our Repentance ſhall we ſorrow for it. Our true Repentance will ſeek to make the Sorrow of its Return equal to the Delights of former Extravagance. It will be no Gainer by its Sin, for it hates it, and all that comes by it; but will inflict as much Sorrow upon us for it, as the Commiſſion of it did afford us Pleaſure. Thus St *Paul* obſerves it did with the repenting *Corinthians*.

2 Cor. vii. 11. *For behold*, ſaith he, *this ſelf ſame thing that ye ſorrowed after a godly ſort, what Indignation, what Fear, what Zeal, what Revenge it wrought in you?*

THUS will the very *Repentance* of your *Follies* it ſelf be ſo much the more bitter and grievous, as your Profuſeneſs has been more loved and longer continued in. For look with how much Eagerneſs you ſinn'd, and with equal Sadneſs you will then endeavour to bewail it. The long Endurance of your Folly will be anſwered by the Laſtingneſs of your Sorrow. All the Pleaſure, and all the Time which was laid out upon one, will be recompenced by the Pain and Continuance of the other. And all this Trouble will come upon you, for having eagerly loved your Sin, and long continued in it.

BUT then, if you conſider that the Sin of Profuſeneſs you will then repent of is ſuch, as has not only been *laſting in its ſelf*, but is alſo much more laſting in its *ſinful Effects*; that the evil Fruits of it ſtill ſurvive after it is cut off and mortified; you will yet find your Repentance more embitter'd, and its Sorrows enlarged. For whatſoever either aggravates, or only repreſents its Sin and Folly to a penitent Heart, goes on ſtill to pierce and wound it. It cannot endure to ſee its Sin without Shame and Sorrow, and is never at reſt till it has quite undone all that, which was done wickedly. It deteſts and hates, it loaths the Thoughts, it avoids the Occaſions, and riſes at the Preſence of it. It cannot endure to dwell with it, or in ſight of it. It wiſhes it had never been done, and that it were quite forgotten, that neither God, nor Angels, nor other Men, nor it ſelf ſhould ever more hear or think of it. All theſe are only natural Effects of a great Hatred, and readily iſſue out from a truly penitent Heart againſt its own Sin. But now if after the Commiſſions of the Sin are ended, the ſinful Effects yet remain; if after they are long ſince paſt and forgotten, theſe are ſtill preſent and thought of; then is our Sin kept ſtill before us, and always at Hand, to work us Grief and Sorrow. It is continually ſounding in our Ears to Shame, and ſet directly before our Eyes to reproach us. We cannot but ſee, and we cannot but grieve at it. It every where cries to us, and every where affects us; ſo that no Time or Place, where its evil Effects are, can afford us Reſpite from its Diſturbance. But this now will be the Caſe of your *Laviſhneſs* and *Profuſeneſs*, even when you repent of it. You will then vehemently wiſh it had never been done, and that it were quite forgotten; but the ill Fruits of it will ſtill live, and keep both others and your ſelf in Mind of it. For when you have ſorrow'd, and hated, and wiſhed all you can; yet will not its ill Effects away ſo eaſily, but will ſtill be a Mote in your Eye, a Thorn in your Side, and an Arrow at your Heart to wound and torment you. For after all your Bewailing and Repentance, yet will theſe Effects of your Sin remain to reproach and grieve you.

1ſt, *Your unpaid Debts.* And,

2dly, *Your unprovided for Relations.*

1*ſt*, AFTER you have repented and ſorrow'd all you can, yet will your *unpaid Debts* be a perpetually remaining matter of freſh *Grief* and *Torment* to

to you. They will be always at Hand to upbraid you with your Sin, when you are moſt extremely loth to hear of it. They will ſtill ſet it before your Eyes, when you moſt paſſionately deſire it had never been done, and that you might never more think of it. For Debts will not be paid with a Sigh or a Tear; they are not ſuch Things as can be retracted by a Wiſh, and undone by Repentance: but they will ſtill ſtand upon your Score, and be ready to break in upon your Mind to rob you of all Eaſe and Comfort. They will continually be repreſented to you by the *Importunity* of *Creditors*, who will inceſſantly be calling on you, repreſenting their own Sufferings and your Shame in your Profuſeneſs. And this will ſet the Sin before you, and make it live with you, till you can ſuppoſe Men that love Money will forbear to demand it, where it is due, or you that have it not, ſhall pay it without creating it.

BUT if it happens that they or their *Children* grow *poor*, and have a juſt want of what you have unjuſtly waſted (which for ought you or I know may be the Caſe) then what Additions of Grief do you think your penitent Heart will conceive at their Outcries? when they pine away for Want of wholſome Food, or die in Sickneſs for Want of due Attendance, and lay all this at your Door, becauſe you have laviſh'd away what ſhould have ſupported them; how will this ſting and wound you? Doubtleſs you will weary your Heart, and ſpend all your Days in bitter Grief, when you ſhall have ſuch Lamentations daily beating upon your Ears, and ſuch Occaſions always before your Eyes to foment and preſerve it.

AND if it happens yet farther, that your *Profuſeneſs* ſhall betray them into *Sin*, which is worſe than Death it ſelf, and ſo occaſion both their Miſery in this World, and that which is to come; and that you ſhould live to ſee it: what Encreaſe of Sorrow and Vexation for your Sin would this heap upon yon even then, when you are repenting of it. If your ſpending what ſhould have maintain'd them, enſnare them into all the Temptations of Want, and they periſh in the Sins of Poverty: If it makes them lie, or ſwear, or ſteal, or commit all thoſe other Villanies and Wickedneſſes which People both indigent and idle are drawn to for Food and Maintenance; what Addition will this make to your penitential Troubles? What Indignation will you ſhew, what ſevere Sentence will you paſs, and what auſtere Penances will your Heart, if truly penitent, inflict upon your ſelf, for having been the wicked Author of all theſe Miſeries?

THUS, when you have bewailed and repented all you can, will theſe laſting *Effects* of your *Profuſeneſs*, your *unpaid Debts*, with all theſe their grievous Appendages, torment and trouble you. And ſo will,

Secondly, THOSE other ſtanding Effects of it, your *unprovided for Relations*. Your poor deſtitute Children will ſtill be about you, their Wants will be always in your Eye, and their Cries will break your Heart. You will daily ſee their Neceſſities, and pity, but ſhall not be able to relieve them. And when you reflect, that whatever they endure you have brought on them, all the Miſeries you ſee in them, you will with Pain and Sorrow feel in your own ſelf.

BUT if you ſhould live to ſee them brought into *bad Courſes* through *Want* and *Poverty*; if they be ignorant and rude for Want of good Education, and learn to lie and ſteal, to be Slaves to ſome rich Man's Vanity and Inſtruments of his Sin for Bread and Maintenance; what Motions, think you, will this raiſe in your Soul; when you ſee the Sin you repent of has ſent them Headlong into Hell, and they are like to ſuffer eternally by it, tho' you be ſaved from it: ſurely this will be a Foretaſte of the Pains of that Place of Torment to you even then, when your own Re-

pentance has ſet your Self on the ſide of Bliſs and Heaven. And thus, upon all theſe Accounts, will your *Profuſeneſs* grieve and torment you, if we ſuppoſe the beſt we can, that you indeed repent of it, and ſo deliver your own Soul from everlaſting Pain and Miſery for it.

AND ſince it is ſo, let me here, before I proceed to the next Head, obſerve to you what ſtrange *Folly* it would be to indulge your Self in the Continuance of your Sin of *Profuſeneſs*, and not repent of it till it were thus late that no Repentance can redreſs, or preſerve you from theſe *Horrors* of it. For ſince it is abſolutely neceſſary to your *eternal Happineſs*, to repent of it before you die, (as I ſhall ſhew you under the next Head) what unaccountable Folly muſt that needs be, to chuſe that Time of repenting, when a great Part of that is gone, which Repentance ſhould ſave to you. The Sorrows of Repentance muſt be undergone ſooner or later; and why, in God's Name, ſhould you put it off till that Time, when you can have no temporal Joys remaining to ſupport you under them? Is it deſireable do you think, to take that Time of ſorrowing which will make your Sorrows more, and your Pains more bitter, and your Comforts leſs? If you are at your Liberty to chuſe either, and muſt chuſe one; is that Wiſdom to pitch upon that which is infinitely the worſt? If you repent not till it is thus late, you will ſorrow for your Sin, and ſorrow for all theſe evil Effects of it; and they being ſtill before you, will ſtill refreſh your Sorrow, and make it laſt as long as they themſelves do. Beſides, when you have ſpent all, you may ſorrow and lament, not only for your *Soul*, but your *Body* too. The *Meanneſs* of your *Fare*, the *Hardſhips* of your *Fleſh*, the *Brokenneſs* of your *Credit*, the *Taunts* of your *Friends*, and the *Inſultings* of your *Enemies*: all theſe, and many more, will then call for your Sorrow as well as your Sin. And are you now in Love with Sorrows, that you would ſtay till they are many in Number, and mighty in Bulk? Would you wait that Time, till they are grown above your Pitch, and too heavy for your Shoulders, rather than undergo them at ſuch Time as they are light and eaſie? But if you think, as I am confident you needs muſt, that thus to do is *Height* of *Madneſs*, and *Extremity* of *Folly*; then let me adjure you to *avoid* what you *blame*, and to keep off from what you cry out on. Repent whilſt you may with greater Eaſe, and it may be done to better Purpoſe: And defer it not ſo long till you have nothing left for it to ſave.

BUT ſince you muſt *repent* of your *Profuſeneſs*, or elſe you are loſt for ever; let us conſider whether, if you put off your *Repentance* yet longer, you are ſure you ſhall be able to repent then. Are you aſſured you ſhall not fall by ſome *dangerous Diſeaſe* or *fatal Accident*, which ſhall take you into that Place where *Repentance* ſhall be no more? Cannot an unhealthy Year, a common Infection, a reigning Diſtemper take away you as well as other People? Theſe are all in God's Hand, and come and go at his Providence; and what Security have you, he will give them Order to paſs by and ſpare you? Is your having deſerved them, an Argument to move him to prevent them? The *Wages of Sin is Death*, and theſe Caſualties and Diſeaſes are the Miniſters and Executioners of it: And can you imagine that your continuing by your *Profuſeneſs* to deſerve and to provoke the Puniſhment, is a fit Means to protect you from the Execution? Muſt God, when he ſends a Diſtemper to rage in the Earth, paſs you by becauſe you perſevere to anger and provoke him? This ſure is an odd Way of ſeeking to be reſcued from a *common Calamity* and *epidemical Infection*, by exaſperating and offending him that ſends it. No, my dear Friend, if you make Delays, and put off your Repentance for your Sin of *Profuſeneſs*, you are ſo far from being ſecured a-

Rom. vi. 23.

gainſt

gainſt any Accident that will ſnatch you away before you repent of it; that on the contrary you are much more likely to fall by it. Your *Profuſeneſs* it ſelf being a continued Sin, is a continued Provocation for God ſo to order it. The longer you perſevere in preſuming to offend, the more is he inclined, and the ſtronglier induced to puniſh you. But beſides this, your *Profuſeneſs* contains in it ſome Sins, and *Drunkenneſs* by Name, (as I ſhall more fully diſcourſe to you afterwards) for which God not only in *Juſtice* may, and, upon the Continuance of the Provocation, is inclined to ſnatch you away on Surprize, and exact that Death of you before you are aware, which he has appointed the Puniſhment of Sin: I ſay, that is a Sin implied in your Profuſeneſs; for which, when you delay to repent of it, upon theſe two Accounts he not only may, and is diſpoſed to ſurprize you, and cut you off without allowing any longer Time for your Repentance: But alſo ſuch for which he has expreſsly *threatned* he will do it. For of that *wicked Servant, that ſhould fall to eat and drink with the drunken*, our Saviour tells us plainly, *That his Lord ſhall come in a Day when he looks not for him, and in an Hour when he is not aware, and ſhall cut him off, and appoint him his Portion with Hypocrites, where ſhall be weeping and gnaſhing of Teeth.* Mat. xxiv. 49, 50, 51.

AND now, ſince God may do, ſince he is provoked and inclined to do, ſince he has threatned he will do, *Execution* upon you unawares for your Sin of *Profuſeneſs*, and not wait your Leiſure for your *Repentance*, nor let you remain alive till that Time comes which you have appointed for it; where, I pray you, is your Security, that you ſhall live to it? And if he do inflict that ſurprizing Death, by a Diſeaſe, or a ſad Accident, which he may, and which he threatens; then what is become of your delayed Amendment? Where, I beſeech you, is your Repentance when you are gone? And what Good will it do you when you are call'd away before it comes?

BUT after all, if you ſhould happen to eſcape all theſe Hazards, and to reach that Time you have thought of to repent in, are you ſure you ſhall be either more able, or more willing to repent then than you are now? God's *Grace* is neceſſary to our *Repentance*, and is the continuing to ſpight and provoke him the Way to procure it? Is the being long accuſtomed to Sin the Way to leave it; and can you hope the eaſier to forſake your Crime by being long uſed to it? But if theſe be, what they really are, too abſurd to think: then, I pray you, let them be ſo too to practiſe. Go not to hazard your Safety by putting far from you your Remedy; nor to make difficult your Repentance by lengthning, which is ſtrengthning, your Sin. But as you muſt by all means repent of your *Profuſeneſs*, ſo ſet about it quickly; that by being delay'd, it may never come to make your Sorrow unſupportable, your Recovery extreme difficult, and your Condition mighty hazardous. Since it muſt be done, get about it now, and diſpatch it out of Hand; and then it will be, not only more comfortable, but withal more ſure and eaſie.

AND now after all this Diſcourſe I hope you are fully ſatisfied, that if you perſiſt in your *Profuſeneſs*, and become an old Sinner in it; let us ſuppoſe the beſt we can (that you then repent of it) yet will your Soul find your Work of *Repentance* then to be extremely *difficult*, deplorably *hazardous*, and infinitely *ſorrowful*.

BUT then if we conſider, that the *Delaying* of your *Repentance* is the ready Way to make you not repent at all; and that thoſe leſſer Difficulties in forſaking your Sin, which are able to keep you back from forſaking and repenting of it now, will then (by your being accuſtom'd and even *naturaliz'd*

to Sin) be grown greater and stronger, and so be much more able to keep you back from repenting and forsaking of it then: (for if you will not master the lesser Difficulties, how can it be expected you should ever attempt to overcome the greater?) I say, if this deferring be, as in all Appearance it will, the taking away of your Repentance, and you die in your Sin without forsaking it, and so, which is to be consider'd, *finally, Impenitently* continue in it; then what a Load of Evils will afflict your Soul. If the Condition even of your repenting Soul is so miserable and calamitous, as you have seen it is; how unutterably deplorable will the Consideration of the next World make your impenitent Soul be? For here the whole Troop of Sorrows of the other World break in upon you: it is only Repentance that could stave them off, and if you die impenitent (*i. e.* without forsaking and amending your Profuseness) they all issue out upon you to torment you for ever and ever. For you quite mistake your self if you look upon your Sin of *Profuseness* to be a *pardonable* Fault and a lesser Sin; such as God will pity and not punish, and that is sufficiently revenged here, and will meet with no Vengeance hereafter. No, no, God will judge of it by other Measures; you will find in the End that it is a *mortal* and a *damnable Sin* in his Account, whatever it be in ours. It is a compound Sin, all the Ingredients whereof are Death; a Sin that carries several others with it, every one whereof single will at the last Day hale their Authors on to *Hell*, and plunge them in *Damnation*; and then think with your self what Punishment they are like to meet with when they are all combined together, as you shall see they are in your *Profuseness*.

Now in this *Sin* of *Profuseness* are implied all these *damning Sins*,

1st, INJUSTICE *to them whose Money we spend, and quite disable our selves to repay.*

2dly, CARELESNESS *and utter Improvidence for our own Families and Relations.*

3dly, DRUNKENNESS *and Intemperance, and all those other Sins that accompany our spending and lavishness it self.*

ALL these are implied in *Profuseness*, and every one of them will make a Man that doth not repent and leave them, incur Damnation.

1st, IN this *Sin* of *Profuseness* is implied *Injustice* to them whose Money we spend, and quite disable our selves to repay. It is equally Injustice and Robbery not to restore what we have of any Man's to him, as to take what is in his own Possession from him. We keep back from him his *Due*, and rob him of his *Right* in both Cases; all the Difference is only in the Circumstance of Seisure and Possession. For of so much Money as we have borrow'd, his is the rightful Title and Propriety, tho' we have usurped the Occupation. And as the Justice and Right is his; so is the Wrong and Injustice ours, when we detain it from him.

Now this Sin of *Injustice* and *Wrong* God hates to such a Degree, that he will never endure them in his own Sight who are guilty of it; but they shall for ever be shut out from Heaven, and condemned to Hell that live and die in it. *David* tells us of the Man that shall be a Member of God's Church here, and a Citizen of Heaven hereafter, which he expresses by *abiding in his Tabernacle*, the Church below, and *dwelling in his holy Hill*, Heaven above; that he must be such an one as practises not *Injustice* and *Wrong*, but worketh *Righteousness*: For of the *unrighteous*, *i. e.* of them who deny Men what is just and right,

Psal. xv. 2.

St.

St. *Paul* tells us expressly, that *they shall not inherit the Kingdom of God.* God is implacably displeased with it, and will never be reconciled to any that remain in the Love and Practice of it. If they leave off and forsake to be unjust by exercising Justice and Right, which is truly to repent of it, then indeed God will pardon, and return into Favour with them; but without that he never will. And so the Prophet *Isaiah*, when he calls the *unjust Jews* to *Mercy* and *Pardon*, doth it by calling them first to *Repentance* and *Reformation*; since except they practised this, it was in vain to hope for the other. † Let *the unrighteous Man forsake his Thoughts, and return unto the Lord, and then he will have Mercy, and abundantly pardon.* 1 Cor. vi. 9. † Isa. lv. 7.

THUS is this Sin of *Injustice* unforsaken, and wilfully continued in, a killing *damning Sin*, whatever be the Condition, and how able soever they be to bear it, we are unjust to. But if it happen that they, who are *injured* and *wronged* by your *Profuseness*, either already are, or by the Death of Friends and Patrons come to be the *Poor* and the *Helpless*, the *Fatherless* or the *Widow*; then doth the *Injustice* contract a new *Guilt*, and plunge you deeper in Damnation. For all these, having no other Helper, are in especial Manner own'd by God himself, who stiles himself the *Father of the Fatherless, and the Husband of the Widow.* Whosoever wrongs them shall be sure to meet with a severe Punishment; for God himself will more expressly be the Avenger of all such, tho' the Governours of the World should countenance and encourage them. They shall not escape him, for he will be a swift Witness even in the Judgment of this World, as he will be an inexorable Judge in the next, *against those that oppress the Hireling in his Wages, the Widow, and the Fatherless.* Psal. lxviii. 5. Mal. iii. 5.

2*dly*. THE *second damning Sin* implied in *Profuseness* is *Carelessness and utter Improvidence for your own Family and Relations.* It is a noted Proverb, That you cannot both eat your Cake and have your Cake. Your Money cannot both stay with you and be spent by you. And when all is gone from you, it is gone from them too.

NOW this desperate *Improvidence* for your own *Children* is no trifling or small Matter in God's Account, but a *fatal damning Sin.* For this is a *Duty* that has so fast Hank upon Men, even through the Inclination of their *natural* Temper, and so loudly call'd for from all Sorts and Degrees by the *Law* of common *Reason*; that God's *Revelations* (which are intended either to add to, or to clear up what the Light of Reason doth not at all, or but very darkly declare to us) seem to look on it as a Thing superfluous to repeat to us; and are wont therefore rather to suppose than expressly to require it. St. *Paul*, even when he makes mention of it, doth not think it needs an express Charge, but is content to bring it off only indirectly and by the By, * *That the Children ought not to lay up for the Parents, but the Parents for the Children.* God expects this from all Men upon the pure Account of naked unassisted Nature, tho' they have nothing at all of the *Gospel* and of Grace. He is not only an unchristian, but an unnatural Man, and renounces not only *Christ* but even *Nature* it self, that denies it. He is bereft of the Compassion of humane Kind that shews none to his own Race, and without all natural Affection who will express no Love and Care for his own Off-spring. And his Punishment shall be as heinous as his Sin; for all the Men without *natural Affection* St. *Paul* tells us are of the Number of them, whom in the great and terrible Judgment, God at the last Day will judge ‖ *worthy of Death.* Alas! how far is such an one from the Pitch of a Christian (which yet every Man must come * 2 Cor. xii. 14. ‖ Rom. i. 13, 32.

up

up to, that dare ever think of being ſaved by *Chriſt*) who is not yet arrived to the Virtue of an Infant, a Stripling, of the meaneſt Man? How far is he from loving, and providing, and doing Good to *Strangers* and *Enemies*, which Chriſt commands all his to do, if they think to come to Heaven, who has not yet learnt to practiſe this low and eaſie Leſſon of *meer Nature*, to love and provide for his own Fleſh? He is yet below the common Form of Nature, ſo far from being ſaved as a *good Chriſtian*, that he is not yet ſo good as an *honeſt Heathen* Man. For *he*
1 Tim. v. 8. *that provides not for his own, and eſpecially for thoſe of his own Houſe*, ſays St. *Paul*, he hath *denied the Faith of Chriſt, and is worſe than an Infidel.*

NAY, he might have ſaid more, he is not only worſe than an *unbelieving* Man, but alſo than a poor *unthinking Beaſt*. Bare *Nature* and *Inſtinct* inſtruct them to do, what neither Reaſon nor Religion can teach him. And ſince this Inſtinct runs thro' the whole Body of Nature, that neither the Helpleſneſs of the weaker Beaſts keeps them from expreſſing it, nor the fierce Power of the ſtrong makes them overlook and forget it; ſurely that Man is neither fit for Heaven nor Earth who is bereft of it. There's none but have loved even their Enemies, in Heaven; and none but have a Care of their own Iſſue here on Earth: The only Place where every one loves none but himſelf, no not thoſe who are neareſt to him, is Hell; where every ſuch (unchriſtian, I will not ſay, or inhumane, but even) unnatural Man ſhall be ſure to have his Portion. So that this Sin of being *careleſs* and utterly *improvident for our own Families*, which you ſee is imply'd in *Profuſeneſs*, is a moſt inexpreſſibly deſperate and damning Sin.

AND ſo is,

3*dly*, *Drunkenneſs* and *Intemperance*, and thoſe other Sins which accompany *profuſe Laviſhneſs* it ſelf. Few or none are ſo wild as to throw away their Money upon nothing: It is not becauſe they are weary of an Eſtate, or have an Antipathy to Silver, that they are ſo laviſh in the ſpending of it. No, no, they love their Money better than ſo, and will not part with it but for ſomething they love better; which, is for the moſt part, both their *Vanities*, and their *Vices*. They have a great Deal of *Pride* and *Vain-glory*, and to humour theſe they muſt ſtaunt and flouriſh, and be gay in their Company and Expences, tho' it be above their Income. They are Men of nice Palates and delicious Appetites, and the Maintenance of theſe is chargeable and coſtly. Now theſe darling Luſts have a greater Share of their Favour than their Money; they will be content to loſe it to pleaſe them, and to part with it, ſo theſe may be pamper'd and indulged. It is in *Revelling* and *Company*, in *Gluttony* and *Drunkenneſs*, in *Oſtentation* and a vain Shew of *Gentility* and *Honour*, that Men are *profuſe*, and laviſh away all that which ſhould ſupply the real Neceſſities either of themſelves or others. It is for the Credit of good Fellowſhip, the Reputation of a Gentleman, the Delights of good Liquor, or the Charms of a good Meal, that you are drawn on to ſpend above your ſelf, and to waſte both what you have and what you borrow. Run over your Expences in your own Thoughts when you will, and I'll engage you ſhall find 'tis your Intemperance and Appetite, your Affectation of great and coſtly Company that has ſwell'd up the Sum of them. Your Money has been gone either in a careleſs Tippling, or proteſt drinking; in a gal'ant Game, or preparatory Wager. So that at long-run it will appear, that Pride and Oſtentation, Intemperance and Drinking have been your great Spenders.

THUS

THUS is this *Sin* of *Profuſeneſs* attended and made up of all theſe Vices, they are its very vital Forms, it lives and acts by them. Now if you conſult what they are, you will find them all to be ruinous and damning. How light ſoever either the *Opinions* or *Practices* of the World have made them, the *Goſpel* of *Chriſt*, which is that you muſt at laſt be judged by, will give you another Account, how all and every of them will bring Damnation. For,

1ſt, As for *Pride* and *Oſtentation*, God declares himſelf an irreconcileable Enemy to it, and that he will for ever damn all them that are poſſeſſed with it. We are told by St. *Peter*, that God will ſet his Face againſt the proud Man, and oppoſe him even in this Life,——*that he reſiſteth the proud.* That he will delight in this World to diſappoint his Deſigns, and infatuate his Counſels, ——For he *ſcattereth the proud in the Imagination of their Hearts.* But above all he will be ſure to meet with them in the next, for ever there to plague and torment them. For St *Paul* expreſſly tells us of the *proud* and the *Boaſters*, that in the Judgment of God they ſhall be ſentenced *worthy of Death.* The very *Angels* themſelves, when they fell into this *Sin*, were not endured to ſtay any longer in *Heaven*, but were preſently ſentenced down to *Hell.* It was *Pride* was their Deſtruction, as well as it will be ours. It was for this he condemned them at the *firſt*, as he will condemn all of us who are guilty of it at the *laſt* Day. This Sin of Pride being, as St. *Paul* calls it, *the Condemnation of the Devil.*

1 Pet. v. 5.

Luk. i. 51.

Rom. i. 31, 32.

1 Tim. iii 6.

AND then,

2dly, As for *Intemperance* and *Drunkenneſs*, the Puniſhment inſeparably annex'd to them by God's irrevocable Decree, is as dreadful as the Sins are common. It is no leſs than for ever to be baniſhed from God's Favour, to be eternally ſhut out from Heaven and condemned to Hell. For a Man that ſits at ſtrong Drink, and indulges good Fellowſhip till the Liquor has enfeebled his Body, and weaken'd his Reaſon; till his Tongue begins to falter, and his Eyes to wax dim, and his Goings to ſlide; till his Underſtanding is eclipſed, and his Paſſions exalted; his Raſhneſs grown great, and his Counſel and Contriveance little (which is in one Word to ſit till he be drunk, more or leſs, according as all theſe are more or leſs diſcernable) a Man that ſtands to his Cups thus, I ſay, and ſits till he be drunken, is too little of a Man, and too much a Beaſt to come to Heaven; and will therefore moſt certainly be for ever condemn'd to Hell. He is no fit Member of the Church, for a Chriſtian to communicate with here. If *a Brother be a Drunkard*, ſays St *Paul*, *I write unto you to have no Entercourſe with that Man, nor to admit him familiarly into your Houſes, no not to eat.* But leaſt of all is he fit for the Society of the Saints in Heaven hereafter. As ſure as God is true, and Chriſt's *Goſpel* no Impoſture; ſo ſure ſhall he be to be for ever barr'd out from that happy Place. St *Paul* ſpeaks plain and full to the *Corinthians*; *Be not deceived, no Drunkard ſhall inherit the Kingdom of God.* This he affirm'd once, and again, and ſtood to it. For of *Drunkenneſs*, *Revellings*, and ſuch like, ſaith he, *I tell you now, before you come to feel it, as I have alſo told you in time paſt, that they which do ſuch Things ſhall not inherit the Kingdom of God.* And in this he told us nothing but what he learnt from his great Maſter Chriſt himſelf. For the overcharging our Stomachs with Eating and Drinking, till our Heads ake, and our Stomachs are oppreſs'd, and our Bodies ſurfeited and diſordered; our bleſſed Lord himſelf, who is one Day openly to paſs Sentence and judge of it, has before that Day come, already with the greateſt Plainneſs warn'd us of it, that it ſhall never be admitted to eternal Life. For as for them whoſe Hearts are overcharged with

1 Cor. v. 11.

1 Cor. vi. 10.

Gal. v. 21.

with Surfeiting and Drunkenneſs, he tells us expreſsly, that * Day of Evils ſhall ſeize and ſurprize them before they are prepared for it,——*ſhall come upon them unawares.* And therefore in another Place he admoniſhes us, that no Allurements of Company and good Fellowſhip ever draw us to it, and faithfully repreſents the horrible Danger and certain Deſtruction if they do. For of that Servant *who ſhall join himſelf to eat and drink with the drunken*, he † aſſures us, that *his Lord ſhall come in a Day when he is not aware, and ſhall cut him aſunder, appointing him his Portion among the Hypocrites, where is weeping and gnaſhing of Teeth.*

* Lu. xxi. 34.

†Mat. xxiv 49,50,51.

THUS are all Sorts of *Intemperance* in Meat and Drink, *Gluttony* and *Drunkenneſs*, moſt certainly deſtructive to any Profeſſor of Chriſt's Religion, and damning Sins.

NAY, ſo ſublime are his *Precepts*, and ſo pure his *Religion*, that it forbids not only theſe higher and more perfect Vices of *Gluttony* and *Intemperance* under the Loſs of Heaven, but thoſe lower and leſſer ones alſo of *Senſuality* and *Softneſs* under the ſame Penalty. It is not enough for a Man that would hope to be ſaved by Chriſt, to keep off from theſe groſs Immoralities, which the Modeſty of unaſſiſted Nature and an honeſt Heathen would bluſh at: if he in the mean while allow himſelf to ſpend his Care and Contriveance, and make it his great Buſineſs to pleaſe his Fleſh, tho' it be without theſe Exceſſes. If we indulge our ſelves in this, Chriſt is far from being contented with the other. He requires a nobler and a higher Service of them that would bear his Name, and enjoy his Favour, and hope to partake of his Rewards in the Happineſs of Heaven. They muſt not only keep off from down-right Surfeiting and Drunkenneſs; but if ever they expect to be better by him, they muſt refrain alſo from that other more refined and gentile Sin of *Senſuality* and *Luxury*. There are a Number of Men in the World, even of thoſe who run not out with the openly debauched or cloſely intemperate to Exceſs and Riot; who yet are ſenſual and fleſhly ſtill. For altho' they will not eat to Surfeit, or drink till their Brain is intoxicated; yet is all their Study and Contriveance for pleaſing of their Fleſh, and pampering of their Bodies. Their Thoughts are ſtill beating about for ſome delicious Diſh, and forecaſting for the next good Meal; they ſcarce think or contrive for any Thing elſe, ſo that they are Servants, and delight to miniſter only to their Bellies, and it is their God ſtill. Now for theſe People who beſtow all that they can call Buſineſs (*i. e.* all that time they are not idle) in thinking, contriving, and acting (which is all the Service they can pay to any) for the Pleaſure of their Palates or other Senſes, and the Delights of their Fleſh: theſe are ſenſual, or fleſhly-minded, tho' they are neither gluttonous nor Drunkards. They are carnal or fleſhly Men, for it is the Things of it they mind, and which their buſie time is all taken up in. They are Servants of their own Bellies, and not of Chriſt; for to it, in all that they can call Buſineſs, they miniſter, and its Luſts, and Deſires, or Cravings they obey.

NOW as theſe Men ſerve not him, ſo muſt they never expect to receive any Rewards from him, or ever eſcape being puniſh'd eternally by him. For he has declared to us expreſly before-hand, that when he comes to ſit in Judgment, not only the Gluttonous and the Drunkards, but likewiſe all the *Senſual* and *Fleſhly* ſhall be ſentenc'd to *everlaſting* Miſery. St. *Paul* affirms plainly, that to be *carnally minded*, to mind and contrive in all Things for the preſent Pleaſures of our Fleſh, *is Death*; || whereas to be *ſpiritnally Minded*, or to Care and Contrive for the future Joy and eternal Delights of our immortal Spirits, is on the contrary, *Life and Peace.*

|| Rom. viii. 6.

And

And in that black Catalogue of Sins recorded by him, the Actors and Approvers whereof he calls *Men of corrupt Minds*, and *reprobate concerning the Chriſtian Faith*; in that Number, I ſay, we find he reckons thoſe, who are *Lovers of Pleaſure more than Lovers of God*; who contrive, care, and do, which are the true Effects of Love, more for them than they do for him. Theſe ſenſual fleſhly Men, who are all for pampering and pleaſing the Deliciouſneſs of their fleſhly Senſes, altho' they are careful not to overcharge them; are ſuch as Chriſt will never own for thoſe Servants whom he will beſtow Heaven on. No, theirs is a different and quite contrary Character. They do not lay out and contrive to ſatisfie and pleaſe it; but they make *no Proviſion for the Fleſh, to fulfill the Luſts of it.* They go not about to pamper and preſerve, but to mortifie the *fleſhly Members, to crucifie the Fleſh with the Affections and Luſts*, that they may render them as free from all Eagerneſs of Deſire, as are the Members and Fleſh of a dead or crucified Man. They ſeek not by all means to fulfill and gratifie their bodily Deſires or Luſts, but to curb and deny them; it being *Self-denial* which Chriſt has made the great Duty of all his Diſciples.

2 Tim. iii. 8. Verſe 4. Rom. xiii. 14. Gal. iii. 5. v. 24.

THUS are all, not only Gluttony and Drunkenneſs, but even Senſuality and Fleſhly-mindedneſs, Sins incompatible with a true Chriſtian, and deſtructive of all Hopes of Heaven. Whatever Indulgence and Favour the Practice or Opinions of Men uſe towards them, yet this, you ſee, is that Account which Chriſt and his Goſpel has of them. How eaſy ſoever they are in their Cenſures of them, yet has he declared againſt them plainly and fully, as you ſee, with this Rigour, and ſentenced them before-hand with this Severity.

AND now, I beſeech you, conſider what unaccountable Folly and Madneſs it is for us to judge of theſe Sins by other Meaſures, than thoſe which Chriſt has ſet us. Is not he our Judge, and are not his own Laws and his own Goſpel the Rule we muſt be judged by? Alas! what will the falſe Judgments of Men help us when he condemns us? It is his Sentence we muſt ſtand or fall by. And that Sentence is guided by his own Laws, and thoſe Laws are unalterably fix'd, and deliver'd and publiſh'd to us in his holy Goſpel; amongſt which you ſee are theſe I have now mention'd. So that when he has already declared of all theſe Sins that they are damning, and will at the Day of Judgment ſentence the Actors of them to Damnation; what Profit will it be to you or any Man that the fooliſh World, out of meer Compliance to themſelves and Love to their own Sins, have paſſed a lighter Cenſure on them? If Men will not make their own Manners comply with Chriſt's Laws; his Laws cannot bend like a Noſe of Wax, to be made conformable unto them. Drunkenneſs and Senſuality are the ſame Sins they were ſixteen hundred Years ago; and Damnation is the ſame Puniſhment. And altho' Men have a Mind to preſcribe them an eaſier Fate, and aſſign them a lighter Puniſhment; yet is not this Chriſt's Law, but their own. They ſhake off his Law as too hard, and inſtead of it invent one eaſier for themſelves, which will ſit lighter upon their Shoulders. But nevertheleſs, tho' they change Things at their Pleaſure, rending Chriſt's ſevere Puniſhment from the Sin, and affixing a more gentle one of their own; yet doth Chriſt and his Laws and Sanctions ſtill remain fix'd and unmoveable. He is yet of the ſame Mind, and will exact the ſame Puniſhment; and where he hath threatned Damnation, there he will inflict it.

AND ſeeing this is ſo, that Chriſt will condemn you at the laſt Day for the Sins of Senſuality and Drunkenneſs, tho' all the World (in Favour to themſelves who are guilty of them, and unwilling to be condemned

for them) ſhould abſolve you; what Good can their Error do you? All you can promiſe your ſelf is, that they being embarqued with you, not only in the Error, but alſo in the Sin, you will be miſerable in Company, and have Partners in your Condemnation.

THIS indeed is very true, but here you are very widely miſtaken, if you expect that theſe Sharers of your Torment ſhould be any Eaſe or Comfort to you. That which makes you hope ſo, is, becauſe you find that it affords ſome Satisfaction to us in this World, to ſee that we are not miſerable alone, but are unhappy in Company. Which is ſo generally counted an Abatement of any calamitous Accident, that it is grown to a Proverb, to ſay that, *Neighbours Fare, tho' very bad, is good Fare.* But you will impoſe a great Fallacy upon your ſelf, if from the Truth of this Proverb in the Sufferings of this World, you conclude it will hold equally true of the Torments of the next. No, there is a wide Difference between the Conditions and Tempers of the Sharers of Miſery in one World, and thoſe in the other. Thoſe Circumſtances which make you find Eaſe from your Fellow-ſufferers on Earth, will be changed into the quite contrary, and ſo be the great Augmenters of Bitterneſs in Hell. For that which makes us think lighter of our Sufferings here for having others ſuffer with us, is

1ſt, *That they are only join'd with us in Puniſhment, and removed in Place.* And this yields us ſome Comfort from their Pain, without any trouble from it. For it affords ſome Content to our natural Pride and Self-love, to find that we are not fallen below all Men, nor made the Out-caſts of all People; but that ſome are as unhappy as our own ſelves. And this, even in our Miſery, doth in ſoms meaſure refreſh and delight us. And as we know this at a diſtance, out of the hearing of their Groans, and Reach of their Complaints; we have this Pleaſure pure, and without the Mixture of a greater trouble. For it is the Knowledge of their Miſery which is to afford us Eaſe, and that comes to us: but it is the Hearing of their Sighs and Cries that would create us Pain and Grief, and that is removed far from us.

OR if,

2dly, *They are join'd with us both in Puniſhment and Place too,* then if we receive any Mitigation of our own Sufferings from the Fellowſhip of Theirs, it muſt be for that both *our Sufferings are light, alſo both of us compaſſionate and prone to pity one another.* If our Sufferings are great, our Moans and Outcrys will be ſo too. And where they are ſo, they make a far greater Encreaſe of Trouble and Grief, than any other Advantages of Company, can afford of Eaſe and Joy. It is a ſtrange Way of ſhewing kindneſs to Sick and complaining People, to put two of them in a Room, where each ſhall be wearied, not only with his own Sighs and Groans, but alſo with thoſe of his Partner. We ſee it is ſo far from weak and afflicted Peoples being eas'd and refreſh'd by the Company of Outcrys and Complainings, that it is not without much Self-denial and Uneaſineſs that the Healthy and Chearful can bring themſelves to undergo them. It is with great Backwardneſs that the well and Proſperous, can force themſelves to viſit and keep Company with the Afflicted and the Mourners: And becauſe there is ſo little of Pleaſure or Agreeableneſs in it to their own ſelves, even Chriſt himſelf Accepts it as a great Expreſſion of their Love and Charity to others.

BUT if their Pains be ſmall, ſo that their Complaints will not weary, but all their Words may, if they will, be Words of Comfort and Refreſhment to each other: yet if they are of a Temper envious and unmerciful, having nothing of Pity and Compaſſion, their Fellowſhip will be ſure to afford

afford no eaſe, but the greateſt Addition of Torment and Vexation. For all the Eaſe and Comfort any Man can promiſe himſelf from a Fellow-ſufferer above others, is that his own Sufferings have given him a Senſe, and taught him how to value thoſe of another. So that his Sufferings being the better underſtood by him, he will be the more pitied and bemoan'd. Men that have not felt Pain, have no clear Idea of it, and ſo underſtand not how to pity ſufficiently them who labour under it. But they who feel the Smart of it, have a preſent and a full Senſe of all that is in it, and ſo are fitted to lend others that complain of it their juſt Pity and Compaſſion. And this is no ſmall Eaſe to us, to ſee our ſelves ſo much beloved by others; for to ſee our Pain ſhared by their Compaſſion, we look on almoſt as if it were taken off from our ſelves. But now if they that ſuffer with us, are Churliſh and Moroſe, Hard-hearted and Unmerciful, all this Comfort is loſt. They will not be affected with our Miſeries, who are Strangers to all Pity; nor have a Feeling of our Pains who are hardened againſt all Compaſſion. And then our ſeeing our ſelves ſo ſlighted by them who are our Fellow-ſufferers, will inſtead of Eaſe add new Pangs to our Pain. Their very Contempt is a new Trouble, and will add a new Vexation.

But if they are not only bereft of *Mercy* and *Pity*, but alſo fill'd with the contrary Paſſions of *Cruelty* and *Ill-will*. If they are not only deaf to our Complaints, but rejoice in them. If they would not only themſelves deny us Relief, but are ready to envy and repine when any Body elſe ſhould offer it: the being tied to ſuffer in this Company would be ſo far from being Matter of Comfort to us, that it would really be almoſt as great a Torment to us as our Miſery itſelf. For I pray you conſider, is it not the greateſt heightning of our Sufferings, when we muſt undergo them in the midſt of our deadly Enemies, where inſtead of helping, every one is ready to laugh and to ſcorn, to reproach and upbraid us? Where the very Miſerable themſelves have no other Eaſe, nor find any greater Sport, than to rejoice and make merry in our Miſeries. Where none about us give any Sign either in bare Word or Look, of Pity and Love, but all the bittereſt Expreſſions of Enmity and Spite. Surely ſuch Company as this, inſtead of cooling the Heats and aſſwaging the Pains of Hell, muſt prove a new and moſt tormenting Hell it ſelf.

Now it being the Preſence of theſe relieving Tempers and Circumſtances of Company, *viz.* that either we ſuffer apart, or if together, that then our Pains are light and our Companions pitiful: I ſay it being only theſe advantageous Circumſtances of Company that affords us Eaſe from our Fellow-ſufferers here on Earth: Look a little, I pray you, how utterly unlike you will be to be eas'd by your Company in *Hell*. For alas! when you come there, you will be far enough removed from any of theſe Advantages of Company that ſhould refreſh you. Your Pains will not be little, nor expreſſed in little Noiſe; but *inſupportably* high, and echoed out in the moſt bitter wailing and gnaſhing of Teeth. Your Sufferings ſhall not be ſeveral and apart, but in a joynt Crew and altogether, where every ones Roaring and Complaints ſhall contribute to the common Dinn, and the Lamentations of every ſingle Man ſhall be drown'd in the Noiſe and Clamour of the whole Multitude. And leaſt of all, laſtly, ſhall your Copartners in Miſery be Men of tender Hearts and compaſſionate Natures; but as envious, ſpiteful, and malicious, as are even the *Devils* themſelves. For can you expect to meet with any thing of Love, or any genuine Effects of it, as Pity and Commiſeration in *Hell?* No, no, *my Friend*, that Temper of Love is too Divine a Thing to enter into thoſe Quarters; it reſts

1 Joh. iv. 19. only in the Hearts of good Men, and of God himſelf. *For God*, as St. *John* tells us, *is Love, and he that dwells in Love, dwells in God.* But in *Hell* are nothing but ſpiteful devouring *Devils*, and Men transform'd all over into *Deviliſh* Natures. And what theſe are, daily Experience and God's Word do moſt clearly inform us. For the Names they give theſe foul Fiends, are expreſſive of the moſt envious, inſulting, and revengeful Tempers. The *Devil* is call'd *the Enemy*. The *Accuſer* or Calumniator *of the Brethren*. The *Deſtroyer*. The *roaring Lyon, that goes about daily*, making it his whole Buſineſs, *ſeeking whom he may devour*. Theſe are the endearing Diſpoſitions of the Princes and Inhabitants of Hell. They will be extream liberal of Inſulting and Mockery, of Wrath and Malice, of Spite and Cruelty; but theſe are all the Kindneſſes that Company will for ever afford us.

Mat. xiii. 28. Rev. xii. 10. ix. 11. 1 Pet. v. 8.

AND the Tempers and Circumſtances of our Company in Hell, being thus directly oppoſite to all that ſhould adminiſter Eaſe and Comfort, and ſo wholly ſuited to enlarge our Bitterneſs and Woe, as we have ſeen in all theſe Particulars they really are; ſurely it can never be any Encouragement to us to commit thoſe Sins for which Chriſt will condemn us, becauſe he will damn others as well as us, and ſo we ſhall have Partners in our Condemnation. For whatever Eaſe we may in Miſery receive from Company in this World; yet ſhall we be ſo far from having our Burthen alleviated, or our Puniſhment diminiſh'd by it in the next; that in Reality it will be the ſevereſt Plague and moſt envenom'd Sting in our very Condemnation.

So that upon the whole Matter you clearly ſee, that as the falſe and corrupt Opinions of the World, allowing favourable Sentences to theſe ſo much practiſed Sins of Senſuality and Drunkenneſs, will be no Fence to you againſt the true and juſt Judgment of Chriſt, when he ſhall eternally condemn you for them: So neither will your having Companions in your Condemnation, be any manner of Eaſe to you. But on the other ſide, ſeeing they will be ſuch Companions as have been deſcribed, infinitely increaſe your Torment, and add to your Condemnation. So that upon the Whole, you cannot but diſcern the deplorable Folly of taking any other Judgment of theſe Sins than that which Chriſt has given of them. It is in vain to fly to other ſofter Opinions and Practices of thoſe Men who are guilty of them, and muſt for ever be condemned for them. That you ſee will do you no manner of Good, but on the contrary an infinite Evil. Their allotting lighter Puniſhments will by no Means keep off Chriſt in the Day of Judgment from inflicting his own; nor will their Company make them ſit lighter upon you when they are inflicted; but on the contrary embitter them ſo far, that they ſhall be infinitely more inſupportable for ever and ever.

AND thus have I fully ſhow'd you how all theſe Sins of *Pride* and *Oſtentation*, *Senſuality* and *Softneſs*, *Gluttony* and *Drunkenneſs*, which are all Attendants of *Profuſeneſs* it ſelf, and in the Excerciſe whereof it ſpend and exerts it ſelf, as you have ſeen, are all moſt damnable and mortal Sins. They are all the Meſſengers of Death, and Fore-runners of everlaſting Condemnation.

AND the ſame I might farther ſhew you could, I after all this, judge it needful, of all that *Perfidiouſneſs* and *Falſeneſs*, that as you ſhall ſee afterwards, do neceſſarily accompany it, and which are every whit as mortal and deadly as the other. It being as impoſſible for Unfaithfulneſs and Falſehood, as any of the reſt, to come to Heaven. Where, as St. *John* aſſures us, *nothing ſhall ever enter that either loveth or maketh a Lye.*

Rev. xxii. 15.

THUS

THUS if you impenitently continue in it, you may read your Fate, that it is all Horror and Aſtoniſhment. And as your very Repentance it ſelf, if you perſiſt long to indulge it, will be extremely hazardous, and at beſt a ſhort, but exceeding bitter Cup of Sorrow; as I ſhew'd before; ſo if you die in it without repenting of it, will your Eſtate be as you have ſeen now, an uninterrupted State of unexpreſſible and endleſs Miſery and Woe.

THE only Thing that can free you from all theſe deſperate Effects, of it now and for ever, is your forſaking and amending, which in one Word is your repenting of it. For you are groſly miſtaken if you think you can ever truly and acceptably repent of any of theſe Sins whilſt you continue in it. It is a perfect Mock-Repentance to bewail a Sin, and yet to practiſe it. It is the ſame Abſurdity, as it would be to ſay we turn away from a Thing whilſt we are purſuing it; or that we are throwing it from us whilſt we greedily catch hold of it. True *Repentance* is a Change in the Mind, and a Change in the Practice. When we now refuſe what before we choſe, when we now avoid what we then purſued; when we now omit what before we acted, and act what we then omitted. Our Mind or Choice muſt be changed, and ſo muſt our Actions or Works too. And then may we conclude we have uſed that Repentance whereupon the Scripture promiſes to pardon us, and not before. For they make it imply both theſe, and promiſe no Forgiveneſs without them. μετάνοια, which is the Word the Scriptures uſe whereby to ſignify *Repentance*, in its plain Senſe and Meaning denotes a change or transforming of the Mind, that we have no longer a Mind to act that Sin we repent of, which before we had a Mind to. And agreeably the Prophet *Iſaiah* when he calls upon the Wicked to repent of their Sins, doth it by requiring them to forſake the Will and Thoughts of them. *Let the unrighteous Man forſake his Thoughts*, ſaith he, and turn them *from his Sins unto the Lord, and he will have Mercy upon him.* And in the New Teſtament it is ſtyled a being *renewed in the Mind. Be ye*, ſaith the Apoſtle, *renewed in the Spirit of your Mind.* Which is the ſame Thing, tho' in other Words, with thoſe other Injunctions of *repent* and be *converted.* So that if you would truly repent of your *Profuſeneſs*, you muſt ſtrike at the Root of all, and extirpate it out of your Mind and Thoughts. You muſt not endure to think on it, and contrive for it, to will and chooſe it.

Iſa. lv. 7.

Eph. iv. 2, 3.

THIS you muſt do, but this is not all. For true Repentance is not only a Change in the Mind, but withal a Change in the Practice. When we duly repent of any Sin, we muſt forbear to work it. And therefore it is ſtyled a *Repentance from dead Works.* A being turned *from Darkneſs unto Light.* And when the Prophet *Iſaiah* calls upon Men to repent, he doth it in theſe Words—*ceaſe to do evil, learn to do well*; *come now and let us reaſon together*, &c. You muſt turn away from all your Inſtances of *Profuſeneſs* both theſe Ways, if ever you expect that God ſhould look upon you truly to have repented of it. You muſt forbear to chooſe, and forbear to act it. You muſt not entertain it in your Thoughts and Contrivance, and leaſt of all in your Practice. Both theſe muſt be done, for both are neceſſary to a ſaving Repentance.

Heb. vi. 1. Act. xxvi. 18. Iſa. i. 16, 17, 18.

THIS forſaking of your Sin of *Profuſeneſs*, and amending it both in Thoughts and Actions, is that true and honeſt Repentance for it, which God has declared he will accept of. And this indeed, if you go about it without Delay, and diſpatch it out of Hand, will infallibly deliver you from all theſe Evils of Soul which I have all this while deſcribed; and beſides it, nothing in the World will. If you will perform this Condition,

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God will pardon you, and he will love you. You may be as ſure of it, as you are that God is true, and that Chriſt was no Deceiver. The Summ of the Goſpel is contain'd in this, that whoſoever repents of all his Sins, and becomes another Man, he ſhall be ſaved. But if you refuſe to fulfil this moſt reaſonable Condition; it is as ſure on the other Side, you will infallibly be damn'd. For the very ſame Mouth that Preach'd—*Repent and be ſaved:* Preach'd this likewiſe—*except ye repent ye ſhall all periſh.*

Luk. xiii. 3.

AND thus, my *Dear Friend*, have I largely ſhew'd you, and I hope ſo plainly that you cannot but be convinced of it, what inſupportable Evils your Sin of *Profuſeneſs* will bring upon your Soul. And that too, if you perſiſt in it, in all States and Conditions, whether you at laſt repent of it, or, which is by far the moſt likely, impenitently continue in it. You ſee clearly how there is no Poſſibility of your being deliver'd from eternal Torments for it, without you repent and amend it. Nor any Eſcape from a moſt bitter and unſpeakably ſorrowful Repentance, except you amend quickly. Nay indeed, if you do delay and put it off, that there is no fair Hopes or Likelyhood that ever you ſhould repent at all.

AND ſurely now you cannot need much Perſuaſion to amend this Sin, which, if it be let alone, you muſt needs ſee will in all Reſpects ruin and deſtroy you. Do you love it ſo well as to go to Hell for it? Is it ſo faſt tyed to your Heart, that eternal Torments cannot make you forego it? Are you ſo unaccountably beſotted with it, that you will follow it into the midſt of everlaſting Fire, and into the very Gulph of never-ending Miſery? For God's Sake, for your own Soul's Sake, look upon it once more before you venture thus wildly. View it in all its Train, and eye it narrowly from the Beginning to the End; and then make ſuch Choice, and take up ſuch Reſolutions as you find Reaſon. When once you have got to the End of it, it will land you in the midſt of a moſt burning Fire, which ſhall for ever torment, but never conſume you: and can you endure it? It will betray you into the moſt malicious, deſpiteful, and contumelioufly inſulting Company of Devils and deviliſh Natures, who will always be flouting and ſcourging and tormenting you with all the moſt ſevere and exquiſite Arts that the greateſt Wit, ſharpen'd with the moſt boundleſs Malice, is able to contrive: And can you bear it? It will lead you into the moſt frightful Regions of Sorrow and Darkneſs, where you ſhall hear nothing but Devils howling, the Damn'd roaring, all weeping and wailing, and gnaſhing their Teeth with all manner of Accents of bitter Sorrow; where all the foul Fiends ſhall be gaping upon you to ſnatch and devour you, and the Darkneſs ſhall be ſuch that you ſhall not ſee who is upon you, who is near you, what Snares are laid to gall and perplex you, and whither they are about to hale and hurry you: And can you ſuffer it? It will convey you into the vileſt Shame and Reproach, where every one ſhall taunt and deride, and none ſhall pity you; where God and all good Men ſhall for ever upraid, and where the Devils and the Damn'd ſhall without all alloy of Mercy or end of Time revile and condemn you: And can your Heart ſubmit to it? It will decoy you into the moſt inſupportable Anguiſh, into the Horrors and Rendings of your own Conſcience, the Pains whereof, in their Judgment who felt them, and are therefore beſt able to judge of them, are beyond all elſe whatſoever; ſo that they look upon all the Pains of Death to be Eaſe to them, and will, as we daily ſee, kill themſelves to be rid of them: And can you be willing to feel and undergo them? All theſe are only Ingredients of Hell Torments,

ments, which are the inſeparable Companions of your Sin; and now, if you can, be in Love with and chuſe them. God's Decree has linked them faſt together, and it is impoſſible to divide them; ſo that you muſt of neceſſity take and chooſe both, or neither. Ask your Soul, I beſeech you, then, how it finds it ſelf affected with theſe Allurements, and what Delights and Sweetneſs it can promiſe it ſelf from theſe gay Attendants of your Sin. Can you, who are ready to cry out if your Finger is but held, tho' for a Minute, in a Candle, laugh and rejoyce when your whole Body is a frying for ever in the Midſt of a moſt raging Fire? Do you think it poſſible that you ſhould take Pleaſure in all the Extremities of Deſpight and Contumely in Hell; when your Heart is ready to riſe, and you to be all on Fire at the Injuries of your Neighbour? Can you away with the Diſconſolateneſs of that eternally dark Place, and the endleſs Cries of thoſe Regions of Sorrow; who are ſo much, and ſo eaſily diſturbed with the Horrors of a dark Night, and the innocent, if bitter Cries and Noiſe even of your own Children? Are you like to be content with eternal Reproach and Shame; who ſo deeply reſent and are ſo highly diſpleas'd at any Word or little Affront that throws it on you? Or is it poſſible you ſhould ever bear up under the moſt exquiſite and everlaſting Anguiſh of Soul and Conſcience; who find ſo much Difficulty under any little Sorrow, and ſo great Averſeneſs from any honeſt Pains of Mind in a ſhort Conſiderateneſs and Meditation? What think you? Can he that ſinks under a Pound Weight, ſupport a Mill-ſtone? ſhall the leaſt Part, the thouſandth Degree of theſe Torments of Hell, which your Profuſeneſs unavoidably brings on you, oppreſs and load you; and ſhall not the full Meaſure and whole Maſs of them for ever cruſh and confound you? Let me adviſe you, let me intreat you, let me conjure you by all that is dear to you, by your everlaſting Happineſs and Welfare to conſider well, and weigh thoroughly theſe Things. You cannot but ſee the utter Intolerableneſs of this State your Sin would invite you to. The Inſupportableneſs of it is ſo evident, and the Certainty ſo clear, I know you cannot but diſcern them. And ſince it is both ſo certain and ſo inſufferable, can you ſtill run upon it? Are you able to view with open Eyes intolerable Deſtruction, and yet ruſh directly into it? You will not, I am ſure you will not. You would not run upon the Point of a Sword, and can it be imagin'd then you ſhould wittingly and adviſedly run upon Damnation? You would not run into a Houſe in Flames, and can it ever be ſuppoſed then you ſhould run into Hell Fire? No no, this is a Thing too brutiſh and too mad. A very Beaſt will ſeek to preſerve himſelf, and the moſt deſpicable Animal in Nature is not ſo perfectly bereft of Senſe, as to run upon its own Slaughter, but is ſo wiſe as to avoid it. It is only the Inhabitants of Bedlam that are for ruſhing wilfully upon their own Ruine, and but very few of them neither. Rouſe up then, my dear Friend, all your drowzy Underſtanding, and unite your ſcattered Counſel. Behold your Danger, and avoid it. See here the dreadful Plagues and Horrors of your Profuſeneſs, and amend it. Repent of it, and repent quickly; and then your Soul is ſafe, and it ſhall never be your Ruine.

And thus have I repreſented to you the Terrors of the other World, which will moſt certainly ſeize upon you for continuing in your Sin. I have plainly demonſtrated both the Number, and the Horrour of thoſe Evils which will invade your Soul, upon your running your Self out of your Eſtate, and being plunged deeper into Debt, than you can ever hope again to recover out of. And having ſet before you thoſe Evils it will bring upon your Soul, which I firſt propoſed to ſpeak to, and repreſented the infinite Calamitouſneſs of continuing

nuing in it, from Religion as a *Divine*; I might very well preſume I have ſaid enough to prevail with you to forſake and amend it. For all the Miſeries of the other World, and the Torments of *Hell*, which you ſee are at the End of your *Profuſeneſs* ready to ſeize you when it is over, are of all Arguments infinitely moſt powerful to make you forſake and amend it. And the extream Hazard, the accumulated Difficulty, and the heightned Sorrows of your repenting and amending at all, if you ſtill delay it and put it off longer, is a Reaſon above all Exception to prevail upon you to repent and amend quickly. And having, as I ſaid, in the foregoing Periods ſo largely inſiſted upon both theſe as a *Divine*; I might here ſpare my ſelf all farther Pains of repreſenting thoſe remaining, which are leſſer Evils, and put an End to this Diſcourſe. And ſo I would moſt willingly if I were at an End of what will be (if you continue in your Laviſhneſs) your Miſeries. But alas! yours will be an accumulated Calamity, a State of Evils made up of all Sorts, embitter'd with the moſt acute and venomous of every Kind. And ſeeing you will feel and experience, not only theſe ſpiritual Ones already mention'd, but alſo thoſe other temporal Ones yet unrepreſented: I ſhall ſtill continue before-hand to ſhew you what you will have ſo great Reaſon to fear and to avoid. And as I have forewarn'd you of the other as a *Divine*; ſo will I give you a Sight, and form you an Account of theſe as a *Friend*.

And of thoſe remaining Evils that will fall in upon you upon your running your ſelf out of your Eſtate, and being plunged deeper into Debt than you can have any Proſpect of ever recovering out of again, thoſe I propoſed in the

II. Place, *Are ſuch as will grieve you in your Body.* And becauſe I have been already very large upon the firſt Sort, which may very well be inſiſted on longeſt, becauſe they are ſuch as in all Reaſon ſhould prevail moſt, I will be more brief in treating of this, and the reſt that follow.

Now thoſe Evils, which upon your unpayable *Debts* and irrecoverable *Poverty* will affect your Body, are all ſuch as flow in upon the Want of *Liberty* and *Money*. You will be bereft of all thoſe bodily good Things you cannot get without Money, and of all thoſe corporal Delights you take in a free Air and unconfined Liberty. For when you have ſpent all, you will have deprived your ſelf of Money wherewith to buy ſuch Things as pleaſe your Body; and when your Debts are ſtill call'd for, and never paid, your offended and injured Creditors (what for the revenging their Injury, and what for the recovering their Right) will by their laying wait for you, either keep you cloſe Priſoner at home; or, if they meet with you, in a worſe Place, reſtrain your Liberty. And from both theſe the Evils you will grieve under, but not be able to help, are as follows.

1ſt. Your *Diet muſt needs be ſmall and hard, and of the coarſer Sort:* It will be ſure neither to exceed in Quantity nor in Coſt. For when your Money is gone and your Eſtate waſted, you will find that no delicious Fare, nay, not ſo much as wholeſome Food, ſhall give a pleaſant Reliſh to your Taſte, or a delicious Guſto to your Stomach. Good Meat will not naturally ſpring into your Mouth, and lay it ſelf before you. It muſt be ſought for and procured, both by Words and Money too. A Man is not nouriſhed like a Plant, that his Food ſhould riſe up into him only by a warm Sun and a rich Soil, without any of his own Labour, and flow in upon his Body without his own Care. No, it is from the Earth he muſt gather it: and that not already formed to his Hand, but in the Sweat of his Brows he muſt cultivate and produce it; and when he has done ſo, and received all he ſhall from Nature, yet even then muſt he

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use his own Art, and be at the Pains to prepare and fit the natural Fruit, which of it self is crude and undigested for a mature and wholsome Nourishment.

Now all this requires both Land and Care, Money and Industry. It implies the Growth of Nature, and the Pains and Art of Men. And these are neither of them to be had for nothing, we can neither enjoy Lands, whereon to feed our Cattle, and from whence to gather Fruits, without Rent; nor hire Labourers without Wages, nor get any Thing at the Markets without Money. And since our very Necessaries themselves, which are most common to be found, and most easy to be produced, are not yet to be had without them; least of all will Delicacies and delightsome Food, which is thinner sown and hardlier compass'd, be obtain'd if we want them. These require more Richness from Nature, more Skill from Art, more Care and Pains from Industry; and all these are valuable, and raise the Rate of Things. And these are least of all deliver'd but when they are paid for; they are not given, but they are sold; we cannot beg them, but we must exchange for them. Now it is *Money* which is the universal Means and Instrument of Exchange, it is it that must procure us a pleasant Dish, or a grateful Sauce, or a Draught of generous Liquor. If we want that we cannot exchange for these, but being without the one we must be content to be without the other too. The Things which please our Palates and do most gratifie our Appetites, are desired by all; but are not so plentiful as to suffice more than a few. And this Scarcity of the one, and greater Number of the other, must needs make more Buyers than Sellers; and this always raises and keeps up the Rate of Things. So that delicious Things being desired by all, and to be possessed by few, are never every Man's Meat that has Money; but least of all theirs who have little or none. It is the coarser Fare and more ordinary Diet which the poorer Sort, and they who never had Money, or they who have spent it, must take up with. The prodigal Son mention'd *Luk.* 15. tho' he fared never so deliciously whilst his Money lasted, yet when he had spent all in riotous Living, would have been very glad, tho' even that was denied him, to feed upon Haws, a Dish that is left even for the Swine themselves, and to make a Meal of Husks and Acorns. *ver.* 16.

Now since this Coarseness of Fare and Scarcity of Provisions will certainly be the Effect of your Poverty and lavish Expences; consider well with your self how contentedly you can bear it. Do you find your Appetite indifferent to all Manner of Food? Does all please, and nothing offend it? Is it free from all eager Tendencies to all delicious Meats; or is it well satisfied, when it vehemently craves but cannot have them? Is there no Torment in unsatisfied Desire; nor any Trouble in defeated Expectation? which of all these is your Case, that such a Change of Fare as this should not sit heavy on you? Are you careless and indifferent what you eat, and what you drink? How comes it then that you can throw all away upon them? Do Men give all they have for any Thing which they do not love; and spend their whole Estate for what they take no Pleasure nor Delight in? No, your Actions (which are the truest Interpreters of your Desires, and seldomest of all belie them) declare plainly that you desire to have your Palate pleas'd, and that you desire it earnestly. If it were not a Thing you extremely loved, you would never pay so dear for it. If the Unsatisfiedness of this Desire were not it self a great Pain and Trouble, you would never run your self upon so much Sorrow (as you have seen, and shall see farther, your spending to fulfil it

brings) to put an end to it. But ſince it is ſo plain that you find your unfulfill'd Appetite and unindulged Palate ſo importunate a trouble and ſo vexatious a Pain; why, I beſeech you, will you order Things ſo that a few Years hence you muſt deny them for altogether, and will not learn to deny them any thing at all now? Why will you appoint them rather then to be ſtarved, than now to be ſtinted? The Uneaſineſs of denying them a few Years hence will be full as great as it is to deny them at preſent. They will be equally delighted in the Enjoyment of their Objects, and equally afflicted when they want them. And if they muſt then be tied up to a greater Want; they will alſo be plunged in a deeper Sorrow. They will much eaſier loſe ſome, than all; they will take it far better to enjoy with Moderation, than to be denied all Enjoyment. Why then ſhould you be ſo little a Friend to them, as to impoſe this heavy Burthen on them? Your delicious Appetite, and your chargeable Palate muſt be ſtinted, and they muſt be ruled. They muſt either be reſtrain'd ſomething, now you have Money, or when that is gone (which will be very ſhortly) they muſt be utterly denied all. Either your own Choice muſt cut off ſome, or at laſt your own Neceſſity will cut off all Pleaſure from them. Now if you will chooſe to curb them in ſome Things, to allow them what is cheap, and cut off what is coſtly; you may gratifie their real Neceſſities (and in ſome Meaſure their pleaſurable Deſires) always. But if you will abate nothing of their Pleaſures, nor moderate any of their Enjoyments now, the Time is at hand, which a very few Years will bring on you, when they ſhall be utterly deprived of all. They ſhall then feel no Delights, who can not be content now to be delighted with Moderation. They ſhall always languiſh under an entire Unſatisfiedneſs, who cannot now ſubmit to a moderated Satisfaction. And how ſhall they endure that, who are ſo delicate as not to ſubmit to this? How ſhall they undergo this ſevere Tyranny, whoſe Necks are too tender for this temper'd Love and Government?

And now, I pray you, conſider what Evil have your Palate and your Appetite done you, and what Crime have they committed, that you ſhould uſe them ſo hardly? Wherein have they offended you, that you ſhould thus caſt off all Care of their Contentment? How comes it that you, who pretend ſo greatly to be their Friend, ſhould act ſo much their Enemy? Is this Friendſhip, when two States are before you, to cull out that for them which has by far the leaſt of Eaſe, and moſt of Torment? Is this Love, to ſatisfie them for a ſhort time, that they may ſtarve for a whole Life after; for one Day's Mirth to return them a Month's Vexation? What, I pray, ſhould make you treat them in this Faſhion? O ſtrange! that you ſhould take this Way to endear and ſatisfie, which in Reality is the directeſt Method for ever to pine and grieve them. Look better upon theſe your confeſs'd Friends, and if you would be kind to them, be ſo in more Reality, and in more Wiſdom. So ſtudy to pleaſe them now, as you may continue to pleaſe them hereafter. Lay not out all that in one Year, which muſt provide for them for a whole Life. Allow them ſuch a moderated Pleaſure, as ſhall not die before them. Divide their Entertainments thro' their whole Lives; and let not the Jollities and Revels of a few Months ſnatch away all the Delights of thoſe Years they have yet to laſt to. If you will retain a tender Kindneſs for them, let me intreat you to do it with this Diſcretion. Be frugal, and ſpare for their Maintenance, if you would for nothing elſe. And if neither the Thoughts of Hell can affright you, nor Heaven allure you; yet let the Pleaſures of your Palate, and the Gratifications of your Appetite conſtrain you to be thrifty. It is out

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of a miſtaken Love to them you ſpend; and in plain Reality they, you ſee, moſt ſtrongly bind you to be ſparing. Let their Perſuaſions then, I beſeech you be believ'd, tho' the others are neglected. Hearken to their Requeſts, tho' you will give no ear to the others Petitions. But if you will not retrench theſe Exceſſes of Expences, which are gone beyond the Pleaſure, to the Load and Oppreſſion of your Nature; then muſt all this Scarcity of Delight, and Greatneſs of Unſatisfaction unavoidably come upon you. There is no Remedy, nor can there be any Eſcape. For if you will ſpend all in one Day, you cannot poſſibly have any Thing left to lay out upon them ever after.

And as this is one great Evil, which upon your irrecoverable Poverty will afflict your Body, your *hard and unpleaſant Diet*, which you muſt expect will be much more ſevere to you, becauſe your Palate will not without extreme Difficulty be brought down to it, having all along been ſo accuſtom'd, and even naturalized to better: As this Hardſhip of Meat and Drink, I ſay, will be one great and continued Pain to your Body, ſo will

2dly, *Your loſt Diverſion, and your reſtrain'd Liberty.* You will then be able to allow yourſelf no Gayity of Sports, nor chargeable Recreation. A hunting Horſe, or a hunting Meeting, a Fit of Good Fellowſhip, and a jolly Company are none of them to be got, and kept up with an empty Purſe and a waſted Fortune.

But admit you ſhould have all theſe, yet can you not uſe them. For your very Liberty will be limited, and the Freedom of an open Air reſtrain'd to you. Your offended Creditors you muſt expect will be upon you, and continually laying wait for you. They will be hurried on to apprehend you by two Tempers, (both of which are moſt eager, and moſt watchful) their Love of Money, and their Impatience of Injury, their Covetouſneſs and their Revenge. For every one will be for having his own, and when they cannot find you ready to pay, call in the Aſſiſtance of the Law to force it. And ſince you will not be Owner of ſo much as will diſcharge all, every one will ſtrive againſt another, who ſhall force his own from you firſt; and ſo many Creditors as you have, ſo many Spies will there be, who will be all invigorated by Emulation as well as Deſire, and ſtrive to enſnare you, both to recover their own, and to get before their Neighbour. And beſides, every Man will reſent the Injury you have done him in ſupporting your Vanity at his Coſt; and when all of them will have you at their Power, it is not to be expected, but that the Fierceneſs of Anger, and the natural Sweetneſs of Revenge ſhould carry on ſome, if not all of them, to requite it.

'Tis true Men ſhould not return Injuries, nor can he be a true Chriſtian that doth. But this will be no Security to you that they will not. You muſt expect from Men, not always what they ſhould do, but what they uſe to do. And it is not always, and in this particular Inſtance of Revenge very ſeldom, that Men are acted more by their Religion than their Paſſion, or make their Duty the Meaſure of their Practice. And ſo both theſe Paſſions being always at hand, and ſpurring them on to enſnare your Liberty; it cannot in Reaſon be thought but they will diligently watch, and eagerly lay hold of all Opportunities to effect it. You cannot think but that their Covetouſneſs and Revenge, which they love ſo well as to loſe Heaven and to incur Hell for, muſt needs have a greater Intereſt in them than you have. And that they will be undoubtedly ſurer to enſnare your Liberty for their ſakes, than to ſpare you for your own. And ſince you know this, you will live always in Fear as well as Danger. If you keep

out of their Hands, you will be doubly confined, by your own Walls and your own Fears; if thro' any ventrous taking of a more open Air, you fall into their Power, you will be much reſtrain'd in ſuch a Place as they will provide for you.

AND now ſince it is ſo plain, that upon your *irrecoverable Poverty*, and *unpayable Debts*, both the utter Loſs of all your Diverſions, and the Reſtraining of your Liberty will fall upon you; conſider well before you come to feel it, how this will agree with you. Can you be content to come down from all Diverſion; to none at all? Can you ſubmit to be without all Sports, and to be debar'd the Pleaſure of all Recreation? But moſt of all, are you willing to be kept cloſe Priſoner within your own Doors, and excluded all the Delights of an open Air, and warm Sun-ſhine? Bethink your Self how theſe Reſtraints agree with you already, (for that is the Way to judge of it) and from thence conclude what they will do hereafter. Are you delighted with ſtaying always at home, and well ſatisfied without ſeeking after any Company beyond your own Family? Do you find a Pleaſure in ſitting continually at eaſe and quiet in your own Houſe, and never entertaining your Eyes abroad, nor diverting your Self on Horſeback? Does it content you to be always idle and unactive, and never taken up with any buſie Sports, or ſtirring Recreation? If theſe Things are ſo, and you can find a Pleaſure in theſe Abſtinencies; it is a Wonder you ſhould be ſo croſsly Self-denying as to allow your Self ſo little of them. It is ſtrange you ſhould be delighted in them and not deſire them; and much more ſtrange that you ſhould deſire; and having them (as you always have) in your Power, very little, and ſcarce ever at all enjoy them. It is too ſtrange indeed to be true, and too abſur'd to be imagin'd. No, no, it is too plain you are uneaſie at Home, and in Pain to be ſolitary; it is a Burthen to you to be out of Company, and a ſevere Task to be frugally idle. You love your Sports, you love good Fellowſhip, you are much wrong when you want them, and uneaſie till you get again into them, and will willingly give any Thing, even all your Eſtate, and all you are worth, rather than be deprived of them.

AND now ſince the Deſires of theſe are ſo eager, and the Love of them ſticks ſo cloſe to you; ſince it is ſo troubleſome to be abſent, and has in it ſo much of Torment to deny or even to ſtint your Self the Uſe of them: What will it be when you muſt be debarr'd them all together? How ſhall you endure to be confin'd for a whole Month, or Year, or Age; who will very hardly now ſubmit to one whole Day's Confinement? How can you be contented then to be deprived of all good Fellowſhip and Company, that will not ſuffer your Self now to be moderated and reſtrain'd in it? The Trouble then will be every whit as much as it is now, the Unſatisfiedneſs alike, and the Torment equal. And if you cannot bear now with the Pain of a moderated Want of them; are you like then to undergo a total Deprivation? If you are too ſoft and delicate to endure a ſmall Abatement; will you not be infinitely more ſo to bear up under an intire Loſs of them? Where, I pray you, is your Fore-ſight, and where is your Wiſdom, that you do not diſcern the heavy Weight and Inſupportableneſs of this Diſproportion? What is become of your common Senſe and Underſtanding; that you not perceive the oppreſſive Load of this Burthen? But if you muſt needs ſee, and cannot but know (as I am ſure you do) the Intolerableneſs of this accumulated Loſs; why then do you not take Care to prevent and avoid it? Is all your Love to your Self, your Liberty, and Diverſions gone, that you ſhould foreſee their utter Ruin, and not remove it? Has all Care of them left you, that you

ſhould

ſhould plainly perceive their Danger, and not ſhun it? Does a black Cloud reſt upon your Intellect, and has a violent Numneſs ſeiz'd your Paſſions; that you ſhould neither diſcern theſe Evils, nor ſhew any Zeal againſt them? Rouſe up your Self, my dear Friend, and take away all this Reproach from your own Nature, and your own Reaſon. Shew your Self a Man that can ſee Dangers whilſt they are at a Diſtance, and avoid them. It is the ſilly Beaſts that can know nothing till they feel it, nor diſcern their Miſery till it is upon them. But do you ſee it before it comes, and not ſtay for it, but prevent it. Let the Uneaſineſs you feel in any ſmall Denyal of the Delights of Liberty and Diverſion now, inform you what you ſhall endure hereafter from their total Deprivation. And let that Senſe affright, and that juſt Fear compel you to avoid it. You ſee plainly there is no Help for it, nor can it be otherwiſe, but that your Frolicks abroad muſt be ſtinted, and your Diverſions reſtrain'd. Either your own Choice muſt moderate them now; or your unavoidable Neceſſity will, not moderate only, but take them quite away hereafter. This *Self-denial* muſt be practiſed, either in Part now, or then for all together.

Go on then with Diſcretion to ſecure what you love, and to prevent what you fear, and to remove what would torment you. Reſtrain your own Liberty, and your own Diverſions to what may pleaſe, but is not expenſive. Run not upon a total Loſs of that, whereof you cannot without Difficulty endure an Abatement. Either cut off upon your own Motion and from your own Will what is chargeable in them; or you clearly perceive they ſhall very ſuddenly be cut off from you, whether you will or no for altogether.

And thus you ſee what great Evils of a ſpare Diet, and coarſe Fare, of undone Liberty, and loſt Diverſion, will unavoidably ſeize upon your Body, upon your continued *Profuſeneſs*, till you are plunged in unpayable Debts and irrecoverable Poverty. You ſee how heavy and grievous all theſe will prove to you, and what Alteration and Amendment in all Reaſon, in all Intereſt, in all Voluptuouſneſs it ſelf, they ſhould work in you.

And I might now go on to ſhew the ſame of the Meanneſs of your Cloaths, the Hardneſs of your Lodging and all the other Inſtances of corporal Ill, which upon this evil State of Things, your own Reaſon muſt needs ſuggeſt to you, if you conſult it, will unavoidably iſſue out upon you. But becauſe I think, and am confident, I have ſaid full enough, and more than enough to prevail with you on this Head; and becauſe I would not make more Trouble than needs, either to you or my Self, I ſhall here be content barely to have named them, and proceed in the

3d. And next *Place* to repreſent to you *what great and dreadful Evils you would be ſure to fall under from ſuch a State of unpayable Debts, and irrecoverable Poverty, from the Wounds you would receive from it in your Reputation and Credit.* For if you ſuffer Things to go on to this State of Evil, it will debaſe you in all Reſpects, and make you become cheap and low in every Man's Opinion. It will miniſter Matter for an univerſal Shame, and give Occaſion to Men of all Tempers and Judgments to think you vile and contemptible. For that which guides Men's honourable Thoughts and Eſteem of others, is the Opinion they have of their Parts, their Vertues, or their Friends and Fortunes. It is ſome one of theſe that meets with all Tempers, and is the Foundation of Honour and Reſpect to all Perſons of the World. For the Wiſe and Good eſteem Men for what is properly their own, their Virtues and their

Wiſdom:

Wiſdom: And the Populacy and Ignorant reſpect and honour them for what was either the Acquiſition or good Hap of their Anceſtors, their Friends and Fortunes. Now ſuch is the deplorable Shamefulneſs of this State of Evils, that it will render you low and cheap upon all theſe Accounts, and bring you in nothing but Shame and Reproach from Men of all Tempers and Opinions. For,

1*ſt*, As *to your Parts and Wiſdom, nothing can be a greater Reproach to it than to ſuffer Things to come to ſuch a miſerable Condition.* True Wiſdom conſiſts in being able to diſcern a right End, and the directeſt Means that lead to it. In foreſeeing any great Evil, and the readieſt Way to prevent and avoid it. And now conſider, if you ſhould let Things run on to this Paſs, how little of this will fall to your Share. For inſtead of being wary and contriving; you will have gone on without Advice, and run raſhly upon your own Ruine. Inſtead of being ſagacious and provident, you will have ruſht blindly upon your own Deſtruction. You will have plainly demonſtrated your Self to be acted by a blind Underſtanding, and a head-ſtrong Paſſion; to be ruled by no Wit, but a great Degree of Raſhneſs. You will have been befool'd in the greateſt Matters, and void of Underſtanding even in Things which God has made of moſt eaſie Knowledge, becauſe they are of higheſt Concernment. For it is the Loſs of all the Good, and ventruous Ruſhing upon all the Evil of both Worlds that your Folly has betray'd you to. It is *All Happineſs* that you will not have had the Wit to compaſs; and *All Miſery* you will have wanted the Underſtanding to avoid. And Matters of ſuch Importance are ſo much every Man's Concern, and ſo open and obvious to his Underſtanding; that it ſounds the higheſt Imputation of Folly and Ignorance to be befool'd about them. A Man of ordinary Underſtanding may ſoon be miſtaken in a more obſcure and remoter Matter, and be careleſly overſeen in a leſſer Intereſt: But to be ignorant in a plain Caſe, and ſecurely negligent in a high Concernment, is the greateſt Reflection upon his Underſtanding, and the worſt Aſperion on his Vertue. It demonſtrates him to be both a fooliſh and a wicked, an ignorant and an evil Man.

And this Opinion we find all the World has of them. If any Man runs himſelf out of his Eſtate, and waſtes his Fortunes, tho' Men are affected differently, one to pity and another to reproach him; yet are their Judgments unanimous, and all agree in this, that he has done fooliſhly. It is the very Sentence your Neighbours, your Friends, and your Enemies have begun to paſs upon your Self; and which, if you ſtill go on to ſpend, they will every Day believe the more, and pronounce more peremptorily. Believe it, my *Dear Friend*, I ſpeak what I know, and what any one, who is faithful and ſincere about you, can readily inform you of. The World has already begun to think and to declare you a ſoft young Man; and the more you laviſh your Eſtate, the greater Confirmation will you give to their Judgment; as your Expence encreaſes, ſo will their Opinions and their Cenſures of your Ignorance and Folly.

Thus ſure will your *Profuſeneſs* be, to give the World this Ground to reproach and deſpiſe you, from its being a laſting Inſtance of ſhallow Parts and Judgment, and deplorable Ignorance and Folly.

But beſides this it will give them another Reaſon of Contempt from its being,

2*dly*. An evident Proof of your *Lack of Honeſty and Vertue*. All Sin leaves a Stain and Turpitude upon the Sinner, it defiles and pollutes him

him. And therefore Innocence is often expreſs'd in the Scripture by Cleanneſs. It is call'd *clean Hands*, and *a clean Heart*. And to be ſanctified and amended, the Pſalmiſt expreſſes by his being *cleans'd from his ſecret Faults*. It is the Crookedneſs and Deformity of our Souls, and is therefore ſet out to us by St. *Paul*, by *Spots* and *Wrinkles*, which are the Defacement of our Bodies. And ſince all Sin robs us of our natural Ornament, and defaces our native Beauty, which is our Glory; therefore is it a juſt Matter of Diſgrace and Shame, and fit to make us low in the Opinion of God and of one another.

Pſal. xviii. 20 li. 10. Pſal. xix. 12. Eph. v. 27.

But tho' Shame be common to all Sins, yet is it not equally ſhared among them. For ſome directly ſtrike at the very Foundations of all Society and Converſe, which others affect at a greater Diſtance, and offer leſs Offence to. Now tho' the latter of theſe are often better thought off, yet the firſt, as they ſtrike at every Man's Intereſt, are ſure of every Man's ill Word, and ſo have got an ill Name, and bring a great Diſgrace to the Actors of them among all People. And of this Sort are all *Lying* and *Perfidiouſneſs*, *Fraud* and *Injuſtice*, *Murthers Atheiſm*, open *Irreligion*, and ſuch like. Now there is no living together where theſe are allow'd of, where they reign every Man is beſt apart, and receives no Benefit, but runs a Number of Dangers, and incurs an infinite Loſs by keeping Company, and frequenting Converſe. For where Men are *falſe* and *fraudulent*, and *perfidious*, there is no *Faith:* and where they *wrong*, and *rob*, and *murther*, there is no *Peace*; and without theſe two there can be no good Fruit from Converſe, nor Benefits from Society. All Converſe and Diſcourſe is always vain, and oftentimes dangerous, where there can be no Belief; and they can never expect to be believ'd in what they promiſe, or in what they ſay, who are both falſe and unfaithful. All Company, is hateful which is not ſafe, and there is no Safety amongſt Injuries and Murthers, where both Men's Goods and Lives are in Danger. So that theſe Sins being directly contrary to Faith and Peace, and thereby utterly deſtructive of all Society; every Man that is guilty of them is ſo far unſociable, and unfit for the Company and Converſe of humane Kind. All the World are affraid of Him, and cautious how they deal with him, and judge him unworthy to live among Men. Now this is ſuch a Breach of Credit, and ſuch a Loſs of Reputation, as a Man cannot fall under a greater. It is not undeſervedly eſteemed a high *Indignity* to be expelled a *College*, or caſt out as being unworthy to continue a Member of any honourable Society or Corporation. But what is this to the being judged an unmeet Companion for all Mankind; Tho' a Man be unworthy of an Office in the Court, he may make an uſeful Member in the City; or if he have not Worth enough for that, he may purchaſe Praiſe in a leſſer Corporation, or if that is ſtill too high for him, he may live with Credit, and be a ſociable Member in a Country Town. But if he falls below all theſe, and is found by his unſociable Vices to be unmeet for Men, and to be a fit Companion only for the Beaſts about him; he has then ſufferered the greateſt Shipwrack of Honour, and fallen under the blackeſt Ignominy and Diſgrace.

So that theſe Sins of *Lying*, *Unfaithfulneſs*, *Injuſtice*, and the like, being truly reputed ſuch as unfit Men for all human Converſe; they muſt needs be moſt ignominious, and plunge their Authors deepeſt in a general Reproach and Shame.

And now conſider how your Sins in general, and ſome of theſe more diſgraceful ones in particular, will, upon your *bankrupt Profuſeneſs*, lay enough of this at your Door. Bethink your Self how many other Sins, and how many of theſe reproachful ones imply'd in it, will

will in the Thoughts of all Men debaſe your Name, and blaſt your Credit. For your bankrupt Poverty, and your waſted Eſtate will be a clear Argument to all Men of your unbridled Luſts, and headſtrong Senſuality; it will prove beyond Exception, the controuling Power of your expenſive Vices, and coſtly Vanities. It cannot be but Men ſhould believe all theſe have got a ruling Power over you, when they manifeſtly ſee them give Laws to you. It is not poſſible but that they muſt be fully perſuaded they can do that with you, which they ſee they have done; that they can drive you on to any thing with ſo much Eagerneſs, that no Fears of future, tho' innumerable and endleſs Evils, can withſtand them. And will not this make much for your Credit, that all your Neighbours, and all that know you ſhall firmly believe you to be a ſworn Subject to Sin, and a Slave to your Belly? That they ſhall all think you to be a Perſon of a loſt Conſcience in this World, and of loſt Hopes for the next? What will you ſay to theſe Judgments of you? If they think, and judge thus, they judge no more than what is true; they only repeat what God has declared, and declare what he will again one Day pronounce in the hearing of all the World. And is this now, think you, to be well eſteem'd, and to be honourably thought of? They will judge you unfit for *Heaven* above, and for the *Holy Church* here on Earth. They will upon theſe Scores deſervedly judge you unworthy of the Name of Chriſt, and utterly unfit to profeſs his Goſpel. And now is Heaven, and the holy Church, and Corporation or Body of Chriſt no glorious Thing, that to be eſteemed unworthy of them ſhould be no Debaſement? Is the Company of God, and Chriſt, of Angels, and glorified Saints above; and the Communion of all true Chriſtians here below, no honourable State or dignified Promotion, that to be thrown down from them ſhould be eſteemed no Brand of Ignominy and Degradation? Whatever you think of theſe Things all good Men will be ſure to think otherwiſe; for upon theſe Accounts in their Eyes every *vile Perſon is contemned.* And ſo certainly will all the ſober, and not throughly debauch'd Part of Mankind. But whatever ſome profligate Wretches of the World may imagine, ſuch perverſe Eſtimates as theſe I am ſure can never enter into your Heart, that you ſhould ever judge thus lightly of them. No, I know you are convinced this will be a Reproach, and a laying Waſte all your true Honour and Reputation.

But when the Sight Men have of theſe your Sins have brought you thus low, let us next ſee whether there will any of thoſe other more reproachful ones yet remain, which will in their Opinion of you hurl you down much lower. And alas! that there will, is too certain. For muſt not your very Time of ſpending be a continued Succeſſion of Promiſes made and broken? Muſt not your Creditors all that Time meet with new Promiſes continually of their Money, and as conſtantly find you renew their Diſappointment? And what Credit can yon expect ſhould be given to you, when at every Turn you thus deceive them? But this Unfaithfulneſs is not all; your diſappointing them will put you upon inventing *new Lyes*, and ſtudying Shifts and Excuſes, and feigning any Thing to patch up your worn Credit and Reputation. So that your whole Time of *Profuſeneſs* it ſelf muſt needs be a continued Viciſſitude, and interchangeable Variety of *Falſeneſs* and *Unfaithfulneſs*, of *Lyes* and *Diſappointments.* And yet when all theſe are done, your Debts will be unpaid and your Creditors unſatisfied ſtill. And ſo you will continue to be unjuſt after all, and to withhold Things where they are due; and thereby be ſtain'd with a continued Falſeneſs, Unfaithfulneſs, and Injury.

And

AND will not theſe, think you, be fine Embelifhments of your Name, and Ornaments in your Reputation? what Judgments will they give People of you? will it augment your Credit, and add to your Honour? No ſurely, it will be as far from that, as Light is from Darkneſs. It will beget moſt widely diſtant Thoughts in all People concerning you. For now they will ſee you guilty of the moſt diſhonourable Actions, and brought into the loweſt Form of Ignominy. They will be convinc'd now, you think not that below you, which is below a Man; nor think your ſelf too worthy for that, which is unworthy of all Society. They will paſs no better Judgment upon you than you ſeem to do upon your ſelf; nor in their Opinions of you, aſſign a higher State for you, than you have choſen for your own Actions. They will in their own Thoughts allot you a Condition agreeable to your Works, and think your Station ſhould be as low, as they ſee your Practice is.

AND now, is ſuch a deplorable Fall as this, in the Opinions of all knowing and conſiderate Men, no Loſs of Credit? Is the being thought unworthy of all honeſt Society no Diſgrace? and the being deem'd unfit for human Converſe no Degradation? I need not enlarge upon this Topick to convince you of it. I know you ſee clearly enough, without my ſhewing of you, that this is a Fall beyond Repair, and a deep Abyſs of Shame beyond Recovery. And yet, as you plainly ſee, it is not more ſad than certain; but an Effect as neceſſary as it is dreadful, of your ſinful *Waſte* and bankrupt *Profuſeneſs*.

AND thus if you ſhould permit your *Profuſeneſs* to go on to this irrecoverable State of Evil, it plainly appears what a vaſt Load of Contempt and Shame would be laid up for you, upon this Account, of your apparent *Lack of Honeſty and Virtue*, as well as we ſaw it would upon the other of Ignorance and Folly.

AND ſo will it yet grow up farther upon the

3*d*. AND laſt Account, From *the utter Loſs of your Friends and Fortunes*. That which for the moſt part gets a Man Honour, and is the Foundation of Reſpect among the Vulgar, is a *good Eſtate*, or *great Friends*. They are wont to Admire rich Men, and to honour any whom they will ſhew Reſpect to. They look upon ſuch as are rich in Lands and Money, to be rich in Judgment too; and ſo ſubmit very readily to think after them, and be of their Opinion. If a Man is rich, he is glorious in their Eyes; or if he is reſpected by the Rich, he ſhall have Reſpect from them too. They will very willingly follow their great Neighbours, and judge of other Men by their Meaſure. So that if theſe ſhew Reſpect to any, or Friendſhip, which is a great Expreſſion of it; the other preſently conclude them to deſerve it. But then if a Man is bereft of both theſe, if he be both Poor and Friendleſs; he is ſure to be low enough in their Eyes, whatever he be in his own. They will think nothing great of him, when they ſee nothing great about him; but he muſt paſs among them for a very mean Man, who appears in nothing higher, but in all reſpects as poor and helpleſs as the meaneſt of themſelves.

THUS doth the Waſte of Friends and Fortunes infer a certain Waſte of Honour and Reputation. A Man has quite loſt himſelf in the Opinions of the World, when once he has loſt theſe. And now conſider, if you go on to laviſh away your Eſtate, and waſte all your Fortunes, what Stock of Reputation you are like to be Maſter of. You are ſure to be Poor, and dare you hope that you ſhall not then be Friendleſs? Oh! *my Friend*, you have obſerved little of the Courſe of the World, if you can ſuffer your ſelf to be impoſed upon by ſuch an unlikely Fancy. You

have never looked about you, nor taken notice of what has paſſed abroad, if you diſcern not that the Poor have loſt their rich Friends when they loſt their Money. It has been an Obſervation which has held in all Ages, and run through all Times. *Solomon* lays it down for a certain Maxim, that it is the *Rich* who hath *many Friends*, but for the *Poor*, *that he is hated and deſpiſed*, even of thoſe who moſt of all ſhould pity and reſpect him, *his own Neighbours*.

Prov. xiv. 20.

'Tis I confeſs very true, that *True Friendſhip* is quite another Thing. It loves moſt when it is moſt needed, and is never more vigorous and warm, than when it is loudlieſt call'd for. It builds not upon a fair Eſtate, or outward Grandour, and therefore ſtands firm when they are deſtroy'd. But it is founded upon the Man, and his good Qualities and Virtues; and ſo laſts as long as they do. And this is ſo precious a Jewel and ſo durable a Good, that I really eſteem it one of the happieſt Enjoyments, and richeſt Poſſeſſions of the World.

But then this you muſt conſider withal, that this is a Sort of *Friendſhip* the World is little acquainted with. Moſt of that which you ſee and meet with is quite of a different Nature. It is grounded upon a Likeneſs of Vices or Vanities, of Sports and Diverſions. Some of their Luſts Men cannot fulfill alone, and therefore they love ſuch as will bear them Company. It is not the Company they ſeek, but themſelves and the Satisfaction of their own Sins; and the Company ſo far only, as they promote it and contribute to it. Now this is a Sort of *mean Friendſhip* that muſt continually be kept up by a good Treat, and ſupported by Expences. It is a bare Conſociation in coſtly Courſes, and a Fraternity in chargeable Entertainments. And when theſe Men's Eſtates are waſted and their Stock is ſpent, that they can no longer throw in their Share to the common Merryment; then they muſt no longer be looked upon as Members of the Company. Their Friendſhip is at an End when their Money is. It was only a Friendſhip of Charge and Expences, and where the one falls ſo muſt the other too.

So that this you may lay down to your ſelf as a certain Rule, *that you will loſe your gentile Friendſhips when you loſe your Eſtate.* You muſt not bear them Company at their Coſt, when you can no longer ſupport it at your own. Then they will look ſlightly on you, they will ſhift you off and be weary of your Company; and by ſetting you at nought and deſpiſing you themſelves, moſt authentically teach other People to do ſo too. For the Practices of wealthy Men, as I obſerv'd to you before, are Rules and Precepts to the Vulgar. Theſe will give themſelves up to be guided by their Thoughts, and taught by their Opinions; and where they ſee them beſtow Contempt and Shame, they will be far from giving Reſpect and Honour. And then, ſince your decay'd Eſtate and deſperate Poverty will certainly expoſe you to their Reproach and Scorn, there is no Appearance of the Encouragement of wealthy Friends to protect you from it. For when Things are once come to this Paſs, theſe will be ſo far from teaching others to Honour and Reſpect, that in very deed they will be your firſt Upbraiders, and by their own Slights ſhew others, of all Sorts, to ſhame and to deſpiſe you.

And now by all this Diſcourſe I do not doubt but it fully appears, that your *Profuſeneſs* continued in, to this evil State of *unpayable Debt*: and *irrecoverable Poverty*, will moſt certainly bring upon you all theſe Grounds of Shame, and allow'd Reaſons of Reproach and Ignominy. You ſee how every one of them, the *Shallowneſs of Wit*, and the *Shallowneſs of Manners*, and

and the *deplorable Poverty of Friends and Fortunes*, lay waſte a Man's Reputation, and murther his Honour among all Sorts of People; and how ſurely upon this State of Evils, every one of them will fall to your own Share, and become in the higheſt Meaſures and Degrees your own Portion. So that they will infallibly bring you in a full Store of Shame and Reproach from all Quarters. They will amply provide you the ſharp Jeſts of the Witty, and the Revilings of the Rude, the Mirth and Laughter of the Gallants, and the Taunts of the Multitude. They will make you the inſulting talk at Tables, the Sport and Entertainment of publick Meetings, and an Inſtance and Example in all ſevere Reproofs. They will afford an inexhauſtible Matter for the Sorrow and Pity of your well-meaning Neighbours, for the ſevere Rebukes of your Friends, and the inſulting Scorn and triumphant Reproach of your Enemies.

AND now, I beſeech you, bethink your ſelf a little how all theſe will agree with you. Can you be content to be low in the Thoughts, and vile in the Opinions of all Men? Can you ſubmit to be the Reproach of the Proud, and the Marke of the Scornful; the Contempt of the Poor, and the Mirth of the Wealthy? Have you no Deſires to be well thought of, nor any Care of handſome Reputation? Is it nothing to you what the World thinks of you, but you are wholly indifferent to Glory and Diſgrace, to Contempt and Credit? Are you equally cold to both, and wholly concerned in either? If this be ſo, how comes it you can be angry at a ſcornful Word, and up in Arms at an affronting Action? whence ſhould it happen that you ſhould waſte all for being thought worthy of honourable Company, and ſpend your whole Eſtate for the fancied Credit of a gentile Diverſion? Are you angry at what you do not hate, or hot in the purſuit of what you have no Mind to? If Shame and Reproach be no Evil, why ſhould it ſo exceedingly diſquiet you? If Reputation and Credit be no Delight, how can it thus, againſt all Oppoſition, ſo uncontroulably command and govern you? You will do more, even for the miſtaken Hopes of it, than for all your Friends, your Wife and Children. You will ſpend and waſte for its ſake, rather than ſave for theirs. And after all this have you no Love for it, but are wholly unconcerned in what becomes of it? Surely they muſt be very light in your Opinion, if they be outweigh'd by ſuch a Trifle. They muſt needs be very little in your Love, if they can be outrivall'd by ſuch a deſpiſed Nothing. No, my *dear Friend*, I have other Thoughts of your Love to them, to your ſelf, and to your Eſtate, than ever to imagine you would ſell them for a Thing you ſo deſpiſe. I know you love your Credit, and you love it mightily; or elſe it could never have a greater Intereſt in you, and prevail more with you than theſe. That muſt needs be a violent and ſtrong Love, by which your Love to theſe is overpower'd. It cannot but be got deep into your Heart, and be often and uppermoſt in your Thoughts, which can make all Care and Thoughts of theſe be quite forgotten. And now ſince it appears beyond all Diſpute that you do love Reſpect, and even miſtaken Honour, ſo highly, and delight in it to ſuch a Degree; let your Paſſion for it, I beſeech you be as Wiſe as it is violent. I ask you not to go out of your own Way, or to alter your own Affection; purſue it if you will, do it but only with Diſcretion. I requeſt you only not to lay waſte what you love, nor to deſtroy what you find a Pleaſure and Delight in. Will you ſhew your Love to your Credit, by running your ſelf out of it, and the Care you have for Reputation by bringing it to nothing? Alaſs! if you deal thus by your Friends, what muſt any Thing elſe expect which has no ſuch Title to your Friendſhip?

If your very Love can force no kinder Uſage from you, what in the World muſt melt and ſoften you? O ſtrange! that you ſhould take this perverſe gainſaying Way to evidence your Paſſions. You moſt entirely love your Honour, and yet you ſtrive to ruin it: You moſt zealouſly hate Diſgrace and Shame, and yet you induſtriouſly caſt to meet them. *Good God!* how doth an uncontrouled Luſt befool you? Retrieve your loſt Honour, my *dear Friend*, and ſhew your Self to be acted by more Senſe, and more Reaſon. Since you do ſo ardently love your Reputation, by all Means ſtrive to preſerve it. Purſue not that which will bury you in Shame, nor be any longer enamour'd of what you plainly ſee will overload you with Reproach and Ignominy. Your *Profuſeneſs*, you diſcern, inevitably tends to it. The greateſt Gulph of Shame, and the vileſt Sorts of Diſhonour are neceſſarily entail'd, and at the End of it. It is not poſſible for you to retain your Credit; if you throw away your Money; nor ever to be hoped that your Profuſeneſs ſhould do other, than make you extremely poor, and infinitely deſpicable. For this Connexion betwixt your Sin and Puniſhment you ſee is unalterable, if you continue to be *profuſe* you ſhall be ſure to be infinitely *ſhamed* and *contemned*.

And thus you ſee how great Evils will overtake you, and what great Sorrows ſhall ſeize upon you from your *indulged Profuſeneſs* and *irrecoverable Poverty*, upon this Account, that they will lay waſte your Credit, and quite ruin and deſtroy your Reputation. They will torment you with Shame, and break your Heart with Reproaches, 'till at laſt being wearied with ſeeing and hearing them, you become all out of Love with your own Self, and as vile in your own Eyes as you will be in others.

And yet beſides all theſe perplexing Evils, both of Soul and Body, and Credit, which have been hitherto inſiſted on; there will yet one Sort more remain to grieve and vex you, which I am in the

4*th*, And laſt place to repreſent to you, viz. *Thoſe Evils which, upon ſuch a State of unpayable Debts, and irrecoverable Poverty, will afflict and grieve you, through your ſecond ſelves, your Friends, and Wife, and Children.*

I cannot but think you to be concern'd in their Good, and affected with whatſoever befalls them, whether it be Good or Evil. I will ſuppoſe, for the preſent, that you are pleas'd in their Joy, and griev'd in their Pain, and have a compaſſionate Senſe and Feeling with them in every Condition. And ſince all their Joy and Grief, their Happineſs and Miſery is in ſome Degree your own; let us take a View of what Evils from your *Profuſeneſs* will invade them, and thereby what Encreaſe will be made to your own Unhappineſs. And

1. For your *Friends and near Relations, you muſt needs think your ruinous Expences muſt afford no ſmall Sorrow or little Grief to them.* As they would greatly rejoice in your Good, ſo will they as ſmartly ſorrow in your Calamity. The ſame Love and Friendſhip will effect both. Becauſe they love you, and their Kindneſs and Care has made what befalls you their own: Therefore do they partake with you in all Fortunes, and become Sharers of all your Conditions. For my own Part, I muſt freely declare to you that the Proſpect of your calamitous Eſtate, and future ill Condition fills me with mighty Trouble, and I am not able to foreſee it without great Sorrow. Nor can any one, you may be ſure, who loves you. For if they love you, they muſt love your Happineſs, and delight in your Welfare, and fear your Hurt, and grieve at your Miſery. All theſe Effects are but ſeveral Emanations of the ſame Cauſe;

Cauſe; the ſame Friendſhip, which in a happy State of Things expreſſes it Self in one, will, when that State is turn'd, as naturally exert it Self in the others.

AND theſe Abatements of Joy, and Torments of Fear, and Encreaſe of Sorrows, will all they, whoſe Love and Friendſhip has made them concern'd for you, receive from your *Profuſeneſs*. But much higher yet, and more painful will thoſe Evils be, which will flow from it,

2. UPON *your Wife and Children*. For they are more immediately concern'd in your Fortune, and ſuffer ſeveral of the Puniſhments of your Sin in Kind with you. They pine in your Poverty, and are deſpiſed in your Diſgrace. They do not only ſorrow in Pity, and ſuffer in Love; But in their own Perſons they feel the ill Effects of it. They want what you waſte, they will be ſham'd with your Sin, and upbraided with your Extravagance. Your unpaid Debts, and unrecompenced Injuſtice ſhall remain a Blemiſh in their Name, and a Blot in their Scutcheon, and be a laſting Matter for any that has been injured by you, and is ill natured, to caſt in their Teeth, and for ever to upraid them with.

NAY ſuch will be their Sufferings, that your Sin will have ſet both Heaven and Earth, God and Men too in ſome Meaſure againſt them. It will abide by them to provoke, not only Men to affront, but God to puniſh them. For ſo he has declared to us: *I will viſit the Sins of the Fathers upon the Children, unto the third and fourth Generation of them that hate me.*

AND now what will you think, or what will you ſay to theſe Things? Can you be well pleas'd thus to recompence Evil for Good, to grieve your Friends, and vex them that love you? Are they fit Objects of your Hate, becauſe they are concern'd for your Good; and worthy to ſuffer any Evil from you, by Reaſon they ſo paſſionately deſire and ſo ſtudiouſly endeavour to procure for you all Things well? What is their Fault that you ſhould make them thus the worſe for it? Is it a Crime to be your Friend, that no Man muſt love you, and go unpuniſh'd: Cannot one be kind to you, and yet be innocent? may not a Man favour you without frowning upon himſelf, but muſt he be ſure to bewail in Sorrow whatſoever he ſpends in Love? Whence comes it, I pray you, that the Love of your Happineſs, and our own ſhould be ſo inconſiſtent; that there is no being a Friend to you without forſaking our own Eaſe? How comes it about that whoſoever would ſhew himſelf your Friend, muſt find you his Enemy; that he who goes about to encreaſe your Pleaſure, muſt needs augment his own Sorrow? Is your Heart barr'd up againſt all the Aſſaults of Favour, and ſtill more hardned by every freſh Appulſe of Kindneſs? Does the greateſt Affection only ſerve to provoke, and the trueſt Love tend only to exaſperate and offend you? If theſe Things are not ſo, which I am ſure they are not, how comes it that all who love you, for their friendly Care meet with this unkind Uſage? Why muſt they ſtill be worſe for being your Favourers, and lament that ever they were your Friends? Rouſe up then, O my *Dear Friend*, all your faint and dying Sparks of Love, and unite your ſcattered Seeds of Friendſhip, and ſhew the World another Leſſon, If there be any Generoſity in your Temper, any Gallantry in your Spirit, any Senſe of Honour, any Reſentments of Kindneſs: ſhew it to all Men, in giving Friendſhip other Entertainment. Delight all your Friends by ſeeking true Joy to your Self, and enlarge all their Happineſs by ſecuring of your own. Be good,

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be thrifty for their Sakes, as well as for your Self, that they may ſee there is no Love loſt betwixt you. Let them have no Cauſe to repent of their having loved you, but ſtudy to be good and to be happy for their Contentment, as well as for your own.

But if the *Name* of *Friend* ſhould not have Charm enough to win, nor a ſufficient Force to conſtrain you to keep back from that *Profuſeneſs* which offers ſo much Violence to it: Yet at leaſt let the Love of your nearer Friends, your *Wife* and *Children* prevail more with you. View well what it is to be ſo hard-hearted and unkind to them, before you venture on it. Think with your Self what more than ſavage Cruelty it is to be ſo utterly careleſs of their Good, and to treat them, who may in all Reaſon expect the greateſt Love, ſo ſeverely. What, are you deſtitute of all Sorts of Love, and bereft even of *natural Affection?* Have you no Concern for your own Fleſh, nor care you what becomes of your own Iſſue? Will you deny your Self nothing for their Eaſe, nor put your Self to any Pains for their Refreſhment? Can you look upon them as if they were nothing to you, and behold their Tears and Cries with the ſame compoſed Look, and equal Eaſe, as you would their Merriment and Laughter? How can your Heart be untouched with that which comes ſo near it? How is it poſſible you ſhould be unaffected with what ſo much concerns you? No ſure, that Heart muſt be more than Adamant that can be armed againſt all theſe Impreſſions. It muſt be a Lump of Steel or Flint, and by no means a Heart of Fleſh, that having ſo much to move it, is yet inſenſible and ſtupid. He is neither Man nor Beaſt that is bereft of theſe moſt rooted Inclinations, and intimate Affections of mere Nature. All Sorts of Beaſts will love their own, and be moved to pity and ſuccour them. They are affected with their Cries, and not only ready, but forward to relieve them. They will be at Pains to make them help, and deny even their own ſelves to ſuccour and ſupply them. The ſilly *Bird* wil leave her own Neſt and Eaſe, and fly abroad far and near to fetch in Food for her helpleſs Young: And ſo powerful is her Love, ſo firm her Affection, that neither Rain, nor Wind, nor Fears, nor Dangers can keep her off from ſhewing this kind Care and Service. The *Foxes*, and *Bears*, the *Wolves* and *Lyons*, and all the fierceſt Things in Nature are yet all Love and Tenderneſs, all Care and Kindneſs to their own Off-Spring. And can you now be more inſenſible than they, and have leſs of Love than the fierceſt Beaſts in Nature? Muſt they teach you Pity, and be a Pattern to you to love? Shall their natural Kindneſs upbraid the Want of yours, and muſt the very ſavageſt of Beaſts teach you Humanity? Will it be no Reproach to you to ſend you to theſe Tutors, nor any Note of Ignominy to fall ſhort of their Example? Come, come, *my Friend*, do you ſhew the World they muſt think other Things of you. Be kind to the Wife of your Boſom, and the Fruit of your Body; and let your Actions ſhew you love them. Give them, and all the World a Proof how dearly you prize them, by parting with ſome Thing, that alſo is dear unto you, for them. Let go your coſtly Vanities, and chargeable Delights, that all Men may ſee how for their Sakes you can deny your Self ſomething. Be won by their Cries, and pity their Innocence, and ſupport their Weakneſs. Be frugal, be thrifty, if it be only that it may appear you have a real Love, and unfeigned Care for them. Allow them real Teſtimonies, which infinitely ſurpaſs all verbal Profeſſions, of your Kindneſs; and by the Truth and Activeneſs of your Service for them, evidence the Greatneſs and Reality of your Affection. You cannot be

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thought to love them if you will undergo nothing for them, but take thoſe Ways which go directly, as far as in you lies, to overthrow them. You cannot be kind to them and your *Profuſeneſs* both at once, for the pleaſing of the one is the other's undoing. Either then retrench your Expences, and amend your Laviſhneſs, or the utter Unkindneſs of a Friend and the unnatural Hardneſs of a Father and a Husband, with all the Evils I have repreſented from them, will continue for ever to be your *Sin*, your *Puniſhment*, and your *Shame*.

And thus, as your *Profuſeneſs* continued in till it make your *Debts unpayable* and your *Poverty irrecoverable*, will extremely afflict and torment you with all the Evils of *Soul*, and *Body*, and *Credit*: So will it moſt feelingly reach you in this Reſpect alſo, that it will fret and conſume you thro' the Care and Kindneſs you ought to bear, and doubtleſs have, for your ſecond ſelves, your *Friends*, and *Wife*, and *Children*.

And thus I have given you a large View and Proſpect of thoſe frightful and inſupportable Evils, which will inſeparably accompany your running your Self out of your Eſtate, and being plunged deeper into Debt than you can have any Proſpect of ever getting out of again. And tho' I have been much ſhorter than the Matter would eaſily bear; yet I hope I have ſaid ſo much, and ſhew'd you ſo many and intolerable great Evils of your *Profuſeneſs*, that upon a ſerious View of it you will ſee nothing in it that ſhould in any Meaſure tempt you to love, or to continue in it, but Conſiderations infinitely great and high to fright and drive you from it. For you muſt needs plainly diſcern, if you do but attently conſider what I have repreſented, that it deprives you of all the Good, and brings upon you all the Evil of both Worlds. It wounds you in all Relations, and breaths out nothing to you but Ruine and Miſery in every Capacity. It deſtroys your Soul, and torments your Body, and lays waſte your Credit, and moſt vilely affronts, and grieviouſly afflicts all your true Friends, and neareſt Relations. And what is there in all the World that can render a Thing ſo odious and deteſtable, as theſe do it.

In all this Diſcourſe I have been careful to prove what I advance, that I might need to beg no other Favour from you than the free Uſe of your own Eyes and your own Reaſon. The Matter in hand admitted of too much Evidence to make it neceſſary for me to beg your Aſſent and Approbation of what I ſay, and to ſtand to courteſie for it. And I am very confident if you do but read what I have writ deliberately, and mind and conſider what you read as you go along with it; your own Soul ſhall anſwer to the Truth of what I affirm, and your own Thoughts concur with mine.

And now in all the Parts of this Diſcourſe you will ſee clearly how I have aim'd all along at theſe *eſſential Offices* of a *true Friend*, to do you the *beſt Service* I can, and to do it *faithfully*. I have taken all the Liberty and Freedom a Man who loves you might, and that a Friend ſhould: And have call'd Things by their own Names, ſuch as all conſidering and ſober Men do, and God Almighty in the hearing of all the World one Day will give to them. I have not gone to leſſen the Evils, nor given to them ſoft Titles to make them pleaſe more, and offend leſs; but have call'd them what they juſtly are, and repreſented them, not as you would wiſh, but as you will find them. And altho' I have accounted

counted for this Freedom at the Beginning, and that too ſufficiently, I hope, to make you not only bear with me, but, what is more, and what is juſter, moſt heartily thank me for it: Yet to aſſiſt you how to eſteem rightly of it, as well as to convince you farther of its great Reaſonableneſs, I will add this Advice about it.

READ ſometimes what I have writ, and imagine in your own Mind that you are not the Man I ſpeak to, but ſome other Perſon whoſe Condition is like your own; and then try how you like it. Fancy in your own Thoughts that all you ſee is directed to ſome other whoſe Affairs exactly reſemble yours, and then ſee what you will think of it. I dare ſay you will find no Fault then, but ſay the Man ſpeaks honeſtly without all Flattery, in Truth and Earneſt; nay it may be, for the Affection you are wont to bear me, not only in your own Thoughts believe and approve, but withal applaud and commend it too. And now, my *Dear Friend*, I beſeech you conſider how unworthy this is of your Diſcretion, to imagine it muſt be true of the *Profuſeneſs* of another, but falſe of yours. Muſt a Thing ceaſe to be what it is, becauſe it is yours; and muſt it become ſomething elſe for your Concern in it? Is it enough to make it falſe becauſe it is for your Service; and ſufficient for you to conclude it wrong becauſe it endeavours to ſet you right? Which of theſe is it that muſt give the Lye to it, that it ſpeaks of you, or that it comes out of Love to you? No, my *Dear Friend*, I know you are wiſer than to think any ſuch outward Conſiderations, as the Intereſt of him it is ſpoken to, or the Affection of him that ſpeaks it, can alter the Truth of Things. They will be what they are whatſoever we wiſh, or howſoever we are concern'd in it, Truth will be Truth, whether it be with us or againſt us. So that after all, if the Names and dreadful Evils I ſhew to follow upon *Profuſeneſs*, are juſt and right in any other's Cauſe, they are no whit alter'd, but every way the ſame in your own. What I ſhew you, will ſurely befal you; and all that I ſay is not a tittle more (tho' indeed it be vaſtly leſs) than what you will feel.

AND this Direction as it will ſhew the ſevereſt Things I have ſaid to be plainly Reaſonable; ſo is it in it ſelf uſefully practicable. The Method of judging from it, you ſee, is infinitely Rational; and the Practice of it, I doubt nor, will be highly effectual. The withdrawing your Thoughts a little from your own Self, and your own Concern in it, will ſhew you preſently the Reality and Truth of all; and ſo move you, I will not ſay to pardon (for it is extremely far from needing that) but, what is juſt, and what is equal, in all Kindneſs to acknowledge, and to love me for it.

AND now I have one Requeſt remaining to you about theſe Papers, and it is this, that you would be at the Pains ſeriouſly to conſider, and with Deliberation to think upon what I have taken all this Pains to write to you. I ask no other Recompence of all my Study, and of all my Thoughts, than that you would own them as worthy of your attent Peruſal and Meditation, and conſider them accordingly. It would be very ſtrange if this Service for you ſhould coſt me many Days, and you ſhould not ſpend ſo many Hours upon it to ſerve your Self of it. It would be the moſt diſſolute Careleſsneſs of your own Self, to beſtow ſo little upon the Uſe of that, which has coſt ſo much Care to provide and make ready for you. But if the throwing that behind you which is here offer'd you; or at beſt beſtowing a few ſlight and haſty Thoughts upon it when you are idle, or weary, and can find nothing elſe to do, be ſo injurious to your Intereſt: What muſt it be, think you, to your Love and Friendſhip? Is this nothing

thing to recommend it, that it is a true Effect of Friendſhip, and a *Labour of Love?* will it make no way for your careful Acceptance and Uſage of it, that it is an unfeign'd Expreſſion of a ſincere Kindneſs; and an uncorrupt Office of a high and hearty Paſſion? It is your Friend that ſpeaks, and ſhall not he be hearken'd to? It is one who really loves you that has been at this Pains to write, and can you be ſo unkind as not at all to join with him in Love, nor be at the hundredth Part of his Pains to conſider it? Will you ſlight him even where he ſhews his Kindneſs, and diſcourage him in the beſt Things he doth, in the Effects and Expreſſions of his Friendſhip and Affection? You reproach my Underſtanding as well as you reject my Love, if you ſhall not count what has had ſo much of my Care to be worth your Meditation. For if thoſe Things which I have had the Thought to ſuggeſt, and the Power to ſpeak, are fit and worthy to be attently hearken'd to; why are they not accordingly receiv'd? If they be really conſiderable, how comes it that they are not conſider'd? This Want of their being laid to heart muſt needs be from their own Faultineſs, or from Yours. Either that they are ſo trifling as to deſerve no Attention; or that you are not ſo good and honeſt as to give it where it is deſerved. So that the Blame and the Diſgrace muſt lye on one, and all that hear of it will throw it betwixt us.

But then for your ſelf you plainly lay all the Shame at my Door, you openly deſpiſe the beſt I can ſay, and profeſs to all the World it deſerved not to be thought on. You paſs it over as a Diſcourſe not worthy of your Notice, and contemn it as flat and empty. And therefore to take away all Ground for theſe Surmiſes, let me conjure you by all that is fair, and by all that is Friendly to give theſe Papers a ſtay'd Peruſal, and a deliberated Meditation. Conſider of what I ſay much, and often. Weigh and examine it, as a Thing that moſt concerns you, with the greateſt Care, and the moſt exact Attention. Judge of it in your own ſtay'd and unprejudiced Thoughts; and if it be falſe let me ſee my Error, but if you find it true, be perſuaded by it, and embrace and follow it.

And now after all, I moſt vehemently deſire, and comfortably hope this Paper will be ſo happy as to turn your Mind, and alter it into other Counſels, and other Purpoſes. And when it doth ſo, leſt you ſhould cry out when I cannot hear you, the Counſel is good, and the Advice is faithful; I have a Will to ſave, and to keep back from theſe Ruines of Expence, but how ſhall this be put in Practice? I will here before-hand provide againſt this, and return you my Anſwer to it too.

Now if once you *reſolve* to keep back from this beggarly State of Things, you muſt with Eagerneſs and peremptory Conſtancy reſolve withal to bid adieu to all thoſe Ways that bring it. If you are firmly and fully, upon the Reaſons all this while laid down, determin'd to ſave; you muſt with equal Firmneſs determine with your ſelf to cut off whatever is expenſive. For theſe two are Contraries, and the taking away of the one muſt be by the Subſtitution of the other.

Now for the Particularities of your Expence, I cannot reckon them. That is a Thing beſt known to your ſelf, and them who bear you Company; and ſo muſt be left to your own Conſideration. Only in the general it appears, that the Sum total of them at the Year's End amounts a great deal above your Income. And all that Exceeding muſt be cut off if you would (I will not ſay make your Condition better, but) even keep where you are. Now thoſe Things you ſpend upon, and exceed in muſt be taken away if you expect to have your Expence to run commenſurate to your Income.

I ſee plainly with my own Eyes and from my own Obſervation, as well as from the Accounts of all I talk with, that it is not the Charge of Houſe-

keeping, or the least Extravagancies in your Family that doth or can make your Expences swell so high beyond your Receipts. So that nothing remains but those Costs abroad, in daily Company and Diversions with those of your Stable in order to it, which in any Appearance it can be charged on. Now as your Pursuance of these is the Cause of your Expence; so must the forsaking of them be the necessary and indispensable Means of your good Husbandry and saving. You cannot possibly spend and spare both at once; nor is it more possible for you to be thrifty, whilst you pursue and use what is expensive. You may as well hope to buy Cloaths for a Word, and have Penny-worths without Money, or any thing never so absurd and foolish, as ever expect to follow these Courses which are expensive, without Spending any thing on them. And this not only your own Reason, but your own Trial and Experience, one would think, might convince you of beyond all Exception. For have you not for some Years past continually used them, and as constantly at the Year's End been in great degrees the poorer by them? And are not the Things the same, and their Costs equal in one Year as well as another? Nay in every following Year are they not much worse? For you have less then, than you had the Year before, to support and maintain them. And whether it be added to them, or taken from you, whether their Costs grow greater, or your Ability to defray them less, it is in effect the same thing, amounts to the same purpose, to make them impair you the more, and render your Poverty greater every ensuing Year than they did the Year before. So that they do not at all consider your Condition, nor whither it is a going, that would call upon you to be a good Husband, and yet would invite you on to these infallible Occasions of Expence. These, I say, if any such there be, do counsel Inconsistencies, and quite contradict in one Advice what they gave in another. For if your Exercises, and Occasions of spending continue the same; it is perfect Stupidity, and unthinking Grossness to conceive your Expences should alter. The removing of them must be by the taking away of that, the Use whereof has brought them. They both come and go together. So that if ever you expect to have your Yearly Exceedings struck off from the File of your Accounts, these inseparable Authors of it must be struck off too.

And now I know you will be ready to say to me, this is a severe Saying, and a very hard Expression. How! must I leave these which I take so much delight in? This is a very painful Task, and heavy Burthen. And I must tell you again, that admit it to be, yet are the Torments of Hell, and the Miseries of Earth in all those Instances I have described, a Service infinitely more severe, and a Burthen more insupportable. And between those two there is no Medium; you must either chuse one of these Unpleasantnesses or the other. For as long as these three forementioned Courses betray you into Poverty (which you have seen hitherto they have done, and cannot but discern, that so long as you continue in them they will continue to do) from all the foregoing Papers you discern manifestly how they cannot but bring you under all this Misery. If they subject you to the one, they cannot fail of putting you under the other likewise.

Say not then that it is hard Counsel to advise you to the toilsome Task of forsaking these Courses, but consider whether it be any whit the softer to invite you to the infinitely greater Trouble of those other more quick, more numerous, and more lasting Evils: Bethink your self on whether of these the Hardness lies, for one of them must be your Portion. And when you have resolved that, then chuse whether of them you will complain of, and avoid for its Hardship. And whenever the Trouble of forsaking these is ready to discourage and to hinder it, set the Trouble of undergoing

the other over againſt it; and then let them prevail which are ſtrongeſt. Bethink your ſelf, that either the Pain of leaving them muſt be ſuffer'd, or the inſupportable Torments of the others muſt be endured; and then give your Soul its free Choice, and let the Balance be caſt by that Scale which has moſt weight in it. I cannot doubt the Happineſs of this Iſſue; for, for the numerouſly great and infinitely grievous Evils of both Worlds to be of leſs Force with a free unbyaſs'd Mind, than the few and trifling ones of this Denial and Abſtinence; is as utterly impoſſible, as it is for the whole Maſs of Heaven and Earth to be outweigh'd by a Flye.

LET me then beſeech you to go on in the Force of theſe Things, and to bid adieu to all theſe Courſes, and whatſoever may miniſter to Profuſeneſs and Expence. There is no Sorrow in the Task can bear the leaſt Proportion to what you will certainly find in the Neglect of it. There are no Troubles it can ſuggeſt to you, nor any Fears it can raiſe in you, which the infinitely greater one of this will not extinguiſh. Nor, on the other Side, are there any Joys and Delights which the purſuing of theſe Courſes, I exhort you to leave, affords you, that is not, as you have fully ſeen, by the forſaking of them more amply increas'd, and more laſtingly ſecured to you. For neither the *Deliciouſneſs* of your *Palate*, the *Gayities* of *Company*, the *Pleaſures* of *Sport*, nor the *Comforts of Credit* are in any degree ſo enlarged and aſcertain'd to you by Expence and *Profuſeneſs*, as the foregoing Papers clearly evidence them to be by *Frugality* and *Thrift*. So that if any Love of Delight, or Averſion to Trouble, if any Hopes of Joy, or Apprehenſions of Sorrow can work any thing upon you, you ſee where the infinite Advantage lies; that by all theſe you are incomparably more obliged to quit all expenſive Courſes, than to practiſe and purſue them.

AND now, my *dear Friend*, what ſhall I ſay more to you, or wherewith ſhall I exhort you to forſake your *Profuſeneſs*? If the utter and univerſal Evil and Deſtruction of it be a ſufficient Reaſon to reject and abandon it, you have ſeen that abundantly expoſed before you. You ſee clearly how it will deprive you of every thing wherein you can find Delight, and inflict upon you whatſoever can afford Pain, and create Vexation. It will in all reſpects torment your Soul, and grieve your Body, and lay waſte your Credit, and offend and diſquiet every Friend you have, and every Relation.

IF then there be any *Charms* in *Heaven*, any *Comforts* in *Peace*, any *Efficacy* in *Hopes*, or any *Allurements* in *Pleaſures*; if there be any *Power* in *Hell*, any *Force* in *Fears*, any *Virtue* in *Sorrow*; if there be any *Happineſs* in *Eaſe*, any *Invitations* in *Honour*, any *Obligations* in *Pity*, any *Endearments* in *Love*, or any *Bands* in *Friendſhip*; if there be any *Authority* in *Religion*, any *Command* in *Reaſon*, or an *Obligation* in *Intereſt*; if there be any *Inducement* in *Good*, or any *Force* in *Evil*; any *Argument* in all the *World*, in *Heaven*, in *Hell*, in *Earth*; let me adjure you to acknowledge the Virtue of them, and be led on by them to forſake, what they all with one full Voice and joint Accord ſo loudly call for your *Profuſeneſs* and *Expence*. They every one threaten to invite, force, or perſuade it. Let them then have all their good Effect, and make you become, what being rightly conſidered every one of them would make you, *thrifty* and *frugal*; I truſt in God they will, and that ſo many Arrows will not all be ſhot in vain, nor a Bond of ſuch a Number of Cords be eaſily broken. Your Practice I doubt not, will make this good: And as I moſt paſſionately deſire it, ſo ſhall I make it my conſtant and moſt hearty

hearty Prayer to God to effect it. To whom, for his Aſſiſtance on your Endeavours in it, having directed you, and thither having brought you, I ſhall now leave you, commending both you and yours, and all I have ſaid to the Guidance of his Providence, and the Government of his Spirit and Grace; which is all the farther Service I have left to ſhew you, and the only remaining Way of expreſſing my ſelf,

Dear Sir, Yours,

June 1681.

In all faithful Service,

and unfeign'd Love and Friendſhip,

JOHN KETTLEWELL.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

NUMBER I.

An Inſcription upon the Tomb of the Reverend Mr. William Rawlins, *in the Church of* Coles-Hill: *Suppoſed to be made by Mr.* Kettlewell.

M. S.
GULIELMI RAWLINS,
Viri ſine fraude Simplicis, ſine fuco Honeſti;
Qui mores Primævæ Ætatis reduxit,
Tam Innocentiâ Vitæ quam Benefaciendi propenſitate;
Ille utraq; pollens Pharmaceutice,
Pari Sagacitate & Succeſſu,
Et Corpori & Animæ adhibuit Medelam.
Quantus erat Morum, quantus Diſciplinæ Artifex,
Illuſtriſſima DIGBEIORUM Proſapia
Plurima dedit, eaque omnium inſtar, Specimina,
Ut Virum ſcirent, atque mirarentur, poſteri,
Hoc ultimum mutui Amoris Symbolum
Uxor ſuperſtes poſuit.
Natus Anno Salutis MDCXX. Obijt Anno Ætatis LVI. Honoratiſſimo Domino, Domino KILDARE DIGBY, & tribus ejus Natis, à Studijs & à Sacris Domeſticis per XXXIII Annos.

NUMB. II.

A Letter from ſeveral of the Clergy of the Archdeaconry of Sudbury *in the Dioceſe of* Norwich, *lying under Suſpenſion, to their Diocesan* WILLIAM *Lord Biſhop of* Norwich.

May it pleaſe Your Lordſhip,

WE your Lordſhip's Curates, Neighbours to Dr. *Bisby*, lying under *Suſpenſion*, and (which is worſe) very *hard Cenſures* from moſt we converſe withal, and finding the Time of our *Deprivation* to be near at hand; do take the Boldneſs by him to beg your Lordſhip's Bleſſing, and withal earneſtly to crave your Lordſhip's Paternal Direction. For though we can *think of nothing but loſing all*, yet we are paſſionately deſirous to be inſtructed how we ſhall leave our reſpective Cures, whether voluntarily, or ſtay till particular Intruders thruſt us out by Pretext of Law: As alſo which way to behave our ſelves, to preſerve (if poſſible) the *Old Church of England*. We believe your Lordſhip thinks us peaceable; and we are

bold to ſay, You ſhall find us dutiful in any thing you command or enjoin, as you ſhall think will ſerve for the Intereſt of the Church.

Your Lordſhip's Obedient Sons and Servants,

Stephen Newſon, Rector *de Hawkedon.*
Thomas Roſs, Rector of *Reed.*
John Owen, Rector of *Toddenham.*
Samuel Richardſon, Curate of *Little Bradley.*
William Giffard, Rector of *Great Bradley.*
John Gipps, Rector of *Brockley.*
Edward Pretty, Rector of *Little Cornhearth.*
Abraham Salter, Vicar of *Edwardſtone.*
William Philips, Presbyter.

NUMB. III.

The Biſhop of NORWICH'*s Anſwer to the ſame.*

To his Worthy Brethren Mr. STEPHEN NEWSON, &c. *in the* Archdeaconry *of* Sudbury.

Jan. 6. $16\frac{89}{90}$.

Worthy Brethren,

I Have received your Letter from Dr. *Bisby*; and as I am ſorry for your hard Circumſtances in regard of your Suſpenſion, and the harſh Cenſures of your Uncharitable Neighbours, who thereby would add Sorrow to your Affliction: So I hope you will *find inward Comfort from the Stedfaſtneſs of your Faith, and the Righteouſneſs of thoſe Principles which guide you to value the Honour of God, the Credit of your moſt Holy Religion, and the infinite Concernments of your Immortal Souls, above all the tranſient Accommodations of this World.* I ſhould be right glad, if I knew how I might be any way ſerviceable unto you. I have acquainted Dr. *Bisby* with our Circumſtances here, as far as I underſtand them, and deſir'd him freely to impart the ſame unto you.

It's the Opinion of Eminent Lawyers, That the Decree of Deprivation doth not inure, 'till a Judicial Sentence paſſeth further upon us: And therefore (if this Opipion be good Law) we may keep our legal Poſſeſſions, till we be further ſentenc'd, and thruſt out.

There have been ſome *mitigating Propoſals* made to us, by thoſe who aſſure us that they are our good Friends: What the Iſſue will be, you ſhall know, as ſoon as we can arrive at any Reſolution. The Doctor will tell you what the *Propoſals* are, and I have promiſed the Doctor to acquaint him weekly with the Occurrences here.

In the mean time, I heartily commend you to God's ſpecial Care and Protection; and deſire the Benefit of your Prayers for him, that is with all Sincerity,

Your Affectionate Brother and Servant,

W. NORWICH.

NUMB. IV.

The Proteſtation of Dr. GEORGE HICKES, *and Claim of Right, fixed up in the Cathedral Church of* Worceſter.

To Dr. John Jephcot, *Subdean of this Cathedral Church of* Worceſter; *and Dr.* George Benſon, *Mr.* William Hopkins, *and Mr.* Ralph Bottell, *Prebendaries of the ſame; and to all the other Prebendaries and Members of this Cathedral Church of* Worceſter, *as if expreſly here named; and to Mr.* John Price, *the Chapter-Clerk; and to all others whom theſe Preſents may concern;* George Hicks, *D. D. and Dean of this Cathedral Church, ſendeth greeting.*

KNOW ye, That whereas the Office, Place, and Dignity of Dean of this Cathedral Church of *Worceſter*, was given and granted unto me for a Freehold, during my Natural Life, by Letters Patents under the Broad Seal of King *Charles* II. of happy Memory, who had an undoubted Right to confer the ſame: And whereas I the ſaid *George Hicks*, in Obedience to the ſaid Letters Patents, was duly inſtalled into the ſame Office and Freehold during my natural Life, according to the undoubted Laws of the Realm; and according to the ſaid *undoubted Laws*, which had all the Eſſentials of Law, have for ſeveral Years peaceably enjoyed the ſame: And whereas I am given to underſtand, that my Right to the ſaid Office and Dignity has of late been called in queſtion, and that one Mr. *Talbot*, M. A. pretends a Title to the ſame.

Now know ye therefore, and every one of you, That I the ſaid *George Hickes*, deſiring no Advantage may be taken againſt me, by not claiming what I conceive to be my juſt Right, and that leſt thereby I may ſeem to yield my *Legal Title* as determined; I do hereby publickly PROTEST and declare, That *I do claim a Legal Right and Title to the ſaid Office and Dignity of Dean, againſt the ſaid Mr.* Talbot, *and all other Perſons pretending Title to the ſame*; and that I am not conſcious of any Act or Miſdemeanor, the Conviction whereof, if any ſuch were, ſhould or can determine my ſaid Right; but do conceive that I was, and ſtill do continue the *only Rightful and Legal Dean* of this Cathedral Church of *Worceſter*; and that I do not any way relinquiſh my ſaid Title, but ſhall, God willing, uſe all juſt Means which the Laws of this Realm allow, for the Preſervation and Recovery thereof.

And accordingly, as much in me lies, and I may lawfully do, I do hereby require you the Subdean, and Prebendaries, and all other Members of this Church, with the Chapter, Clerk Officers, and every one of you, to take notice of this my Declaration: And farther, by all the *Legal Authority* I have, I require you, and every one of you, by the reſpective Duty which I conceive you owe me, as your *only Lawful Dean* of this Church, and your *Lawful Superior*, that you do no Act or Thing relating to the Premiſes, whereby you may impeach or hinder my Right to the ſaid Office and Dignity of this Cathedral Church: And if it ſhould ſo happen, that you, or any of you, ſhall do or attempt any Act or Acts, Thing or Things, to me as Dean of the ſaid Cathedral Church,

I do hereby expreſsly diſſent thereto, and in my own Defence PROTEST againſt the ſame, *as of no force* againſt this my declared Right to the Office, Place, and Dignity of Dean of this Cathedral Church. Given under my Hand and Seal the Second Day of *May*, in the Year of our Lord MDCXCI.

Sign'd and Seal'd in the Preſence of,

Ralph Taylor, *D. D.*
Henry Panting, *A. M.*
John Cheatle, *N. P.*

GEORGE HICKES.

NUMB. V.

A Letter to Dr. JOHN TILLOTSON, *nominated to the Archbiſhoprick of* Canterbury, *in the room of* Dr. WILLIAM SANCROFT, *depriv'd. By an Eminent Nonjuror.*

SIR,

YOU cannot but ſee, by this time, the Miſchiefs following the Publick from Private Perſons venturing to practiſe on private and ſingular Opinions, in Caſe of great Conſequence; eſpecially where different from thoſe not only of their Brethren, but of the Catholick Church, in thoſe Times when they were liable to the leaſt Temptations of judging corruptly: This, if well thought of, were alone ſufficient to make you cautious of being the Aggreſſor in the new deſigned Schiſm, in erecting another Altar againſt the hitherto-acknowledged Altar of your deprived Fathers and Brethren.

If their Places be not vacant, the new Conſecration muſt, by the Nature of the Spiritual Monarchy, be perfectly Null, and Invalid, and Schiſmatical. The Electors of *Germany* have a Power in the Intereſt of the Empire; but if after having fairly and legally choſen one, they preſume to ſet up another, themſelves will be Traytors to the Fundamental Conſtitution of the Empire; and the Perſon ſo choſen by the ſame Conſtitution, is not to be looked upon as a Second Emperor, but a Rebel. St. *Cyprian* (by thoſe Principles which were fundamental to that Correſpondence which was maintained in the Catholick Church in his Time) admits this Conſequence in our Spiritual Monarchy in its Juriſdictions, That he who is ordained in the Second Place, is not *Secundus* but *Nullus*; that he erects Altar againſt Altar, and cuts himſelf, by ſo doing, from the Communion of which he was before a Member.

Nor was Schiſm ſuppoſed to be only from the individual Churchmen, when the Schiſm was made; but (as Catholick Communion was then maintained) from the whole Catholick Church, every particular Biſhop was then obliged (as he would be true to the Principles of Catholick Communion) to maintain the Diſcipline of all the Churches in the World, by diſcovering their Schiſmaticks: He was neither to receive any to Communion, on the communicatory Letters of Schiſmaticks, nor to give communicatory Letters to them. If he did otherwiſe, himſelf was ſuppoſed by that very Act of communicating with the Schiſmaticks, to have caſt himſelf off from the Catholick Communion, as well as the principal Schiſmatick; he could not own himſelf one with one that was divided, without owning himſelf as divided alſo: This is as clear in the Diſputes of *Fabius* of *Antioch*, and *Marcellus* of *Ancyra*; as the other is in Diſputes concerning *Novatian* of *Rome*, and *Feliciſſimus* of *Carthage*.

In the Caſe of *Athanaſius*, thoſe ſame Principles were owned as the Rules of the Catholick Church. He was baniſhed by the Secular Power; not only ſo, but by the Eccleſiaſticks alſo in the Synod of *Tyre*. This Baniſhment continued for ſeveral Years, in which Three Archbiſhops were ſet up againſt him, *Lucius*, and *George*, and *Gregory*; yet neither Clergy nor People of *Alexandria* did ever own them; no, notwithſtanding that laſt bloody Perſecution of *Conſtantius* to force them to it, in the latter End of his Reign, mentioned by *Athanaſius*, *Lucifer* and *Hilary*; and the Church of that Age did ſo ſecond him, as that he was not look'd on as a good Catholick, which either owned the Communion of thoſe Archbiſhops, or favoured the Condemnation of *Athanaſius*. And indeed the whole Diſpute at that Time concerning *Athanaſius*, was not with thoſe who openly owned the condemned Doctrine of *Arius*, but with thoſe that ſecretly favoured his Cauſe, and had received to Communion ſome of thoſe who were condemned by the *Nicene* Fathers. This whole Concern for a Biſhop of *Alexandria* was to ratify their Reception in the ſame Church, whoſe condemnatory Sentence had been continued by the ſame Council, on account of the general Obligation incumbent on all Biſhops to ratify the Acts of every particular Biſhop, in Affairs concerning his own Juriſdiction. But as to the Caſe I am now ſpeaking of, the whole Catholick Church took the ſame Courſe in condemning the Schiſmatical Biſhops made by the *Donatiſts* in *Rome* and *Africa*, in neither communicating with the Schiſmatical Biſhops themſelves, nor with any that did communicate after them.

If therefore you will pretend to be Biſhops inſtead of our deprived Fathers, you muſt inſiſt upon ſomething, that may by our common Principles, or by thoſe of the firſt and pureſt Catholick Church, diſannul the Epiſcopal Authority received by your Predeceſſors. And what is there you can plead in the preſent Caſe? Your ſelves have owned them for theſe Years paſt, ſo it is now too late ſo much as to pretend any Invalidity in their Conſecration. Your ſelf, as Dean of *Canterbury*, muſt have promiſed Canonical Obedience to your then Archbiſhop, you muſt own it ſtill, and have promiſed to him as your Metropolitan in your new Preferments; and that Part of your Canonical Obedience will ſtill oblige you at leaſt not to make or countenance any Schiſm againſt him within his own Juriſdiction.

Nor can you think the Lay pretended Law, as ſufficient to diſcharge you in Conſcience from your promiſed Canonical Obedience: If you do, you make it impoſſible for the Catholick Church to ſubſiſt, as diſtinct and independent from the State; which will fundamentally overthrow the very Being of a Church as a Society, and conſequently be more heretical than many other Propoſitions, which are of worſe Repute with inconſidering Perſons: It puts it into King *William*'s Power to ruin our Church by an Act of State. I am ſure my Lord of *London* particularly proteſted againſt King *James*'s Court, as incompetent Judges of his Spiritual Power. And I cannot think, that if he had deprived all our Biſhops, if a Majority of them then, as now, had gone from their Principles; and not only ſo, but had taken upon them, by a Majority of Suffrages, to deprive their fewer conſtant Brethren, that you would thereby have thought our Clergy diſcharged from their Canonical Obedience promiſed, as it hath been by you by expreſs Stipulations, or People from their Duty to communicate with them, though fortified by no acceſſory Oaths and Promiſes.

You ſee what might have been ſuggeſted, though you had attempted to deprive our conſtant holy Fathers by Eccleſiaſtical Cenſures. At preſent you have no ſuch thing to pretend; nothing but what was notoriouſly ſuppoſed falſe in the Doctrine of the Primitive Catholick Church; nothing but what if admitted betrays the very Being of the Church, as a Society independent on the State, and puts it into the Power of perſecuting Princes to ruin our Religion.

We have born with all Scandals on our Parts, rather than break from your Communion: If you will cut your ſelves from us by Acts of your own, we cannot help it; only we muſt appeal to our common Maſter, and your own Conſciences, that you erect Altars againſt thoſe Altars which you have owned your ſelves, and can pretend now no juſtifiable Cauſe for your not continuing to own them.

You that have ſo much Candor for Adverſaries, who can give no Security of continuing yours upon no Conceſſions whatſoever, for God's Sake have ſome for your poor Brethren, who have Principles obliging them in Conſcience to continue yours, if you cut not your ſelves from their Communion. No more, but that I am (until you form your Schiſm)

May 12. 1691. *Your Affectionate, though Suffering, Brother.*

NUMB. VI.

A Liſt of ſeveral of the Clergy, and Others in the Univerſities of Oxford *and* Cambridge, *who were thought not to Qualify themſelves upon the* Revolution.

St. *ASAPH.*

DR. Hugh Wynne, *Chancellor of the Dioceſe.*

Mr. Henry Price, *Prebendary of* St. Aſaph, *and Schoolmaſter of* Ruthen.

Mr. Thomas Jones, *Curate of* Evenechtydd. *d.*

Mr. John Lloyd, *Vicar of* Llangar St. Aſaph.

BANGOR.

DR. Richard Jones, *Chancellor of* Bangor.

Mr. Hugh Morrice, *Rector of* Bangor Monachorum.

BATH and WELLS.

DR. THOMAS KENN, *Biſhop of* Barh *and* Wells. *d.*
Mr. Samuel Thomas, *B. D. Prebendary of* Wells, *and Vicar of* Chard. *d.*
Mr. Walter Hart, *Vicar of* Taunton Dean, *and Prebendary of* Briſtol.
Mr. George Hellier, *Curate of* Bromfield.
Mr. Robert Jones, *Curate of* Cutcotte, *and Vicar of*
Mr. J. King, *Rector of* Marſton Biggot; *ſome time Amanuenſis to* Dr. Fell, *Biſhop of* Oxford, *and Chaplain to the Lord* Weymouth.
Dr. Matthew Brian, *Rector of* Lymington.
Mr. Chriſtopher Brown, *Rector of* Preſton.
Mr. —— Talbot, *Vicar of* South-ſtone.
Mr. James Croſsman, *Vicar of* Bawell.
Mr. —— Rotheram *of*
Mr. William Osborn, *Chaplain to the Lord Viſcount* Weymouth.
Mr. —— Street, *Curate and Schoolmaſter at near the* Bath.

BRISTOL.

MR. Eliſha Sage.
Mr. —— Burgeſs.
Mr. —— Edwards.
Mr. —— Flood, *Vicar of* Halſtock.
Beſides Mr. Hart, *a Prebendary of* Wells.

CANTERBURY.

DR. WILLIAM SANCROFT, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury, *and Primate of all* England, *died* Nov. 24. 1693. *at* Freſing-field.
Mr. Henry Paman, *Maſter of the Faculties. d.*
Dr. Simon Lowth, *Rector of* Herbetdoun, *Vicar of* Coſmus-Blene, *and nominated Dean of* Rocheſter.
Mr. Samuel Graſcomb, *Rector of* Stourmouth, *died* 1718.
Mr. Iſaac Goſlin, *Vicar of* Starry.
Mr. William Symnes, *Vicar of* Chiſlet.
Mr. Richard Johnſon, *Maſter of the* King's *School in* Canterbury, *who took the Oaths in* 1702.
Mr. —— Medcalf, *Vicar of* Voles-Cray.
Mr. —— Knight, *Rector of* Weſtbeer.
Mr. —— Jones, *Vicar of* Lyd.
Mr. —— Bedford, *Curate of* Brookland.
Mr. V. Schmid, *or* Smith, *Preacher to the* Walloon *Congregation at* Sandwich, *a* Dutchman.
Mr. Wingfield *of* Canterbury *refuſed to qualify himſelf by taking the Degree of Maſter of Arts.*

CARLISLE.

MR. John Leigh, *Vicar of* Edenhall *and* Long Wathley *in* Cumberland.
Mr. Thomas Bell, *Vicar of* Askham *in* Cumberland.

CHESTER.

DR. THOMAS CARTWRIGHT, *Biſhop of* Cheſter, *died* April 15. 1689.
Mr. George Newton, *Rector of* Cheadle, *and Vicar of* Preſtbury.
Mr. Thomas Weſt, *Rector of* Childoe *in* Lancaſhire.
Mr. Richard Crofton, *Schoolmaſter of* Preſton.
Mr. Thomas Pincock, *Uſher of* Preſton *School.*
Mr. Thomas Boardman, *Rector of* Gropnal.
Mr. Edmund Thornby, *Curate of* Bury.
Mr. James Peak, *Vicar of* Bouden.
Mr. Thomas Mallory, *Rector of* Mobberley.
Mr. Thomas Falkner, *Vicar of* Mudwich. *He afterwards complied.*
Mr. John Crane, *Curate of* Winwick.
Mr. John Oakes, *Vicar of* Whitegate. *d.*
Mr. Ralph Standiſh, *Rector of*
Mr. Humphrey Only, *Rector of* Little Budworth.
Mr. Ralph Lowndes, *Rector of* Eccleſton.
Mr. Matthew Wright, *Curate of* Warmingham. *d.*
Mr. John Farringdom, —— *of* Churchminſhal. *d.*
Mr. —— Richardſon, *Curate of* Peever.
Mr. Philip Egerton, *Son of Sir* Philip Egerton, *Bar. He afterward complied.*
Mr. Hugh Maurice, *Rector of* Bangor Monachorum.
Mr. Richard Cumberland, *Curate of* Tabby.
Mr. John Yeates, *Curate of* Lymer.
Mr. Cuthbert Alleyn, *Vicar of* Hornby.
Mr. John Pukering, *Schoolmaſter of* Midlewick.
Mr. Philip Hutton, *of* Weſt-Witton.
Mr. Davies, *Vicar of* Frodſham *in* Lancaſhire.
Mr. Henry Wood, *Chaplain to* Mr. Cholmondly *of* Holford.
Mr. Thomas Lightfoot, *Vicar of* Rookſby.
Mr. Cowblack, *Vicar of* Lynn.
Mr. Henry Guy *in* Weſtmoreland, *at or near* Kendall, *not beneficed.*

CHI-

CHICHESTER.

DR. JOHN LAKE, *Biſhop of* Chicheſter, *died* Aug. 30. 1689.

Mr. Robert Jenkyns, *Precentor, Chaplain to the Biſhop, and Vicar of* Water-Beach *near* Cambridge; *who complied about* MDCCXII. *took the Degree of Doctor of Divinity, and was preferr'd to the Headſhip of St.* John's *in* Cambridge.

Mr. William Snatt, *Prebendary of* Chicheſter, *and Vicar of* Cookfield.

Mr. Charles Smith, *Vicar of* Sompting, *and Rector of* Comb.

Mr. Edward Wilſon, *Rector of* Blechington.

Mr. Lewis Roberts, *Vicar of* Weſt-firle *and* Bedingham.

Mr. John Pickeringe, *Rector of* Farring *and* South-Heighton, *and Vicar of* Weſtham.

Mr. Robert Howel, *Vicar of* Seaford *and* Biſhops-town.

Mr. Thomas Brett, *Rector of* Weſtdean *and* Folkington.

Mr. William Carr, *Rector of* Jevington.

Mr. George Dawkens, *Vicar of* Eccleſham.

Mr. Thomas Eades, *Vicar of* Chittingley.

Mr. John Moor, *Vicar of* Ruſtington.

St. DAVID's.

MR. Michael Owen, *Vicar of* Laughern *or* Learn *in* Carmarthenſhire, *and Rector of* Ecclus-Kynnain *in the ſame.*

Mr. Timothy Powell, M. A. *Vicar of* St. Clare's *in* Carmarthenſhire, *and Rector of* Robeſton Weſt *in* Pembrokeſhire.

Mr. Thomas Powel, *Curate of* Cronwear.

Mr. John Lewis, *Curate of* Bolſton.

Mr. Thomas Davis, M. A. *preſented to the Rectory of* Yarbaſton.

Mr. William Pritchard, *Vicar of* Ecclus-Urrough. *Penitent.*

DURHAM.

DR. Dennis Greenville, *Brother to the then Earl of* Bath, *Dean of* Durham, *Archdeacon of the ſame, and Rector of* Euſington.

Mr. John Cock, *Vicar of* St. Oſwald's *in* Durham.

Mr. Kendal, *Curate of* Elwick.

Mr. Grey, *Curate of* *in* Newcaſtle, *went into* France, *and changed his Religion.*

Mr. Thomas Baker, *Rector of* Long-Newton.

Mr. Charles Maddiſon, *Vicar of* Cheſter *in the* Street.

Mr. John Hope, Dr. Greenville's *Curate of* Enſington.

Mr. Luke Mauburn, *Rector of* Crayke.

Beſides Mr. Johnſon *of* Kellow, *and* Mr. Daviſon *of* Norton, *who afterwards complied.*

ELY.

DR. FRANCIS TURNER, *Biſhop of* Ely. *d.*

Mr. Francis Roper, B. D. *Prebendary of* Ely, *and Rector of* Northwald *in* Norfolk.

Dr. John Fitzwilliams, *Rector of* Cottingham, *and Canon of* Windſor. *d.*

Mr. Richard Oldham, B. D. *Rector of* Streatham. *d.*

Mr. Thomas Hall, B. D. *Rector of* Caſtle-Camps. *d.*

Mr. John Slater, *Vicar of* Chatteris.

Mr. Thomas Dreſſer, *Rector of* Weſtley.

Mr. John Mallabar, *Curate of* Cottingham.

Mr. Jermyn Patrick, *Curate of* Hoddenham.

Mr. George Harbyn, *Chaplain to the Lord Biſhop of* Ely.

Mr. Downing, *Chantor of the Church of* Ely.

Beſides Mr. Brooks *of* Connington, (*who afterwards qualified himſelf*) *and about Fifty Fellows and Scholars in the Univerſity of* Cambridge, *who by refuſing the Oaths unqualified themſelves for Fellowſhips and Degrees.*

EXETER.

In DEVONSHIRE.

MR. Thomas Long, Jun. *Prebendary of* Exeter, *and Rector of* Whimple. *d.*

Dr. Thomas Croſthwait, *Prebendary of* Exeter. *d.*

Mr. Robert Manley, *Rector of* Poderham.

Mr. Edmund Ellies, *Rector of* Eaſt-Allington.

Mr. Abednego Seller, *Vicar of St.* Charles, Plimouth. *d.*

Mr. Charles Hutton, *Rector of* Aplime.

Mr. Matthew Nicholls, *Curate of* Egford.

Mr. *Curate of* Tiverton.

Mr. Lewis Southcomb, *Rector of* Roſe-Aſh, *Penitent.*

Mr. ----- Thomas, Sen. *Canon of* Exeter. *Non-Abjuror.*

In CORNWALL.

Mr. James Beaufort, *Rector of* Lanteglas.

Mr. Thomas Polenheel, *Rector of* Newland.

GLOUCESTER.

DR. ROBERT FRAMPTON, *Biſhop of* Glouceſter.
Dr. Thomas Baily, *Rector of* Slimbridge, *formerly Fellow of St.* Mary Magdalen's *College in* Oxford.
Mr. Humphrey Gervaiſe *of*
Mr. James Kirkham, *Rector of* Wickwan. *d.*
Mr. William Robinſon, *Vicar of* Stonehouſe.
Mr. Richard Saffyn, *Vicar of* Berkley.
Mr. Perkins, *Curate of* *Penitent.*

HEREFORD.

In HEREFORDSHIRE.

MR. Samuel Benſon, *Archdeacon of* Hereford, *and Canon Reſidentiary.*
Mr. Thomas Maſon, *Prebendary of* Hereford, *and Rector of* Holm-lacy.
Mr. John Howel, M. A. *Rector of* New Radnor.
Mr. Richard Lloyd, M. A. *Curate of* Briſtein, *and of* Yarpool.
Mr. ——— Guillim, *Rector of* Horwood.
Mr. ——— Morſe, *Vicar of* Kenworthyn.
Mr. Thomas Edwards, *Son of* Mr. Edwards *the Vicar of* Kingſton.
Mr. John Scaundrel, *Vicar of* Madoley.

In SHROPSHIRE.

MR. Wagſtaffe, *of* Little Wenlock, *died in Priſon at* Shrewsbury.
Mr Hunt
Mr. Palmer
Mr. Daniel Baily
Mr. Edward Farmar, *Vicar of* Monvord.
Mr. John Pritchard *of* Woofarton.
Mr. Shrewly, *Chaplain to the Lord* Lexington.
Mr. Richard Holder, *Curate of* Standford *in* Herefordſhire, *who afterward complied.*

LANDAFF.

DR. Richard Jones, *Chancellor of the Dioceſe.*
Mr. Nicholas James *of* Tregarre.
Mr. Boteler, *Rector of* Craddock-Stone *in* Clamorganſhire.
Mr. Babington, *Vicar of* Trellech.

LINCOLN.

In LINCOLNSHIRE.

MR. Richard Carr, *Prebendary of* Lincoln, *and Vicar of* Huntington. *d.*
Mr. William Ereskyne, *Rector of* Wrangle.
Mr. Ingram Moor, *Rector of* Maloby, *and Vicar of* Strubby. *d.*
Mr. Herman Dun, *Rector of* Wadington.
Mr. Mitchel, *Vicar of* Pinchback. *d.*
Mr. Hanſted, *Vicar of* Searby. *d.*
Mr. Goſling, *of*
Mr. Richard Hall, *Rector of* Kettlethorp.
Mr. Davenport, *Rector of* Weſt-Raiſing.
Mr. Jones *of*
Mr. Willet, *of* Totterſhall.
Mr. Daniel Pottinger, *Rector of* Nettleton, *a familiar Acquaintance of* Mr. Kettlewell *in the Univerſity. d.*
Mr. Charles Woolly, *Rector of* North Summercoats.
Mr. Watſon, *Rector of* Saltfleetby. *d.*
To whom may be added, Mr. Martin Pinchbeck, *Schoolmaſter at* Butterwick, *and Curate of* Freſton, *a Penitent: And* Mr. Brokesby, *Rector of* Folkinton, *a Non-Abjuror.*
Mr. Woolly *of* Summercoats, *afterwards complied.*

In LEICESTERSHIRE.

MR. Samuel Hawes, *Rector of* Braybrook.
Mr. Gilbert Knight, Dr. Covel's *Curate at* Keyworth.
Mr. Chriſtopher Cole, *Rector of* Bilſden.
Mr. William Wharton, *Chaplain to the Earl of* Rutland.
Mr. Oldham, *Chaplain to the Earl of* Cheſterfield.
Mr. Anthony Moy, *Chaplain to the Lord* Ferrars.
Mr. Vincent, *Curate of*
Mr. Ludlam, *Vicar of* Dolby.
Mr. John Lowthorp, *Rector of* Corſton.

In HUNTINGTONSHIRE.

MR. Richard Carr, *Vicar of* Huntington, *and Prebendary of* Lincoln.
Mr. Charles Pocklington, *Rector of* Bringtton, Bithon, *and* Old Weſton.

In BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

MR. John Gilbert, *Vicar of* Meddenham.
Mr. James Daillon, (Count de Lude) *Vicar of* Wradbury cum Langley.
Mr. Thomas Boteler, *Vicar of* Marworth.

In HERTFOEDSHIRE.

MR. Arthur Battel, *Curate, and Uſher at* Hertford.
Mr. Aaron Hodgſon, *Curate of and Uſher to the School of* Stamſtead *near* Ware.

Mr.

Mr. Pulford *of*
Mr. Alexander Horton, *Rector of* Kelſhil, *Brother-in-law to Biſhop* Turner *of* Ely.
Mr. Davenport, *Rector of* Weſt-Raiſing *in* Hertfordſhire; *and* Mr. Jeremiah Donne, *who had been for ſome time Nonjurors, afterward complied upon further Conſideration.*

In BEDFORDSHIRE.

MR. William Berkley, *Rector of* Clophill. *d.*
Mr. George Watſon, *Rector of* Milbrook.
Mr. Forſter, *Curate of* Tempsfield.
Mr. Henry Wall, *Chaplain to the Counteſs of* Kent *at* Weeſt, *in the Pariſh of* Fliton.

LONDON.

MR. THOMAS WAGSTAFFE, *Rector of St.* Margaret Pattons *and St.* Gabriel Fenchurch, *and Chancellor of the Church of* Litchfield.
Mr. Michael Pearſon, *Rector of St.* Michael Crooked-Lane.
Mr. John Audley, *Curate of St.* Katherine Cree-Church.
Mr. Alexander Innes, *Rector of* St. Martin Vintry, *and of* St. Michael Royal.
Dr. Joſeph Crowder, *Chantor of* St. Paul's.
Mr. John Leake, *Lecturer of* St. Giles's Cripplegate, *and* St. Michael Queenhithe.
Mr. William Horton, *Maſter of* Haberdaſher's *School.*
Mr. John Wood, *Chaplain at* Chriſt-Church.
Mr. Shadrach Cook, *Lecturer of* Iſlington.
Mr. William Maxwell, *Curate of* Wapping *Chapel.*
Mr. Edward Burnys, *Curate of* St. Dionis Back-Church. *d.*
Mr. Nathaniel Holford, *Chaplain to the Dutcheſs of* Buckingham.
Mr. Thomas Aſton, *Chaplain to the Earl of* Clarendon.
Mr. Charles Banks, *Curate of* St. Chriſtopher's, *and Vicar of* Cheſhunt.
Mr. Pigeon, *Curate of* St. Andrew's Underſhaft.
Dr. William Sherlock, *Maſter of the* Temple, *and Lecturer of* St. Dunſtan's *in the* Weſt; *and* Mr. David Lindſay, *Curate of* Whitechapel, *having afterwards ſatisfied themſelves, complied; as did alſo* Mr. Richard Milles, *Vicar of* Ridge.
And on the other ſide, Mr. Hill, *and* Mr. Lamb, *Vicar of* Eling, *profeſſed themſelves Penitents.*
Mr. Arthur Pert, *formerly of* Queen's *College* Cambridge.
Mr. James Fletcher, *formerly of* Chriſt-Church *in* Oxford.
Mr. Hall *of* St. John's *in* Cambridge, *Son to* Mr. Hall *of* Caſtle Camps.
Mr. Hall, *Brother to the aforeſaid.*
Mr. Ambroſe Bonwick, *formerly of* St. John's *in* Oxford, *and Maſter of* Merchant-Taylor's *School.*
Mr. Laurence Howell, *Maſter of the School at* Epping.
Mr. Osborn, *Curate of* Aldgate.
Mr. Newcourt, *Regiſter of the Biſhop's Court.*
Mr. Jeremiah Collier, *Lecturer at* Grays-Inn.
Dr. Charles Trumball, *Rector of* Styſtead *in* Eſſex *and* Hadley *in* Suffolk, *Chaplain to* Dr. Sancroft, *Archbiſhop of* Canterbury.
Mr. Samuel Dodd, *Vicar of* Chiſwell.
Mr. Woodroffe, *Vicar of* Fealſtead.
Mr. Hodgeſon, *Curate of* Stanſtent.
Mr. Thirkettle, *Rector of* Littleton *in* Middleſex.
Mr. Richard Mills, *Vicar of* Ridge *in the ſame, who afterward qualified himſelf.*
Mr. George Speed, *Maſter of the School in* St. Mary Ax, London.
Mr. Battel, *Uſher of* Hertford *School.*

LITCHFIELD and *COVENTRY.*

MR. THOMAS WAGSTAFF, *Chancellor of the Cathedral Church of* Litchfield.
Mr. Thomas Brown, *Archdeacon of* Darby, *and Canon Reſidentiary of* Litchfield.
Mr. Richard Enſar, *Rector of* Heckam.

In WARWICKSHIRE.

MR. JOHN KETTLEWELL, *Vicar of* Coleſhill.
Mr. Thomas Jacomb, *Maſter of the Free-School at* Coles-hill.
Mr. Digby Bull, *Rector of* Sheldon.
Mr. Richard Lake, *Rector of* Avon Baſſet.
Mr. Smith, *Vicar of* Little Parkington.
Mr. Chamberlain Hammerſley, *Vicar of* Bridford Baſſet, *alias* Baſſet Magna.
Mr. Edmunds, *Rector of* Kenworth, *died Penitent, and much troubled in Mind for having taken the Oath.*
Mr. Simon Cayly, *Curate of* Barketon, *a Donative in the Pariſh of* Barkewell, *and afterward Chaplain to the Earl of* Aylesbury, *having been for ſome time a Nonjuror, at length complied.*

In DARBYSHIRE.

MR. Henry Burden, *Vicar of* Beighton; *beſides*,
Mr. Brown *the Archdeacon, and one or two others.*

In STAFFORDSHIRE.

MR. Jonathan Cope, *Vicar of* Betly, *and Chaplain to Sir* John Egerton.
Mr. John Bayly *of* Titnal.
Mr. Thomas Wilſon, *Rector of* Arron.
Mr. Kent, *Curate of* Tiſſington.
Mr. Oldham, *Chaplain to the Earl of* Cheſterfield.
Mr. Edward Farmer, *Vicar of* Mountford *in* Shropſhire.
Dr. Harſenet, *Prebendary of* Litchfield, *having been firſt a Nonjuror, afterwards complied.*

NORWICH.

DR. WILLIAM LLOYD, *Biſhop of* Norwich, *who died at* Hammerſmith *on* New-Year's-Day, 1709-10.

In NORFOLK.

MR. Gawen Naſh, *Minor Canon of* Norfolk, *and Vicar of* Melton.
Mr. John Shaw, *Minor Canon of* Norwich, *and Vicar of* Calton.
Mr. Francis Roper, *Rector of* Northwold.
Mr. Thomas Wright, *Vicar of* Wimondham.
Mr. Richard Kerrington, *Rector of* Facolſtone.
Mr. Thomas Stone, *Rector of* Hempſtead.
Mr. Robert Munſy, *Rector of* Bardſwell.
Mr. Daniel Brett, *Vicar of* Hockham. *d.*
Mr. Bernard Skelton, *Rector of* Cantley. *d.*
Mr. Thomas Verdon, *Rector of* Great Snoring, *and Fellow of St.* John's *in* Cambridge.
Mr. John Gibbes, *Rector of* Giſſing.
Mr. Francis Barber, *Curate of* *in* Norwich.
Mr. Giles Wilcox, *Rector of* Bixley, *and Curate of* Bangay.
Mr. Hilliard, *Chaplain to the Counteſs of* Yarmouth.
Mr. Henry Day, *Rector of* Hanſtanton.
Mr. Richard Tiſdale, *Rector of* Telthorp *and* Troſtrey, *and Chaplain to the Biſhop of* Norwich.

In SUFFOLK.

DR. Nathaniel Bisby, *Rector of* Long Melford.
Dr. Charles Trumbal, *Rector of* Hadley.
Mr. Edmund Beeſton, B. D. *Rector of* Spraughton *and* Melton.
Mr. Laurence Howel, *Curate of* Eſtwick.
Mr. Anthony Bokenham, *Rector of* Helmingham.
Mr. John Owen, *Rector of* Todenham.
Mr. Samuel Edwards, *Vicar of* Aye, *and Rector of* Troſton.
Mr. William Giffard, *Rector of* Great Bradley.
Mr. Stephen Newſon, *Rector of* Hawkſden.
Mr. Abraham Salter, *Vicar of* Edwardſtone.
Mr. John Gypps, *Rector of* Brockley.
Mr. Thomas Roſs, *Rector of* Read.
Mr. Thomas Rogerſon, *Rector of* Ampton.
Mr. William Philips, *Curate of* Long Melford.
Mr. William Kerington, *Curate of* Depden.
Mr. Richard Lake, *Curate of* Uparham.
Mr. William Gilbert, *Curate of* Speck-Hall.
Mr. Jonathan Moor, *Schoolmaſter of* Great Melford.
Mr. Richard Webſter, *Rector of* Glemſford.
Mr. James Smith, *Rector of* Lound.
Mr. Samuel Richardſon, *Curate of* Little Bradley.
Theſe Three laſt afterwards complied, and took the Oaths.
Mr. Edward Pretty, *Rector of* Cornheath, *was firſt a Nonjuror, then declared himſelf Penitent, and complied again afterwards.*

OXFORD.

DR. Edward Winford, *Rector of* Harpſden.
Mr. Cole, *Rector of* Chalbury.
Mr. Laurence Symb, *Rector of* Stanton.
Beſides Fellows of Colleges, and Scholars in the Univerſity.

PETERBOROUGH.

DR. THOMAS WHITE, *Biſhop, who was buried at St.* Gregory's *near St.* Paul's, London, June 4. 1698.
Mr. John Bagſhaw, *Rector of* Sibbethorp.
Mr. Thomas Arnold, *Rector of* Deen.
Mr. Moſes Soams, *Rector of* Braughton.
Mr. Boteler, *Rector of* Litchborough. *d.*
Mr. John Cuffe, *Rector of* Within.
Mr. Hilkiah Bedford, *Rector of* Wickering, *and Fellow of St.* John's *College in* Cambridge.
Mr. John Hughes, *Petty-Canon of* Peterborough, *and Curate of* Eye.

Mr. Jonathan Ives, *Vicar of St.* Giles, Northampton.
Mr. Samuel Howes, *Rector of* Bradbrook.
Mr. John Richardſon, *Rector of* Northlongham *in* Rutland.
Mr. Edward Marſton, *Curate of* Ruſhton; *he afterward complied.*

ROCHESTER.

DR. Simon Lowth', *nominated to the Deanery of* Rocheſter, *Vicar of* Coſmus Blean *near* Canterbury.
Mr. Henry Barrow, *Vicar of* Horton-Kirby.
Mr. Robert Orme, *Vicar of* Woldham, *Penitent.*

SALISBURY.

DR. John Fitz-Williams, *Canon of* Windſor, *and Rector of* Cottingham *in* Cambridgeſhire.
Dr. William Beach *Rector of* Orcheſton, St. George.
Dr. Thomas Smyth, *Prebendary of* Hatchbury.
Mr. Martyn *Prebendary of* Sarum, *and Vicar of* Compton-Chamberlayn.
Mr. Jonathan Daviſon, *Rector of* Oldworth, *in* Berks.
Mr. Henry Jones, *Rector of* Sunningwell *near* Abingdon.
Mr. Nathaniel Spinks, *Rector of* St. Martin's, Sarum, *Curate of* Stratford Subter Caſtrum, *Prebendary of* Sarum.
Mr. William Sloper, *School-Maſter of* Wantage, *in the County of* Berks, *a Penitent.*
Mr. James Barefoot, *Uſher of* Abington *School.*
Mr. Thomas Stampe, *Rector of* Langley *in* North Wilts, *Penitent.*

WINCHESTER.

In SURREY.

MR. Thomas Bradley, *Rector of* Walton *on the Hill, and Vicar of* Caſhalton.
Mr. Alexander Makintoſh, *Rector of* Woodmanſtown, *and Chaplain to the Firſt Troop of Guards, under the Earl of* Feverſham.
Mr. John Holebrook, *Rector of* Fitzey.
Mr. Jeremiah Oakley, *Rector of* Sutton.
Dr. Matthew Brian, *Curate of* Newington-Butts, *and Rector of* Limington *in* Somerſetſhire.
Mr. William Higden, *Lecturer and Curate of* Camberwell, *who afterward complied.*

In HANTSHIRE.

MR. Flood, *Curate of* Ringwood.
Mr. William Hanbury, *Rector of* Botely.
Mr. Edward Worſley, *Son to Sir* Edward Worſley, *Rector of* Gatcomb *in the* Iſle of Wight.
Mr. Kilback
Mr. Henry John, *Maſter of the School at* Wandſworth.
Mr. Thomas Lee, *Maſter of* St. Saviour's *School in* Southwark.
Mr. Charles Buchanan *Vicar of* Farnborow, *firſt a Complier, then a Recanter, afterward complied again.*

WORCESTER.

DR. WILLIAM THOMAS, *Biſhop of* Worceſter.
Dr. GEORGE HICKES, *Dean of* Worceſter.
Dr. Ralph Taylor, *Rector of* Severnſtoke.
Dr. Joſeph Crowder, *Prebendary of* Worceſter, *and Rector of* Tredington.
Mr. Henry Panting, *Rector of* St. Martin's, Worceſter, *and* Upton *upon* Severn.
Mr. John Griffith, *Rector of St.* Nicholas *in* Worceſter, *and Minor Canon.*
Mr. Thomas Maurice, *Curate of* Clames, *and Minor Canon.*
Mr. Thomas Roberts, *Rector of St.* Swithin's *in* Worceſter, *and Minor Canon.*
Mr. Ralph Norrice, *Vicar of* Littleton.
Mr. Samuel Sands, *Rector of* Willersby.
Mr. Thomas Beynor, *Curate of* Upton-Severn.
Mr. Thomas Wilſon, *Rector of* Arrow.
Mr. Thomas Wilſon, *Jun.*
Mr. Thomas Keyt, *Rector of* Binton.
Mr. John Marſh, *Vicar of* Compton.
Mr. John Worthington, *Curate of* Offenham, *and School-Maſter of* Eveſham.

YORK.

DR. Samuel Croborow, *Archdeacon of* Nottingham, *and Prebendary of* York *and* Southwell. *d.*
Mr. Lamb, *Vicar of* Stillingrove. *d.*
Mr. Fletcher, *Vicar of* Markham.
Mr. John Holmes, *Vicar of* North-Clifton.
Mr. Francis Brooksby, *B. D. Rector of* Rowley.
Mr. Richard Bravil, *Rector of* Weltham.
Mr. George Winſhop, *Prebendary of* York *and Rector of* Melton.

Mr. Holmes

Mr. Holmes, *Rector of* Ruffwick *and Vicar Choral of* York.
Mr. John Symms, *Rector of* Langton.
Mr. Henry Doughty, *Curate under the Archbiſhop of* York, *at* Robin Hoods Bay *in the* Eaſt-Riding.
Mr. James Hope, *Curate to the Archbiſhop in the* Eaſt-Riding.
Mr. John York, *Vicar Choral of* York, *and Rector of* St. Peter's *in* York.
Mr. Robert Wilſon, *Rector of* Hobuſton, *Vicar of* Webruck *or* Welwood, *and Curate of* Dry-pool *in* Holderneſs, *and Vicar Choral of* York.
Mr. John Milner, *Vicar of* Leeds, *and Prebendary of* Rippon.
Mr. Thomas Roſs, *Rector of* Scalby *near* Scarborough.
Mr. Thomas Roſs, *Rector of* Hammanby, *Penitent.*
Mr. William Kirkby, *Vicar of* Toukham.
Mr. Binlower, *Curate of*
Mr. Nelſon, *Vicar of*
Mr. Robert Montgomery *of*
Mr. John Hollis, *Vicar of* Bromſton.
Mr. Cutbert Allen, *Vicar of* Hornby.
Mr. Thomas Lightfoot, *Vicar of* Rooksby.
Mr. Brome, *Rector of* Middleton Tyers.
Mr. Lucius Walker, *Rector of* Stokesby *in the* North Riding.
Mr. Thomas Sagge, *Reader in the chief Church in* Hull.
Mr. Benlows, *Curate to Mr.* Holmes.
Mr. Marmaduke Forthergill, *Vicar of* Shipwitch.
Mr. Hutton, *Vicar of* Bolton.
Mr. Manton, *Vicar of* Croke.
Mr. Creſſy, *Vicar of* Sheriff-Hatton.

In the Univerſity of OXFORD.

DR. Thomas Smith, *Fellow of St.* Mary Magdalen *College.*
Dr. Thomas Baily, *Divinity Reader in the ſame College.*
Dr. Croſsthwaite, *Fellow of* Queen's *College.*
Mr. Edward Hopkins, *Fellow of* Lincoln.
Mr. Henry Gerney, Senior *Fellow of* Oriel.
Mr. Hugh Martin, *Vice-Principal of* Hart-Hall.
Dr. Hugh Wynne, *Fellow of* All Souls.
Dr. Bateman, *Fellow of* Merton.
Mr. William Pincock, *Senior Fellow of* Braſen Noſe.
Mr. Henry Dodwell, Camdenian *Profeſſor of Hiſtory.*
Mr. Chriſtopher Waſe, *Eſquire Beadle.*
Mr. Thomas Gardiner, *Fellow of* All-Souls.
Mr. Charles King, *Student of* Chriſt-Church.
Mr. Francis Lee, *Fellow of St.* John's.
Mr. Theophilus Downs, *Fellow of* Baliol.
Mr. William Biſhop, *Fellow of the ſame.*
Mr. John Hughs, *Fellow of the ſame.*
Mr. John Lewis, B. A. *of* Jeſus *College.*
Mr. Thomas Lewis, *of* Magdalen-*Hall.*
Mr. Vincent Philips, *of* Trinity *College, refuſed his Batchelor of Arts Degree.*
Mr. Stephen Bowdler, *Commoner of* Braſen-Noſe, *did the ſame.*
Mr. Morgan, *a Student of* Chriſt's-*Church, refuſed his Maſter's Degree*; *as likewiſe did Mr.* John Hurrey, *a Student of the ſame.*
Mr. Bolton *and* Mr. Sagar, *both of* Braſen-Noſe, *refuſed their Degree upon the ſame Account*; *and alſo* Mr. Andrews *of Univerſity College, Grandſon to Biſhop* Thomas *of* Worceſter, *refuſed his Degree, and ſeveral others*; *as* Mr. Thomas Enfield, *of* Trinity *College*; Mr. John Broom, *Commoner of* Chriſt-Church, *&c. And* Mr. Worthington *of* Chriſt-Church, *having a Curacy under that College, reſigned it when the Oath of Abjuration was impoſed.* Mr. James Acherſhall *alſo, a Fellow of* Brazen-Noſe, *profeſſed himſelf a Penitent.*
Mr. Oſwald Dykes, *of* Queen's *College.*
Mr. Ellis *of* Oriel, *Schoolmaſter at* Thiſtleworth.

NONABJURORS.

Dr. Turner, *Preſident of* Corpus Chriſti *College.*
Dr. Smith, *Canon of* Chriſt-Church.
Mr. Thornton, *Principal of* Hart-Hall.
Mr. Ackworth, *formerly Student of* Chriſt-Church, *reſigned a good Living*; *and* Mr. Bladen *of* Woodſtock *refuſed a Parſonage from the Lord-Keeper, on the ſame Account.*

CAMBRIDGE.

MR. Thomas Leach, B. D.
Mr. Richard, Oldham, B. D.
Mr. Thomas Verdon, B. D.
Mr. Thomas Billers, B. D. *Publick Orator.*
Mr. Robert Appleford, B. D.
Mr. Thomas Allen, B. D.
Mr. Thomas Thomkinſon, B. D.
Mr. John Naylor, B. D.
Mr. Thomas Brown, B. D.
Mr. Thomas Cook, B. D.
Mr. George Dawkins, B. D.
Mr. Thomas Baker, B. D.
Mr. Thomas Johnſon, M. A.
Mr. Joſhua Hobſon, M. A.
Mr. Arthur Heron, M. A.
Mr. Hilkiah Bedford, M. A.
Mr. Thomas Daviſon, M. A.

Mr. Roger

Mr. Roger Kenyon, B. A.
Mr. Richard Headham, B. A.
Mr. John Hope, B. A.
Mr. William Lake, B. A.
Mr. Matthew Pearſon, B. A.
Mr. John Maleverer, M. A. *Fellow of* St. Mary Magdalen *College.*
Mr. Henry Scrivener, M. A. *Fellow of* Pembroke-Hall.
Mr. Thomas Boteler, M. A. *Fellow of* Trinity *College.*
Mr. Thomas Redmayne, *Fellow of the ſame.*
Mr. John Beaufort, *Scholar of* Trinity.
Mr. Stephen Philips, *Scholar of the ſame College.*
Mr. Michael Bold, *Fellow of* Trinity-Hall.
Mr. William Philips, *Fellow of* Catharine-Hall.
Mr. Adam Buddle, *Fellow of the ſame; but who afterward complied.*
Mr. Chriſtopher Armitage, *Fellow of* St. Peter's *College.*
Mr. John Woodward, *Fellow of the ſame; but who ſome time afterward complied.*
Mr. John Worthington, *Fellow of* St. Peter's *Hall.*
Mr. Thomas Tuday, B. M. *Organiſt of* King's *College.*
Dr. Charles Otway, *Doctor of Laws.*
Mr. Robert Jenkyns, *Vicar of* Waterbreach, *and Precentor of the Cathedral Church of* Chicheſter: *Now Maſter of* St. John's *College.*
Mr. Francis Roper, B. D.
Mr. Alexander Norton, M. A.
Mr. Henry Doughty, M. A. *Curate to the Archbiſhop of* York.

Mr. David Jones, Mr. Robert Sanderſon, *and* Mr. William Emerſon, *refuſed their Maſter's Degree.* Mr. Pinſent *alſo for the ſame Reaſon, refuſed to take his Degrees*; *and* Mr. Whiting, *a Batchelor of Arts, left the College hereupon, that he might live retired at* Boſton *in* Lincolnſhire.

In Ireland *were* Dr. William Sheridan, *Biſhop of* Kilmore *and of* Ardagh; Dr. Fitzgerald, *Archdeacon of* Dublin; Mr. John Baynard, *Archdeacon of* Conor; Mr. Charles Leſley, *Chancellor of the ſame*; Mr. Barzillai Jones, *Dean of* Leſmore; Mr. Jones, *Chaplain to Biſhop* Hacket; *and* Mr. Maurice Dunkyn.

In Scotland, Dr. Alexander Monro, *Principal of the College of* Edinburgh; Dr. Strathan, *Divinity Profeſſor in that College*; Mr. Gadderar, *Rector of* Kilmaſolm; Mr. Wilks, *Miniſter o* Louton; Mr. George Brown, *Miniſter of* Kilmairs; Mr. Sage, Mr. Simon Wild, Mr. Jewin, Mr. Comins, Mr. Crawford, *and many others.*

Mr. Leech *had beſides his Fellowſhip, the Vicarage of* Foxton; Mr. Oldham *the Rectory of* Streatham; Mr. Verdon *that of* Snoring *in the Dioceſe of* Norwich; Mr. Roper *was a Prebendary, and had a Benefice beſide*; Mr. Billars *was the Publick Orator of the Univerſity*; Mr. Tomkinſon *had a Pariſh in* Cambrige, *as had alſo* Mr. Hobſon; Mr. Dawkins *had a Living in* Suſſex, Mr. Baker *in the Dioceſe of* Durham, *and* Mr. Johnſon *in that of* Ely.

NUMB. VII.

An Act of Indemnity and Free Pardon of JAMES STUART, *the late King of* England.

WHereas the late King *James* the II. without any Evil Counſellors, Wicked Judges or Miniſters, through Folly and Weakneſs hath been miſled into Arbitrary Deſigns againſt the Government, himſelf thereby becoming obnoxious to the Ancient Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, and the ſaid King hath broken the Original Contract betwixt King and People; for which he *abdicated* the Government, and the Throne was thereby vacant: And whereas 'tis evident to Kings and Princes being got in the Throne to thirſt after Arbitrary Power, by the Help of Flatterers, to their own Ruin and Deſtruction; and for that though ſtrict Enquiry hath been made to diſcover his Accomplices, yet none can be found out; and it appearing moſt plainly, that the late King did all of his own Head, for the deſtroying of Charters, murdering his Subjects on Pretence of Law: Therefore, and for as much as Doubts may ariſe about the Matters aforeſaid, and to the Intent that the wonted Clemency of the *Engliſh* Nation may perpetually be had in Veneration, as well abroad as at

home; *Be it enacted* by the King and Queen's moſt Excellent Majeſties, by and with the Advice and Conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in this preſent Parliament aſſembled, and by the Authority aforeſaid, That the ſaid late King *James* the IId. be Pardoned, Indemnified, and ſaved harmleſs from all Pains, Penalties, and Forfeitures whatſoever, for or by reaſon of any Miſdeeds or Omiſſions by him made heretofore, contrary to the Law of the Land whatſoever, to the 25th of *December* laſt paſt. And be it further Enacted by the Authority aforeſaid, That it ſhall and may be lawful to and for their preſent Majeſties, or their Succeſſors, not only to retain and keep in their moſt ſecret Councils, Places of Truſt, and Offices whatſoever, any of the ſaid late King *James*'s Servants, Counſellors, or Officers; but alſo the ſaid King *James* (if their Majeſties ſhall think fit) for the more ſure ſettling and confirming of their Majeſties King *William* and Queen *Mary* in the Government of the ſaid Kingdoms againſt Popery and Arbitrary Power, entertain in any Places of Truſt or Profit whatſoever. Provided always that the ſaid King *James*, and all his Friends and Relations, which ſhall be employed by their preſent Majeſties, do take the New Oaths mentioned in the Act made in this preſent Parliament.

NUMB. VIII.

The Letter to the Speaker, January 15. 1689.

SIR,

SINCE the Generality of this Nation is ſuch, as to forgive all ſmall Offences, as Parliament-Penſioners, to ſell the Nation; Popery, to deſtroy the Proteſtant Religion; Surrenders of Charters, to root out Corporations, and thereby the Ancient Conſtitution of this Kingdom; Evil and Wicked Counſellors, that did all that in them lay to aſſiſt the Two laſt Kings to make this Nation as happy as *France*; and to forgive the very Actors in Murders by a Pretence of Law; and to make King *James* the only Scape-Goat run into the Wilderneſs, carrying the Sins of the whole Nation; it ſeems to me moſt reaſonable, and I doubt not it will be to you, that an *Act of Indemnity* may alſo paſs in the Houſe this Seſſions for the late King *James*; and therfore, as an honeſt Man, guided by Truth and Juſtice, I have ſent you, ready drawn, a Bill of Indemnity for him, as well as for the reſt, and do hope it will have the good Favour of this Houſe to paſs into a Law. In order to which, I hope you will give your helping Hand, and communicate the ſame to the Houſe; and if you find any boggle at it, as ſome may do, get but a Balloting Box, and I dare warrant the Majority of the Houſe will be for paſſing this good Bill. I am

Your Servant.

This was found in the Speaker's Chair.

NUMB. IX.

The Proteſtation *of the Remnant of the true Presbyterians of the Kirk of* Scotland *againſt* Dumpriez, *for ſuffering Prelatical Curates to ſet up their Superſtitious Worſhip amongſt them.*

WE think it not neceſſary to enlarge in giving an Account of our Principles, they being ſo largely holden forth by Proteſtations and Declarations emitted by the *Witneſſing Remnant of the Kirk of* Scotland; to wit, that of *Rugland* the 29th of *May*, 1679. of *Sanquer* the 22d of *June*, 1680. at *Lanrick* the 12th of *January*, 1682. at Church-Doors and Market-Croſſes the 8th of *November*, 1684. and again at *Sanquer* the 21ſt of *May*, 1685. one Formatory Vindication againſt the Acceptance of the Toleration, given to the Miniſters of *Edinburgh*, *Jan.* 1688. and the *Hind ſet loose*:

looſe: How that in all theſe is expreſs'd our Adherence to the Holy Scriptures, the Confeſſion of Faith as profeſs'd by the Worthy Reformers, Catechiſms larger and ſhorter, and Covenants National, and Solemn League; Solemn Acknowledgments of our Sins, and Engagement to Duty, in the Year 1648. and the Acts of the Faithful General Aſſembly, eſpecially thoſe between the Years 1638 and 1649 inclusive, and the afore-nam'd Declarations and Proteſtations.

All which we adhere unto, tho' we be very inſignificant, and not worthy to ſupply this Vacancy of Teſtimony; yet we cannot, do not, muſt not in Conſcience forbear to offer a Mite of Teſtimony to Chriſt, when we ſee his Work and Cauſe ſo much trampled upon, both by the *Prelatical* Party, and *lukewarm Presbyterians* of *Scotland*, who are ſatisfy'd with every thing ſo eaſily that is offer'd to them; as Indulgencies, Indemnities, and Tolerations. And eſpecially we proteſt againſt you the Inhabitants of *Dumpriez*, for your Unfaithfulneſs in theſe *Covenants*, which the whole Nation is engag'd ſolemnly in, to the Extirpation of Popery, Prelacy, and every thing contrary to ſound Doctrine. It lying upon your Conſciences as a weighty Burthen, your bearing ſo much with thoſe Bloody, Perjur'd, Soul-murthering Curates, in ſuffering them to ſet up their * *Superſtitious Religion* amongſt you, it conſiſting with your Ability to have hinder'd them.

NUMB. X.

A Copy of the Warrant for diſpatching the Highlanders.

YOU are hereby ordered to fall upon the Rebels the *Mackdonalds* of *Glenco*, and put all to the Sword under Seventy Years. You are to have eſpecial Care that the Old Fox and his Sons do upon no Account eſcape your Hands. You are to ſecure all the Avenues, that no Man eſcape. This you are to put in Execution at Five of the Clock preciſely; and by that time, or very ſhortly after, I'll ſtrive to be at you with a ſtronger Party. If I do not come to you at Five, you are not to ſtay for me, but to fall on. This is by the King's Special Command, that theſe Miſcreants be cut off Root and Branch. See that this be put in Execution without Fear or Favour, elſe you may expect to be dealt with as one not true to the King or Government, nor a Man fit to carry a Commiſſion in the King's Service. Expecting you will not fail in the fulfilling hereof, as you love your ſelf, I ſubſcribe this with my Hand,

At Ballihallis,
Feb. 12. 1692. *Rg. Duncanſon.*

For his Majeſty's Service.

To Captain Robert Campbel *of* Glenlyon.

The Execution was done accordingly. About Fifty Men were killed, Six Women, and Nine Children. One of the Lairds Sons made his Eſcape. After the Slaughter was over, they carried the Old Man's bloody Shirt in Triumph on the Top of a Pike.

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* *The Miniſter was at that Time uſing the Service of the Church of* England, *becauſe there was no Law in that Kingdom forbidding it: They uſed him very barbarouſly, and caus'd the Common-Prayer-Book to be burnt by the Common Hangman.*

Since which, one Olliphant *has, with a Gang of the ſame Sort, come into* Edinburgh, *made another* Proteſtation *of the ſame Nature againſt the whole Nobility of this Kingdom, except Eight who either had appear'd of late as their Friends, or not been very active againſt them.*

NUMB. XI.

Occaſional Prayers *for the Year of the* Revolution.

I. Upon Occaſion of the Queen's being with Child.

The Firſt Collect inſtead of that for the Day, Jan. $168\frac{7}{8}$.

O God, who for the Salvation of Mankind didſt thy ſelf condeſcend to take our Nature, and to be born Man into the World of a Virgin-Mother; Mercifully grant, that thy Servant *MARY*, our Queen, may by a happy Labour, bring forth a Child, which, under thy Almighty Protection, may ſafely paſs through the Infirmities and Dangers of Infancy or Riper Years, may grow up endued with all Princely Ornaments of Body and Mind, and ſo may be the Joy and Comfort of our King, and the Delight of all that love Peace and Righteouſneſs; and who being educated in thy Faith and Fear, may live to be a *ſignal Inſtrument* of thy Glory in this Church and Kingdom, *&c.*

II. For the Happy Birth of the YOUNG PRINCE, *June* 1688.

Inſtead of the Collect for the Day ſhall be ſaid,

O Almighty and Everlaſting Lord God of Heaven and Earth, who madeſt the World, and all that is therein, and giveſt to all Men Life and Breath, and all Things; We devoutly offer our moſt hearty Thanks to thy DivineMajeſty, that thou haſt given to our Dread Sovereign his Heart's Deſire, and haſt not denied us the Requeſt of our Lips, in Bleſſing him and our Gracious Queen with a Son, and all his Subjects with a Prince. Stabliſh the Thing, O God, that thou haſt wrought among us. Grant the *Princely Infant* Health, Strength, and long Life, that he may grow up to live in thy Fear, and to thy Glory, and to excel in all Virtues becoming his high Birth, and the Royal Dignity to which thou haſt ordained him. O prepare thy loving Mercy and Faithfulneſs, that they may ever preſerve him, for the Honour of thy Name, and the Eſtabliſhment of the Peace, Security and Happineſs of theſe Nations, from Generation to Generation. And this we beg for Jeſus Chriſt his Sake our only Mediator and Redeemer. *Amen.*

At the End of the Litany, this Prayer following:

O moſt Powerful and Glorious God, who art wonderful in all the Myſterious Lots of thy Providence, and Adorable in the various Diſtributions of thy Juſtice and Mercy to the Children of Men; We meekly humble our ſelves, and fall Low before Footſtool of thy Grace, rendring thee all Worſhip and Thanks, that, although for our manifold Sins moſt juſtly provoking thee, thou in thy Wrath haſt heretofore taken from us ſo many of the Royal Progeny, yet in the midſt of Judgment thou haſt remembred Mercy, and according to thy continual Goodneſs haſt revived our Hopes, and begun to repair our former Loſſes, by renewing Fruitfulneſs to the Queen, and giving Birth to a *Royal Prince.* We beſeech thee, O Lord, give the King, and all his People, ſuch a due Senſe of this thy Mercy, that our devout and thankful Acceptance, and right Uſe of it, may divert thy Judgments for the future, and incline thee to beſtow *more ſuch publick Bleſſings* upon us. So we who are thy People will rejoice evermore, in every Thing giving Thanks unto thee, through our only Mediator and Advocate Jeſus Chriſt our Lord. *Amen.*

III. For the King during the Time of Publick Apprehenſions from the Danger of INVASION, *October* 1688.

O Almighty God, the Bleſſed and only Potentate; We offer up our humble Supplications and Prayers to thy Divine Goodneſs, beſeeching thee, in *this Time of Danger*, to ſave and protect our moſt Gracious King; give thy holy Angels Charge

over him; preſerve his Royal Perſon in Health and Safety; inſpire him with Wiſdom and Juſtice in all his Councils; proſper all his Undertakings, for thy Honour and Service, with good Succeſs: Fill his Princely Heart with a fatherly Care of all his People; and give all his Subjects Grace, ALWAYS to bear Faith and true Allegiance to his Majeſty, that both King and People joining together to promote thy Glory, and conſcientiouſly diſcharging their Duties in their ſeveral Stations, may all give thee Thanks and Praiſe, *&c.*

IV. For the Glorious Inſtrument of the Great Deliverance of this Kingdom from Popery and Arbitrary Power.

A Prayer for his Highneſs the Prince of Orange, Jan. 28. 1688.

ALmighty God, who in Times of Trouble and Danger doeſt raiſe up Deliverers of thy People, and filleſt their Hearts with Zeal for thy Service; We beſeech thee to bleſs his Highneſs the Prince of *Orange*, whom thou haſt ſent to be the Defender of our Laws and Religion; protect his Perſon, ſtrengthen his Hands, let thy Holy Fear evermore rule in his Heart, that having Thee only before his Eyes, he may in all things ſeek thy Honour and Glory, and ſtudy to unite this divided Nation, and eſtabliſh it upon the ſure Foundations of Mercy and Truth, Righteouſneſs and Peace.

NUMB. XII.

Queries upon the 26th of H. 8. *C.* 14.

1. WHether the Suffragans of the Church of *England* formerly gave not the Spirit?

2. If not, Whether the Suffragan of *Bedford*, who with Three other Dioceſan Biſhops, conſecrated *M. Parker* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, gave not the Spirit as much in Conjunction with them, as much as they did with him? Or if he did not miniſter the Spirit, as well as they, Why was he put into Commiſſion with them?

3. If Biſhops of Suffragan Sees could not give the Spirit, How came the Archbiſhop, and Two Suffragans, according to this Law, to be thought as ſufficient to conſecrate a Suffragan, as the Archbiſhop and Two other Dioceſan Biſhops?

4. Whether Suffragan Biſhops ever had a new Conſecration, when promoted to a Dioceſe? And if not, What Difference between their Orders, and thoſe of a Dioceſan Biſhop?

5. Whether the Biſhops conſecrated to Suffragan Sees in the Church of *England*, were not Catholick Biſhops; that is, ordained Biſhops of the Church Univerſal, as well as of their own Churches?

6. If they were ſuch, Had they not Power, as Catholick Biſhops, to exerciſe their Epiſcopal Function in any *Pagan* and *Mahometan* Country, or any Chriſtian Country over-run with Hereſy or Schiſm?

7. If One, Two, or more had been made Suffragan Biſhops before the *Revolution*, and deprived with the other Dioceſan Biſhops, and the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; Whether, upon Survivance of theſe, they would not have been, and been owned by us without Scruple, as Principles of Unity to our Communion?

8. Whether, when we communicated with our deprived Fathers out of their Dioceſes, we did not communicate with them as Catholick Biſhops, who had the Care of the whole Church, as well as of their own ſeveral Parts?

9. Whether they acted not as ſuch, when they ordained, confirmed, and received Penitents, *&c.* out of their own Diſtricts.

10. Whether Biſhops of Suffragan Sees, legally and regularly conſecrated to them, may not do the ſame?

11. Whether Biſhops ſo conſecrated to Suffragan Sees, or Dioceſan Biſhops, neither regularly nor legally nominated, choſen, conſecrated or thronized, and continuing in Schiſm, have the better Title to our Obedience?

12. And which of the Two have the better Claim of being Biſhops, accor ding to the Conſtitution of the Church of *England*?

To theſe Queries add:

1. Whether Biſhops of any Part of the Catholick Church, or any one Communion of it, not notifying their Conſecrations openly, when the Notification in ſuch manner would endanger the Extirpation of the Community, ought to be interpreted a waving of their Rights?

2. Whether, in ſuch a Caſe, the Notification of their Conſecration to their faithful Presbyters, and all the Laity who deſire it, be not a ſufficient Notification in ſuch a dangerous State of Perſecution?

3. Whether any of our Communion can juſtify their Departure from us, who depart ſo ſoon for want of publick Notification?

4. Whether, if the Church of *England* had been continued by private Conſecrations for Dioceſan or Suffragan Sees before the Reſtoration, the Faithful then would have withdrawn their Obedience purely for want of a publick Notification?

NUMB. XIII.

The Declaration of the Right Reverend Father in God, JOHN *late Lord Biſhop of* Chicheſter, *upon his Death-bed.*

BEing called by a Sick (and I think a Dying) Bed, and the good Hand of God upon me in it, to take the laſt and beſt *Viaticum*, the Sacrament of my dear Lord's Body and Blood; I take my ſelf obliged to make this ſhort Recognition and Confeſſion, That whereas I was baptized into the Religion of the Church of *England*, and ſucked it in with my Milk, I have conſtantly adhered to it through the whole Courſe of my Life; and now, if ſo be the Will of God, ſhall die in it; and had reſolved, through God's Grace aſſiſting me, to have died ſo, though at a Stake. And whereas that Religion of the Church of *England* taught me the Doctrine of *Non-Reſiſtance* and *Paſſive-Obedience*, which I have accordingly inculcated upon others, and which I took to be the diſtinguiſhing Character of the Church of *England*, I adhere no leſs firmly and ſtedfaſtly to that; and, in Conſequence of it, have incurred a *Suſpenſion* from the Exerciſe of my Office, and expected a *Deprivation*. I find in ſo doing much inward Satisfaction; and if the *Oath* had been tendered at the Peril of my Life, I could only have obeyed by Suffering.

I deſire you, my worthy Friends and Brethren, to bear Witneſs of this upon Occaſion, and to believe it as the Words of a dying Man, and who is now engaged in the moſt Sacred and Solemn Act of converſing with God in this World; and may, for ought he knows to the contrary, appear with theſe very Words in his Mouth at the dreadful Tribunal.

This Declaration was read, and ſubſcribed by the Biſhop in the Preſence of

Aug. 27. 1689.

Manu propriâ ſubſcripſit,

Dr. *Green*, the Pariſh Miniſter.
Dr. *Hicks*, Dean of *Worceſter*.
Mr. *Jenkins*, his Lordſhip's Chaplain.
Mr. *Powel*, his Secretary.
Mr. *Wilſon*, his Amanuenſis.

JO. CICESTRENSIS.

Who all communicated with him.

NUMB. XIV.

The Penitential Declaration of RALPH LOWNDES *of* Middlewich *in the County of* Cheſter, *Gentleman.*

WHereas by the *ſoft Interpretation* of the Magiſtrate Adminiſtring the Oath, the general Example of Men of *reputed Prudence* and *Integrity*, and my own *Weakneſs*, I have been brought to the taking the *New Oath* of *Allegiance*, which I am ſince convinced was ſinful for me to take, in any Senſe, as being inconſiſtent with the *Oaths* by Me formerly taken, and the Duty which thoſe Oaths Unalterably (as I now think) bound upon my *Conſcience*; I do now, after mature Deliberation, *freely*, and of *my own accord*, (being of ſound and perfect Underſtanding, God be thanked for it,) make *this Declaration* in Evidence of my *ſincere Repentance*, and to remove that *Scandal*, as far as in me lies, which this *Sin* of mine has given to my Chriſtian Brethren. In Witneſs whereof, I have hereunto ſet my Hand, this Sixteenth Day of *September*, *Anno Dom.* 1690.

Read before, and declared by the above-ſaid Ralph Lowndes *to be his Act and Deed, and that this Declaration is according to his own Mind, and ſigned by him in Preſence of*

RALPH LOWNDES, *Senior.*

C. Venables.
Hugh Starkey.
J. Henſhaw.
Thomas Falkner, Vicar of *Middlewich.*
W. Lowndes.
J. Henſhaw.
Ralph Lowndes, Junior.

NUMB. XV.

Twelve Propoſitions concerning Chriſtian Communion.

I. JEſus Chriſt is the *Head* of his Church, and all true Believers *Members* of his Myſtical Body the Church: And as Members of that Body have all ſaving Graces, Rights, Privileges, Benefits, and the Title to the Kingdom of Heaven communicated to them from the Head.

II. This *Church*, or Body of Chriſt, conſiſteth not only of the Chriſtians of the preſent Age, but of all them that were before from the Beginning of the World, who, according to ſeveral Diſpenſations, believed either in Chriſt to come, or already come; and ſubmitted to the Terms, by the Myſtical Head thereof required: And all that in Future Ages ſhall attain to Salvation, muſt attain it by becoming Members of his Body; for Chriſt's Body is *One*, however the Time or State of Perſons may be different.

III. The Law having been delivered to the *Jews* by *Miracles*, the firſt Ages of the Goſpel were likewiſe accompanied with them, and with many extraordinary Gifts and Powers; which were continued ſo long as they were ſufficient to convince all of the Truth of the Goſpel, and then ceaſed, at leaſt, to that particular Deſign, and their being commonly in Uſe.

IV. Over and above thoſe extraordinary Gifts in the Firſt Ages of the Church, and alſo over and above thoſe Rules of Faith and Life, which all Chriſtians in common are obliged to; our Bleſſed Saviour, before his Aſcenſion, did give and leave to his Apoſtles a ſtanding *ordinary* Authority, which was neceſſary for the Government and Management of his Church for all Future Time; promiſing to be *with them always even unto the End of the World*, *i. e.* with his Apoſtles, and thoſe to whom that Authority ſhould be ſucceſſively committed.

V. The

V. The Apoſtles did confer that *Standing* Authority, which always was to continue in the Church, upon the *Biſhops*, with like Power as themſelves had ſucceſſively to tranſmit unto others; in which Order it muſt and ought to remain: And from this Power veſted in the Biſhops they may be truly called, and ſo are in Antiquity, *Succeſſors to the Apoſtles*, and *Vicars* or *Vicegerents of* CHRIST.

VI. Such as enter upon, and exerciſe the Office of the Sacred Miniſtry, not being thereunto by a Biſhop duly Authorized, are *Intruders* and Uſurpers; and the Ordinances they pretend to diſpenſe, null and void.

VII. The Biſhops, ſo far as in them lieth, ought all to maintain ſuch a *Correſpondence* amongſt themſelves, as the Faith may be preſerved *pure*, and the Body of Chriſt kept in Unity.

VIII. Every particular Biſhop is by his Office ſo far concerned for the Truth once delivered, that he may *cenſure* Apoſtates, Hereticks and Corrupters of the Chriſtian Religion, even in any Place never ſo remote from his own Dioceſe, if neglected by thoſe whoſe more immediate Duty it is; though where the Matter is intricate, difficult or dangerous, it is beſt and moſt prudently done by a *Synod*.

IX. Every Biſhop within his particular Diſtrict is the *Head of Unity*, and Repreſentative of Chriſt; and keeping himſelf within his due Bounds, ought to be moleſted by none: But in Matters which are of common or univerſal Concern, either the Metropolitan ought to be conſulted with, or, as the Nature of the thing may require, either Provincial, National, or General Councils ought to determine.

X. To become a Member of Chriſt's Body, which is the *Catholick* Church, it is ordinarily neceſſary to become a Member of ſome *particular* Church, where Orthodox and Holy Offices are adminiſtred under the Authority of an Orthodox and Catholick Biſhop.

XI. Where a Biſhop is *canonically* planted in any See, if another intrude, or be intruded thereinto, and act in *Oppoſition* to the Canonical Biſhop, the Intruder is a Schiſmatick, and all his Acts ceaſe to have any Eccleſiaſtical Effect, at leaſt during the Continuance of the Schiſm.

XII. Not only the Intruder himſelf, but ſuch as *join with* the Intruder, do by this joining with him, in Oppoſition to their true and Canonical Biſhop, make themſelves Schiſmaticks; and thereby cut themſelves off, during their Continuance in this Oppoſition, from the Body of Chriſt's Church.

NUMB. XVI.

The Anſwer of a Nonjuror to the Biſhop of Sarum's *Challenge.*

The Firſt Challenge. We challenge them to ſhew us any one Inſtance, when after a *Revolution* in the State happened, that was generally Received and Settled, the Biſhops and Paſtors of the Church did refuſe to acknowledge the *preſent Civil Government*, and to act in their Stations under it.

To the Firſt Challenge, we thus anſwer.

1. THE *firſt Part* of the *Vindication* of the Deprived Biſhops has ſhewn the *Uncertainty* of this Topick of Reaſoning from *Inſtances*, though they ſhould even all have made againſt us. This ought to have been *anſwered* by the Challenger.

2. The *Vindicator* has *proved* our *Doctrine* concerning the preſent *Schiſm*, by ſurer Arguments from the Principles of the *Catholick Church* in the *firſt* and *pureſt* Ages, and from Practices *agreeable* to thoſe Principles. This being *ſurer*, ought to take *place*, though the *Inſtances* had made againſt us as *univerſally* as the Challenger ſuppoſes. And therefore he ought not to *object* this Topick, till he be able to *anſwer* what we have produced from the Senſe of *Primitive Catholick Antiquity*. But neither the *Biſhop*, nor Dr. *Hody*, have attempted it. If they cannot anſwer our *Proofs* being *ſtronger*, what they object can do us no harm, but muſt be *over-ruled* by our Proofs, if they ſhould prove *inconſiſtent* with them. If they can to the Satisfaction

of their *own Conſciences*, we beg of the *Biſhop*, if he have the *Charity* he pretends for our *Souls*, to let us know what it is, that it may ſatisfy *us*. I am ſure he owes it us in *Gratitude*; our *Sufferings*, in Relation to the *Schiſm*, being only for vindicating his *Epiſcopal Rights* againſt *himſelf*.

3. *Inſtances* are leſs to be expected on *our* Side than on *theirs*, becauſe Fleſh and Blood inclines on *their* Side. It is not eaſily to be expected that *any* ſhould *contradict* thoſe Inclinations, *leſs* that the *Generality* ſhould do ſo. And the Proſpect of *Sufferings* is *greater*, in the Caſe put by the Biſhop, when a Revolution is *generally* received and *ſettled*. Then the *greater* Severities may be expected. And in *general* the *worſt Cauſes* are likely to have the *better*, at this way of Reaſoning inſiſted on by the Biſhop, *bad Examples* being more *frequent* and *numerous* in *Hiſtory* than *good* ones. Let himſelf therefore judge, whether this be a proper way to ſatisfy *Conſcience* againſt poſitive *direct Proof* from Principles.

4. This Argument, ſuch as it is, had been *ſtronger*, if there had been *many* Examples in Hiſtory *like* our *Caſe*, which had been *all* againſt us. But perhaps in *all* the Ancient Hiſtories, he will not find *one* exactly like it. Ours is a Government wherein *Oaths* have been made to *Heirs* and *Succeſſors* for *ever*. And then legal Oaths impoſed by the *Law* and the Authority of the *Legiſlative Power*, not only by that of the *Prince* who is concerned in them: Oaths which even *Parliaments* themſelves have taken, and have been obliged to do ſo, as well as *we*. By this they have put it out of their *own Power* to *alter* the *Succeſſion* they have ſworn to *maintain*, without the *Conſent* of thoſe whoſe *Right* is concerned; conſiſtently with a good *Conſcience*. The Parliament alſo in King *James* the Firſt's Time obliged themſelves, and their Poſterity, to maintain the Hereditary Succeſſion in him and his Poſterity, and that for ever. This lays an Obligation on us of this Generation, who have taken no Oaths, by this Right of Anceſtors to oblige Poſterity, which is one of the Fundamentals of all Governments. Our Lawyers alſo, in *Calvin*'s Caſe, have taught us, that there is a Natural Allegiance due from all Native Subjects even before they have taken Oaths. Yet Oaths, by our Conſtitution, may be impoſed in all Court-Leets on all above Sixteen Years of Age, for maintaining the Hereditary Succeſſion. This ſhews, that though the Parliament-Men ſhould, againſt their own Oaths, change the Succeſſion forcibly, without the Conſent of thoſe who by the preſent Conſtitution have a Right; yet the Law intended, that the Nation ſhould be obliged to hinder them from effecting it. I am ſorry this was ſo little thought of by the Managers of the preſent Settlement. To me it ſeems to make our Caſe peculiar, not like any thing in Old Hiſtory. I know nothing in the Old *Jewiſh*, or *Roman*, or *Greek* Hiſtory like it. And if ours be a peculiar Caſe, it will overthrow all the Biſhop's Reaſoning from this Topick. As we can ſhew no *Precedent* for our Practice in the Elder Antiquity; ſo neither will our Adverſaries be able to produce one *Precedent* againſt us, if all Circumſtances conſidered, the *ſame Caſe* never fell out in thoſe *Earlier Times*.

5. Therefore this will confine our Enquiry for Precedents to our own Nation, and to our more Modern *Ages*, wherein this has been our Conſtitution. And here we can give Precedents in Anſwer to this Challenge. The Biſhop himſelf knows, that the Biſhop of *Carliſle* did oppoſe the Uſurpation of *Henry* IV. againſt *Richard* II. And though he pretends that all the Biſhops beſides him aſſiſted *Henry* in that *Uſurpation*, which himſelf calls treaſonable, (and he has no Reaſon to blame them for it, if what himſelf has done be well done;) yet his worthy Adverſary has named ſeveral more who oppoſed it. Particularly both the Archbiſhops, the Biſhops of *London*, *Exeter*, *Litchfield*, and *Landaff*. This is about the ſame Number as was now. Nay, in a Caſe which ſettled the true Religion, our Church and Kingdom have afforded us ſuch a Precedent, as our Adverſaries cannot, I believe, ſhew the like; and that was in ſetting up the Lady *Jane Grey*, a Lady againſt whom our Proteſtant Church of *England* at leaſt had nothing to except beſides her Want of a good Title. And yet that was more diſputable than can be pretended now. Queen *Mary* and Queen *Elizabeth* had been both baſtardiſed by Acts of Parliament, and ſucceeded by King *Henry*'s *Will*, and the *Act* of *Parliament* that obliged the Nation to ſwear to ſtand by the Settlement he was to make by it. And yet the Lady *Jane* had a like *Will* of the King for the Time *being* in Favour of *her*. However, having ſworn to maintain the firſt Settlement, I know none of our Biſhops that favoured that bad Title for their Intereſts againſt their Oaths, but Biſhop *Ridley*, and Archbiſhop *Cranmer*; and Archbiſhop *Cranmer* very unwillingly, as Biſhop *Burnet* has obſerved.

Anthony Harmar, *p.* 22, 23.

Queen *Mary* herſelf charged none of the reſt of our Biſhops of High-Treaſon, that I know of: But the Body of our Proteſtant Church of *England* was ſo juſt to their Oaths, even where they were to their own Hindrance, that Two Proteſtant Armies concurred to ſet up the greateſt Enemy of the *Proteſtant Religion*. One Proteſtant Army ſet her up at *Framingham*, where ſhe promiſed not to alter the Religion ſettled by her Brother, which ſhe could not have done to any but Proteſtants. Another Proteſtant Army revolted to her from the Lady *Jane Grey*. Nay, that Lady herſelf was not ſatisfied with her own Title. This the Biſhop very well knew, if he had remembred it. So far they were from Joy for ſettling the true Religion, when the Steps were liable to great and juſt Exceptions. This was one of the moſt heroical Examples in preferring Faith in performing Oaths to contrary Inclinations, to do Things forbidden by Religion upon Pretence of defending it, that perhaps the World has ſeen ſince Chriſtian Religion firſt began. I wiſh our late Fathers and Brethren would rival us in trying, who ſhall ſhew themſelves the moſt generous Poſterity of ſo glorious Anceſtors. Should we retort the Challenge upon them, I know not where they can ſhew ſuch a Precedent in the Church of *England* for their Practice, as we do here for ours. And it is the Glory of our late common Mother, that they cannot do ſo. Yet our Church and Kingdom's Caſe are ſo peculiar, that Caſes are not to be ſought for elſewhere. Let the Biſhop therefore conſider, how he will anſwer this retorted Challenge; and how he can juſtify his own Warineſs in ſaying, he is *ſure* that we cannot ſhew a Precedent to our Proceeding. This is an Inſtance in that Part of Hiſtory where he pretends to be moſt converſant. And why ſhould we not think, that thoſe Perſons who thus aſſerted Queen *Mary*'s Right againſt the Lady *Jane Grey* would not have done it, though the Lady *Jane* had been Thoroughly Poſſeſſed? I am ſure the ſame Principles would have obliged them to do ſo. All the Difference of the Caſe could have been nothing, but the Weakneſs of Fleſh and Blood for to oppoſe that more vigorous Oppoſition, which might be expected from that which the Biſhop is pleaſed to call a *thorough Settlement*, and which Dr. *Hody* calls *Irreſiſtible Force*; that is, when the Generality had been againſt them. But I hope the Biſhop will not ſet up the *Practice* of only Fleſh and Blood for allowed Precedents.

The Second Challenge. We challenge him to ſhew us, Where ever a *Schiſm* was formed upon the *Lay-Deprivation* of a Biſhop, even when the Grounds that it proceeded on were viſibly Unjuſt, if the Faith of the Church was not pretended to be concerned in the Matter.

To the Second Challenge we anſwer.

1. WE can alſo retort this Challenge, and put our Adverſaries upon the Proof, That ever a *Lay-Deprivation* was accounted valid with regard to *Conſcience*. Only we would deſire more expreſs Proof than Dr. *Hody* uſually produces. It is not enough to prove it ſo, that we cannot prove it otherwiſe. That may fall out, and does ſo frequently by the few Authors that mention ſome of the Facts, and the little Accurateneſs in their relating the Circumſtances of them. It is not again enough to find Authors that ſay that the Prince deprived Biſhops. That is a Phraſe commonly uſed when Synods deprived them, if the Synods themſelves were any ways influenced by the Prince's Authority; that is, when they were by him either commanded, or forced, or corrupted in an Act of their *own* Authority; which they would not have performed, if they had been at their own Liberty. *They* muſt therefore produce expreſs Teſtimonies, That either no Synod had a hand in the Deprivation, or that the Prince acted in it by his *own* Authority alone. The leaſt we can allow for Probability of it, is ſo minute a Narrative of the Fact, that muſt have mentioned a Synod, if any had been concerned in it. This Proof of what they are to reaſon on, will leave them ſo very few Inſtances of *Lay-Deprivation*, that they cannot pretend to many Precedents. And we have Reaſon to expect there ſhould be few, becauſe we know the *Ordinary* Regular Way of depriving Biſhops was Synodical. And the Caſe being extraordinary, muſt require the greater *Evidence* of its being *true*.

2. Thoſe very few Examples that can thus appear to have been by Lay-Authority, can by no means ſerve our Adverſary's Purpoſe as Precedents. The many Canons concerning Synodical Tryals, and againſt Appeals to Secular Power, even concerning leſſer

leſſer Secular Crimes of Biſhops and Clergymen, and particularly the Canons omitted by the Doctor; and the many expreſs Remonſtrances of the Fourth Century, as well as afterwards, againſt the Right of Laymen in Caſes purely ſpiritual, and their frequently preferring the *Spiritual* Power before the *Temporal*, ſufficiently ſhew that ſuch, whenever they fell out, could not be agreeable to *Principles*, and therefore not fit to be urged as Precedents. And the few Inſtances of that Kind in Dr. *Hody*'s Collection, the Vindicator has ſhewn to be ſuſpicious by the Prince's not being exemplary, who varied from the ordinary Rules. *Anaſtaſius Dicorus*, and even the Great *Juſtinian*, acted herein under a Tranſport of Paſſion; and as conſcious that what they had done would not be regardable in Conſcience, they afterwards endeavoured to get Synods to depoſe the ſame Perſons whom they had firſt exiled. And till Synods might be pretended for it, they were ſtill owned in Conſcience as Biſhops of the ſame Sees; and their Communicants owned them, and diſowned their Schiſmatical Succeſſors whilſt they were living, unleſs ſome Receſſion of their own, either expreſs or interpretative from the good Correſpondence themſelves held with their Succeſſors, made way for a Vacancy which might legitimate the Succeſſion. This having been ſhewn by the *Vindicator* in Inſtances not yet anſwered, and the Right of the Lay-Prince diſproved by Mr. *Kettlewell*, what place can there be for this Challenge?

3. This has been ſhewn in Caſes where no Hereſy was concerned, that notwithſtanding Separations have followed on them, and that by Principles. No Hereſy was pretended in the Succeſſors of St. *Chryſoſtom*, none in the *Joſephians* by the *Arſenians*, none in the Diſputes concerning the Emperor *Leo Sapiens*'s Fourth Marriage, none between *Photius* and *Ignatius*; yet actual Separation were made in theſe Caſes, and juſtified by Principles. Which ſhews plainly, that neither the Perſons concerned did think themſelves obliged in Conſcience to ſurrender, when their Succeſſor was no Heretick; and that their Subjects did not think themſelves at Liberty in Conſcience to deſert their true Biſhops continuing their Claim, though their Succeſſors were Orthodox. We need not therefore ſeek any further for *Inſtances* to anſwer this *Challenge* than the *Doctor*'s own *Collection*.

But particularly the Biſhop challenges us to ſhew an Inſtance, where the Biſhops or Clergy of a Church adhere to a Metropolitan, or a Biſhop ſo turned out, and made a Schiſm (I ſuppoſe he means a *Separation*, for where it is juſtifiable he knows it can be no *Schiſm*) upon his Account, when he did not by any publick Act or Inſtrument aſſert his own Right, and challenge Obedience. Many of the now mentioned Inſtances were ſuch. No publick Act or Inſtrument, that we know of, ever mentioned in them. Nor does the Church, in the Acts of the Firſt and Second Synod, require any ſuch Inſtrument. The *Joannites* did more; they were ſo far from requiring any ſuch Inſtrument from that they ſeparated and continued their Separation after his Death, againſt his expreſs Requeſt from them whilſt he was living. But for this I am far from making their Fact a Precedent. I am ſure, in all the like Caſes, conſcientious Perſons do not uſe to expect Inſtruments to challenge Duty where it is otherwiſe due, but think themſelves obliged to it till they be expreſsly releaſed. Leaſt of all have they expected them, when they know they are likely to bring the Perſons, who ſhould make ſuch Inſtruments, into great and imminent *Danger*; and when after all the Danger, there was no Proſpect of their being regarded, which might make Enemies for the *Danger*. I know none that thought King *Charles* the IId. Abdicated after *Worceſter* Fight, becauſe he did not make an Act and Inſtrument, requiring his Subjects upon their Allegiance to come in to him. It was ſufficient for well-minded Subjects, that the Obligation formerly on them was continued by his not releaſing them from it. In *Edward* the IId. and *Richard* the IId's Depoſition, there were Acts of expreſs releaſing the Subjects from the Allegiance before due. So far they were then from thinking themſelves excuſed from Duty, by not having an Inſtrument for claiming it.

After all, I ſhould not *challenge*, (I confeſs, I like not that Word;) but I would humbly *requeſt* the Biſhop, if he thinks that he has ſo much to ſay to that Caſe, that he will give us an Hypotheſis, that may oblige us in Conſcience to continue a Society and Communion under our Spiritual Superiors independently on the State; as the Chriſtians did in the firſt, the Apoſtolical as well as the Primitive Ages, and upon Catholick Principles diſtinct from ours, and ſuch as will not be applicable to the preſent Schiſm. And, if he will do it impartially, I would beg it may be ſuch on which he himſelf, as a Biſhop, would expect Duty, in Caſe the State ſhould deprive him, not only unjuſtly, but alſo invalidly, for doing his Duty; and that he ſhould not think it for the publick Intereſt of the Church and Religion, to quit his Pretenſions

ſions to his Spiritual Rights. This will be more likely to be ſatisfactory, if there be any Particular in our *Doctrine*, or our *Diſcipline*, that he thinks worthy to be aſſerted againſt the Magiſtrate, and may probably be invaded by him. If he thinks none ſo, we are ſure his Doctrine is ſo different from that of the Catholick Church, (as the *Latitudinarian* Doctrine is generally) that he cannot expect we ſhould much regard him.

NUMB. XVII.

A Form of Admiſſion of Penitents. By a Nonjuring Biſhop.

DEarly Beloved; for ſo I muſt now call you, who, as it becomes true Penitents, have ſo humbly and freely confeſſed your common paſt Error to the Eaſe and Quiet, I doubt not, of your own Conſciences; I am ſure to the Honour of God, and to my full Satisfaction, and, I believe, to the full Satisfaction of all my Brethren here preſent.

And as true Penitents for the Sin of Schiſm, of which you have expreſſed ſo lively a Senſe, you have deſired in the Preſence of God, and of this Congregation, to be united to our Communion, which, in truth, is the Communion of the truly Catholick and Faithful Remnant of the *Britannick* Churches, which, by the Grace of God, for Years paſt hath born its Teſtimony againſt the World; I ſay, *againſt the World*, for Truth againſt Error, for Right againſt Wrong, for Unity againſt Schiſm, for ſwearing in Truth and Righteouſneſs againſt Forſwearing, for Loyalty againſt Rebellion; and in a word, for every thing that is Juſt and Lawful againſt what is manifeſtly Unjuſt and Unlawful both in Church and State.

Into this truly Catholick Communion, which is contrary to the World, and to which the World is contrary, you are come to be admitted: And therefore, as your united Supplication to be admitted into it, cannot be thought to proceed from the Love of the World, or the Proſpect of any Worldly Intereſt or Advantage; ſo I verily believe it proceeds from the Holy Spirit of God, who guides ſincere Lovers of Truth into all Truth.

Wherefore being as willing to receive you, as you are all deſirous to be received, I here admit you as faithful Penitents, with all Paternal Affection and Joy into this Holy Fellowſhip and Communion, of which I can ſay in the Words of the Apoſtle, Truly our Fellowſhip is with the Father, and with his Son Jeſus Chriſt. This I ſpeak to the Praiſe and Glory of God, by whoſe Grace we ſtand, and are what we are, giving him Thanks with my whole Heart for your Converſion; and beſeeching him, who hath promiſed Forgiveneſs of Sins to all thoſe who truly repent, to pardon and abſolve you from the Sin, which as by one Mouth, ſo with one Heart, you have confeſſed.

And as God of his infinite Mercy hath, by the Guidance of his Holy Spirit, conducted you from the Wrong into the Right, and from the Broad into the Narrow Way which leadeth to Eternal Life: So I beſeech him to give you Grace to walk in the ſame with Primitive Chriſtian Courage and Conſtancy all the Days of your Life, deſpiſing the World as much as the World deſpiſeth you; and always remembring, that if the World hate you, it hated your Lord and Maſter before you; and that in all Trials and Temptations, greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the World. Once more, I beſeech God to pardon and bleſs you all, and to give you that Peace and Comfort of Conſcience in what you have now done, which the World you have forſaken can neither give, nor take away.

May it pleaſe him alſo, for Chriſt's Sake, thus to increaſe our Number with true and faithful Converts; and in this Petition to the Throne of Grace, I doubt not but you will all join with me, and heartily ſay, *Amen*.

NUMB. XVIII.

A Letter of Biſhop Frampton *to Mr.* Kettlewell.

My Reverend, Good, Worthy Brother,

IT is high time for me to give you my hearty Thanks for your *kind Preſent*; and, if that be of any Moment with you, to let you know, how much I am affected with it.

So much affected with it, that I wiſh all our Men of War, I mean our Diſputants, would beat their Swords and Spears, as you do, into Plough-Shares and Pruning-Hooks.

Endeavouring rather to make their Readers turn their Thoughts to *Piety* than *Controverſy*; ſince the former, though ne're ſo *neceſſary*, yea, the *unum neceſſarium*, is ſcarcely heard, amidſt the Din and Claſhings of *Pro's* and *Con's*.

Perhaps this Thought of mine proceeds from mine own Inability to enter ſuch Liſts; of which I am conſcious enough; and, as I hope, will be the more pardonable, becauſe, though I am far from cenſuring their brave Performances; for who am I to take that Province on me? yet in truth, as St. *Paul* ſpeaks in the Caſe of Languages not underſtood, *I had rather ſpeak five Words to make my Peruſers better, than ten thouſand Words to make them more learned.* Yea, ſo much the more, becauſe I ſee our People ſo wedded to what they have once aſſum'd, that nothing can remove them.

Nothing but God's own Hand, and in his own due Time: For which we muſt wait with Patience, *till he turn our Captivity like the Rivers in the South.* Poſſeſſing our Souls with Patience in the mean time, till he bring it to paſs; and by our *Well-doing* and *Well-ſuffering*, with his Bleſſing on both, make our Innocence as clear as the Light.

I have often been in the Pulpit in Seaſon, and out of Seaſon; and always *bold* and *honeſt* enough there, God be praiſed; but never in the Printing-Houſe yet; and believe I never ſhall be, becauſe I am convinced, that nothing of mine is worthy of the publick View.

That is a Task for ſuch *Worthy and Pious Heroes* as you are, whoſe Performances I love and admire, but dare not pretend to imitate. God proſper them to his Glory, and to the Edification of the *whole Chriſtian World.* I have no more to add, but that I value your Labours exceedingly; and that you are exceedingly miſtaken, if you think that any Man whatſoever hath more Eſteem for you, than

Your Loving Friend, Brother, and
Servant in Chriſt Jeſus,

May 18. 1694.

Robert Frampton Gloceſt.

NUMB. XIX.

A Model of a Fund of Charity for the Needy, Suffering Clergy. Drawn up by Mr. Kettlewell, *in* January $169\frac{4}{5}$.

About ſettling a Fund of Charity *for Relief of the Needy* Suffering Clergy, *and the Regular* Collection *and* Diſtribution *thereof.*

THE *Managers of the Fund*, my Lords the Biſhops, and ſuch of the Clergy, as they ſhall think fit or needful to take to their Aſſiſtance.

I. Concerning a prudent and careful *Diſtribution* of what ſhall be charitably given, which will be the great Encouragement and Inducement for the charitably affected to ſend Gifts in.

I. An Enquiry may be made, both here and in the Countries, what the ſeveral needy Clergymens Incomes are, and what their Charge is, and (with Regard to the Dearneſs or Cheapneſs of the Place) what Addition yearly would afford them and their Families a *tolerable Subſiſtance*.

That this may be liable to no Gainſayings afterwards, each one may ſend an Account in Writing, of their own Circumſtances. And my Lords will be aſſiſted in this Enquiry by the Clergy here (or others whom they ſhall think fit to employ therein) writing to their ſeveral Acquaintance in the Countries. And they will be ready to get theſe Accounts from one another, and ſend them up; yea, with the Perſons *Characters*; however with an Aſſurance of their *Deprivation on Account of the Oaths*, to guard againſt all *falſe Pretenders*, if it be thought fit.

II. Finding how the Fund riſes, and Gifts come in to ſupply their ſeveral Wants, my Lords the Managers at their Meetings may allot each their Proportion, as they ſee Cauſe.

And certain Diſtributers or Diſpenſers of this Money being appointed, they may pay the ſame to them, or to their deputed Receivers thereof, according to this Allotment: It may be at Set Times; however, at ſuch Times as they have it ready for them.

And this Way the Poor Clergy will have their Wants, it may be wholly, however in *good part* relieved, and that without Breach of Modeſty, (as when they are continually put to ask for themſelves) and without Sollicitude.

They will none of them be under the Temptation of deſerting the Truth, or doing ill Things, (as, God knows, ſome of them have done, and Collections, I hear, are now a making to *tempt* others, particularly of the *Scotiſh* Nation, to do) as having this to ſay, that *Neceſſitas cogit ad turpia.*

The Clergy here, who have no Buſineſs, but ſtay in Town as the beſt Place of Gifts, may be ſent into the Countries, where they will be much better maintain'd at half the Charge, and where they may do Service.

And others will have no Excuſe to ſpend moſt of their Time in Coffee-Houſes, and hunting after Gifts; but when they are not employ'd in their Holy Functions, may follow their Studies to improve themſelves.

And having no *Dependance* for conſtant Gifts from the Citizens among whom they converſe, they will not be ſo ſtrongly tempted to ſooth them up in Things which they need to amend; but may keep up that *Freedom of Spirit*, which is the Honour of their Character, and is neceſſary in thoſe whoſe Office is to reprove ill Things.

And depending thus on my Lords the Biſhops for their Maintenance, they will think my Lords more concerned to enquire into their particular Carriages, and themſelves more concerned to give them an Account thereof, and to pay more obedient Regard to their Paſtoral Charges and Admonitions.

II. Concerning the Regular *Collection* of this Charity, which, where there is ſo Rational a Proſpect of a Prudent and Careful Diſtribution thereof, the Charitable Sollicitors of Gifts will have Argument and Reaſon enough to ask them, and the Charitable Donors to ſend them in.

I. A *Letter* may be drawn up by my Lords the Managers, and ſubſcribed with their Names, out of their *Paſtoral Care* earneſtly recommending the Needs of their Suffering Brethren to the Charitable Help and Brotherly Aſſiſtance of the Pious and Well-diſpoſed; and mentioning, as they ſee fit, the Care that is taken for the good Application of what is given.

In ſpeaking of themſelves, if they add an Epithet, noting only the actual Suffering and Force they are under, but not the *Juſtice* of it on one Side or other; they would neither aſſert their Titles to offend others, nor any ways forego or give them up to Prejudice themſelves.

II. Having the Warranty of ſuch a Letter, beſides Clergymen, ſeveral other Worthy and Charitable Perſons would not only give themſelves, but go about with Authentick Copies thereof among their Acquaintance, to move and perſuade Charity in others. And in time, ſuch Worthy and Beneficent Perſons may be found to labour in this Bleſſed Work in moſt Places. Which will make a great Addition to what

has come in hitherto by voluntary Contributors. And having now a clearer Prospect of more concerted and perfect Distribution, they may be moved to give more themselves.

And this Money, as it is brought in continually to them who shall be the appointed Keepers of it, first to *make* the Fund, and afterwards from Time to Time to *feed* and maintain it, will be ready to be dealt out to every one in the Proportion which is allotted for them.

If this is enquired into, every Person concerned may boldly own their Part, and rejoice and thank God they are concerned in it. And the Adversaries may envy, but, methinks, can hurt none for it. 'Tis not for *Swordmen*; so there is no Colour to say 'tis a keeping Soldiers in Pay. 'Tis for Persons, who must be thought likely enough by themselves to be in great Wants; for all know they have deprived them of their Livelihoods. So this cannot be made *criminal*, without apparently making Charity, and brotherly Love, and Communicating in each others Wants and Sufferings, criminal; which are Practices approved by the serious and sober-minded of *all Parties*, and whereby they would most recommend their several Causes, and honour and set off themselves.

So indeed thought Mr. Kettlewell.

NUMB. XX.

The Charitable Recommendation *of the Deprived Bishops.*

To all Christian People, to whom this Charitable Recommendation shall be presented, Grace be to you, and Peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ.

WHereas We the present *Depriv'd Bishops* of this Church have certain Information, That many of our *Deprived* Brethren of the Clergy, with their Wives, Children, and Families, are reduc'd to extreme Want, and unable to support themselves, and their several Charges, without the Charitable Relief of Pious and Well-disposed Christians; and being earnestly mov'd by several of them to represent their Distressed Condition to the Mercy and Compassion of such Tender-hearted Persons, as are inclin'd to Commiserate and Relieve the Afflicted Servants of God.

Now We, in Compliance with their Intreaty, and with all due Regard to their *Suffering* Circumstances, have thought it our Duty, (as far as in *Law* we may) heartily to Recommend their Necessitous Condition to all Pious, good People; hoping and praying, That they will take their Case into their serious Consideration, and putting on the Bowels of Charity, extend their Alms to them, and their Needy Families.

And We will not cease to pray for a Blessing upon such their Benefactors: And remain, in all Christian Offices,

Yours,

July 22. 1695.

William *Bishop of* Norwich,
Robert *Bishop of* Gloucester,
Francis *Bishop of* Ely,
Thomas *Bishop of* Bath & Wells,
Thomas *Bishop of* Peterborough,
} Now depriv'd.

NUMB.

NUMB. XXI.

The Anſwer *of* THOMAS *Bath and* Wells *deprived, to certain Interrogatories propoſed to him by the Lords of the Privy-Council, on Account of the foregoing Paper.*

All Glory be to God.

AFter the favourable Hearing, which this Day the Lords of the moſt Honourable Privy-Council gave me, Mr. *Bridgman* came out to me to tell me, That their Lordſhips expected a Copy of my Anſwers; which, as far as I can recollect, I here humbly offer to their Lordſhips.

The Printed Paper ſubſcrib'd by the Depriv'd Biſhops, to beg the Alms of Charitable People, being ſhew'd me, I was ask'd,

Did you Subſcribe this Paper?

A. My Lords, I thank God I did, and it had a very happy Effect; for the Will of my Bleſſed Redeemer was fulfill'd by it; and what we were not able to do our ſelves was done by others; the Hungry were fed, and the Naked were cloath'd; and to feed the Hungry, to cloath the Naked, and to viſit thoſe who are ſick or in Priſon, is that Plea which all your Lordſhips as well as I, as far as you have had Opportunities, muſt make for your ſelves at the Great Day. And That which you muſt all plead at God's Tribunal for your Eternal Abſolution, ſhall not, I hope, be made my Condemnation here.

It was then ſaid to this Purpoſe; *No one here condemns Charity, but the Way you have taken to procure it: Your Paper is illegal.*

A. My Lords, I can plead to the Evangelical Part: I am no Lawyer, but ſhall want Lawyers to plead that; and I have been very well aſſured that it is Legal. My Lords, I will ſincerely give your Lordſhips an Account of the Part I had in it. The firſt Perſon who propoſed it to me was Mr. *Kettlewell*, that *Holy Man* who is now with God; and after ſome Time it was brought to this Form, and I ſubſcribed it; and then went into the Country to my Retirement in an obſcure Village, where I live above the Suſpicion of giving any the leaſt Umbrage to the Government.

My Lords, I was not active in making Collections in the Country, where there are but few ſuch Objects of Charity; but good People of their own Accords ſent me towards Fourſcore Pounds, of which about one Half is ſtill in my Hands.

I beg your Lordſhips to obſerve this Clauſe in our Paper, *As far as in Law we may*: And to receive ſuch Charity, is, I preſume, *which in Law I may*; and to diſtribute it, is a thing alſo, *which in Law I may.*

It was objected to this Purpoſe: *This Money has been abus'd, and given to very ill and immoral Men; and particularly to one who goes in a Gown one Day, and in a Blue Silk Waſtcoat another.*

A. My Lords, To give to an Ill Man may be a Miſtake, and no Crime, unleſs what was given was given him to an ill Purpoſe; nay, to give to an Ill Man and knowingly, is our Duty, if that Ill Man wants Neceſſaries of Life; for as long as God's Patience and Forbearance indulges that Ill Man Life to lead him to Repentance, we ought to ſupport that Life God indulges him, hoping for the happy Effect of it.

My Lords, In King *James*'s Time there were about a Thouſand or more impriſon'd in my Dioceſe, who were engag'd in the Rebellion of the Duke of *Monmouth*; and many of them were ſuch which I had Reaſon to believe to be ill Men, and void of all Religion; and yet for all that, I thought it my Duty to relieve them. 'Tis well known to the Dioceſe, that I viſited them Night and Day, and I thank God I ſupply'd them with Neceſſaries my ſelf, as far as I could, and encouraged others to do the ſame; and yet King *James* never found the leaſt Fault with me. And if I am now charged with miſapplying what was given, I beg of your Lordſhips, that St. *Paul*'s Apoſtolical Rule may be obſerv'd, *Againſt an Elder receive not an Accuſation, but before two or three Witneſſes*; for I am ſure none can teſtify that againſt me. What I gave, I gave in the Country; and I gave to none but thoſe who did both

want and deſerve it. The laſt that I gave was to Two Poor Widows of depriv'd Clergymen, One whereof was left with Six, the Other with Seven Small Children.

It was ſaid to this Purpoſe: *You are not charg'd your ſelf with giving to Ill Men, though it has been done by others: But the Paper comes out with a Pretence of Authority, and it is illegal, and in the Nature of a Brief; and if ſuch Practices are permitted, private Men may ſuperſede all the Briefs granted by the King.*

A. My Lords, I beg your Pardon, if I cannot give a full Anſwer to this; I am no Lawyer, and am not prepar'd to argue it in Law.

It was further objected to this Purpoſe: *By ſending forth this Paper, you have uſurp'd Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction.*

A. My Lords, I never heard that *Begging* was a Part of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction; and in this Paper we are only *Beggars*, which Privilege I hope may be allow'd us.

I make no doubt, but your Lordſhips may have had ſtrange Miſinformations concerning this Paper: But having ſincerely told you what Part I had in it, I humbly ſubmit my ſelf to your Lordſhips Juſtice.

I preſume your Lordſhips will come to no immediate Reſolution concerning me; and having voluntarily ſurrendred my ſelf, and the Warrant having never been ſerv'd on me till I had twice attended here, this being the Third Time, and my Health being infirm, I beg this Favour of your Lordſhips, that I may return to my Siſter's Houſe, where I have hitherto lodg'd, which is a Place the Meſſenger knows well; and that I may be no otherwiſe confin'd, till I have receiv'd your Lordſhip's final Reſolution.

This Favour your Lordſhips were pleas'd very readily to grant me; for which I return my humble Acknowledgments, beſeeching God to be gracious to your Lordſhips.

April 28. 1696.

Thomas Bath *and* Wells, *Depriv'd.*

NUMB. XXII.

A Letter to Robert Nelſon, *Eſq; Executor to the Reverend Mr.* John Kettlewell. *By a Perſon who aſſiſted him in his Laſt Hours.*

SIR, *April* 18. 1695.

I Can ſay but very little more in Anſwer to yours, than what I have already acquainted you with. On *Thurſday* Morning being ſent for to attend the good Mr. *Kettlewell*, he ſaid to me, " Mr. *B.* I am now entring upon my laſt Labour; " the *Lord gave*, and he is now taking away, bleſſed be the Name of the Lord: For " I thank my God, I am going (without any Diſtruſt, without the leaſt Miſgiving) " to a Place of Reſt, and Joy, and Everlaſting Bliſs. *There is no Life like a happy* " *Death.* I have endeavoured, even from my Youth, to approve my ſelf a Faithful " Servant to my *Great Maſter*. I have taken ſome Pains in writing ſeveral BOOKS: " I have ſeriouſly conſidered them, and am fully ſatisfied (looking on thoſe about " him) that *you may find in them the Way to Heaven.* The Chriſtian Duties con- " tained therein have been my *Practice*, as well as *Study*, and now I find the Advan- " tage of it; therefore be all of you careful to read them often, and ſeriouſly, and " live ſuitably thereunto, that when you come to the Condition I am now in, you " may die with Comfort, as you ſee me do. I have ſome little Pains indeed, but " my Pain is nothing ſo extraordinary as my *Hopes*; for I have earneſtly repented " of all my Sins, and verily believe, that through the tender Mercies of my God, " and Merits of my Bleſſed Saviour Jeſus Chriſt, I ſhall be carry'd up into *Abraham's* " Boſom.

After which, he made this ſhort Prayer; " I wait, O God, for that Everlaſting " Reſt, which I want at preſent, but ſhall not long: I am ready when thou, my " God, calleſt for me; yet can ſtay with Patience, till thou pleaſeſt; for thy Time " is the beſt Time, and thy Pleaſure the beſt Pleaſure ". After ſome of the Prayers of the Church, and that Commendatory one, (which he particularly deſired) he gave his Nephew ſome Advice in ſeveral Particulars; As, 1. To obſerve

observe ALL the Commandments of God; "for he that breaks *one*, (said he) "is guilty of the Breach of *all*; for the Truth of God is revealed against ALL "Ungodliness, *&c.* 2. To despise and contemn the World; that is, let not the *Profits* nor *Pleasures* of it allure or tempt you, (said he) nor let Fear of Danger affright you from any Christian Duty; but have a perfect Dependance upon God; for he is a Kind, Merciful, and a Good God: I have found him to be so. 3. To be humble, mild, and meek, to have Candor and Charity, *&c.* Then he dehorted him from all Vice, as from Pride, Passion, Dissimulation, Hypocrisy, Lying; of which last he said, *Do not tell a Lie, no, not to save a World, not to save your King, nor your Self.* Next, he gave his Sister some Directions of the like Nature, and how to teach and instruct her Children. His Brother being come, he told him wherein he had given him Offence; forgave him heartily, and prayed for him and his: Then he told him, he was to let him have a Set of his Books, I think, for *Lincoln* College, *Oxon.* Then he said, Brother, have I done you any Wrong, tell me; for if I have, I am ready and willing to make Compensation. Being answered, No: He put the same Question to Mr. *Lad* and me; for said he, "I am now going to offer my Gift "upon the Altar; therefore if my Brother hath ought against me, I must first be "reconciled to my Brother, and then go and offer my Gift, *&c.* After which he desired the Prayers, in the last Agonies, (out of his *Death made Comfortable*) which we read three times (I think) in less than half an Hour. All this being over, he desired to go into Bed, so I withdrew. This, Sir, is all I can call to mind, of that heavenly Discourse: And if my Sorrow had not been so deep for the Loss of one of the Faithfullest of God's Servants, and the Best of all my Friends, you might no doubt have had a much fuller Account from,

SIR,

Your most Humble and most Obedient Servant,

T. B.

For Mr. Nelson, *at his House at* Blackheath.

NUMB. XXIII.

Extract of a Letter to Dr. George Hickes *from Mr.* Nelson, *containing some Particulars relating to Mr.* Kettlewell's *Character and Manner.*

HIS *Justice* was very conspicuous to all those that had any Dealings with him: It was his Desire, as well as his constant Practice, to pay for every thing when he bought it. And in order to that Purpose, when he first was married, he kept a Sum of Money by him to enable him to do it. And all the Time he was in his Living, and even after his Deprivation, upon his Remove to *London*, he continued constant to that Method; except to the Brewer, who made it his Request not to be paid, till it came to such a Number of Barrels. He was always careful to pay any one he set to work, so soon as their Work was done, and never made any body come twice for their Money. Whenever he sold either Horses or Cows, he gave his Servant a strict Charge to tell the Buyer of all the Faults he knew they had.

His *Devotion* appeared in the constant Exercise of Religious Duties in private and in publick, and in a pious Frame of Mind, which was always ready to catch at any Opportunity that might instill Virtue into those he conversed with. "I was once "with him at the Baptizing of a Child, where I was Godfather. All his Discourse "was extremely instructive: Sometime he would stir the Woman, safely delivered, "up to Thankfulness for so great a Blessing: Sometimes he would explain the Bap-"tismal Vow, and then charge the Parents to do their Part towards making their "Children true Blessings, by giving them a sober and virtuous Education. So I suppose, upon the like Occasions, this might be his usual Practice.

His *Diligence* in the Works of the Sacred Function was very great; it took up his whole Time, and he debarred himself from making frequent Visits, and other inno-

cent Diverſions, becauſe they required that Time which he knew how to employ to better Purpoſes. Beſides his Preaching, he had conſtantly ſome pious Deſign in his Head for the Benefit of Mankind, which with his Parochial Duties filled up all his Time. At his firſt coming to *Coleſhill*, he made correct Diſcourſes; afterwards he gave himſelf a greater Liberty, formed his Method, and digeſted the Topicks upon which he deſigned to diſcourſe; but as for the Enlargements and Illuſtrations, he never writ them down, but truſted to the habitual Knowledge he had of thoſe Things for the Inſtruction of his Pariſhioners. And he found by Experience, that ſuch a Method did moſt good among the Country People, who muſt have a Thing told them more than once, to make them apprehend it. Upon his Deprivation, he did not excuſe himſelf from the Duties of his Function; for as he read the Prayers twice every Day, ſo beſides thoſe on *Sundays*, both Morning and Afternoon, he read ſome pious Diſcourſes: He went through with the *Homilies* firſt, and afterwards read ſeveral of his own Books, as *Chriſtian Prudence*, his Book about the *Holy Sacrament*, and his *Meaſures of Chriſtian Obedience*. And every Firſt *Sunday* in the Month, he adminiſtred the Holy Communion, and on the great Holy Days. Beſides, you know, Sir, what Controverſies he managed at the ſame time: And indeed in all theſe Things his Application was ſo fix'd, that I am apt to think he ſuffered by it in his Health: His Thoughts were always upon the Stretch; and I need not tell you, what Influence intenſe Thinking has upon ſome Conſtitutions. He was not inſenſible of it, but thought it a Happineſs to be ſpent in the Service of ſo good and bountiful a Maſter.

His Inclinations were towards Univerſal Knowledge; but he *denied* himſelf the Proſecution of ſeveral delightful Studies, that he might have more Leiſure for thoſe of his own Profeſſion. He loved Books, but contented himſelf with a few, rather than ſpend more than he could well afford, or make himſelf uncapable for the Exerciſe of Charity. He denied himſelf the Pleaſures of Converſation, for the Sake of his Theological Studies; and quitted, as you know very well, his Living, rather than act againſt his Conſcience.

His *diſcreet, inoffenſive Boldneſs and Freedom in correcting* ſhowed it ſelf, during his being Chaplain to the late Lord *Ruſſel*; for notwithſtanding ſome erroneous Opinions that Unfortunate Lord held, in reference to Reſiſtance upon account of Religion; yet he never omitted that Subject upon the 30th of *January*, 29th of *May*, and other ſuch Days, which ſeem to require Sermons of that Matter, and had very frequent Diſputes with that Lord upon ſuch Subjects, which tho' they did not convince him, yet they always left a Reſpect for Mr. *Kettlewell*'s Perſon, whoſe Honeſty and Ability my Lord very much admired; and ſent him his kind Remembrance from the Scaffold, Mr. *Kettlewell* being at that Time at ſome Diſtance in the Country. And Mr. *Kettlewell* often teſtified a great Reſpect for that Lord, and pitied his being under the Power of an erroneous Conſcience; and thought him free from thoſe Motives of Ambition and Covetouſneſs, which too often give Riſe to ſuch Proceedings. ——

NUMB. XXIV.

A Letter to Mr. Kettlewell's *Widow upon her Husband's Deceaſe, by Dr.* Hickes.

Good Madam, April 17. 1695.

IT hath been a great Trouble to me, that my Condition would not allow me to pay my Reſpects, as otherwiſe I would have done, in Viſits to Mr. *Kettlewell* while he was ſick, and in attending with my Brethren upon him at his Funeral, to ſee him laid in his Grave in the Church, where he and I ſo often ſerved God together. None of his Friends knew him longer and better than I did; and in the Two laſt Viſits I made him, he affectionately took notice of the long, and firm, and uninterrupted Friendſhip we had together: And as our long Acquaintance together made me thoroughly acquainted with his Learning and Virtues; ſo none can be more ſenſible of the great Loſs the Church hath ſuſtained in him, and eſpecially the Communion in which he died, and to which he was ſo great an Ornament, as well as a Defence. I pray God of his Mercy to raiſe up to his Church more ſuch Prieſts in his ſtead, and to multiply his Spirit of Wiſdom, Piety, Meekneſs, Charity, Zeal,

Zeal, and Induſtry upon all his Brethren he hath left behind him; and that we may *be all Followers of his Example, as he was of Chriſt's.*

As long as it ſhall pleaſe God that I ſurvive him, I ſhall preſerve a very honourable and affectionate Remembrance of him, and take all Occaſions to ſpeak of his Eminent Virtues: And tho' his own Works will abundantly praiſe him, and tranſmit his Memory to Poſterity; yet ſince I know as much, or, it may be, more of him than any other Man, I ſhould be glad, were I in a Condition to do it, to write *his Life*, with which I was ſo well acquainted; or to contribute *Materials* to the writing of it, if any other Perſon would undertake to compile it. I mention this, becauſe it would be much to God's Glory, the Honour of our Religion, and the Benefit of the World, to have ſo Exemplary a Life written; and if you pleaſe, you may tell my Opinion to any of his dear Friends, whom it might be fit to conſult in this Matter.

I do not condole your Private Loſs, becauſe it is involved in the Publick; nor need I ſay much to comfort you, becauſe it cannot but be an unſpeakable Conſolation to you to conſider, that He that was lately your Husband, is now one of the moſt Glorious Saints the Church of *England* ever ſent to the Heavenly Manſions of the Bleſſed Spirits reſerved for a Glorious Reſurrection. You have now nothing to do, but to dry up the Tears from your Eyes, to pay your conſtant Reſpects to his Memory, by maintaining your Character, as the Widow of ſuch a Venerable Man, in every Reſpect; more eſpecially by imitating his Virtues, holding his Principles of Truth and Righteouſneſs, which he adorned by his Practice all his Life long, even unto Death. I doubt not but you will have the Benefit of the Prayers he made for you in his Life; he commended you again and again to the Care and Protection of God: And that God, who is an Husband to all truly faithful Widows, may always have you in his particular keeping, is the hearty Prayer of,

Your moſt Faithful Friend,
and Humble Servant,

For *Mrs.* Kettlewell. GEO. HICKES.

NUMB. XXV.

Biſhop KENN's *Teſtimony concerning* Mr. Kettlewell, *in a Letter to* Mr. Nelſon, *upon the Occaſion of the Publication of his Sermons: With* Mr. Nelſon's *Character of him.*

SIR,

I Received the Book, which I imagin'd came from you; and for which I return you many Thanks; and ſince that, your obliging Letter came to my Hands. You have done an Honour to the Memory of our Dead Friend, which we all ought to acknowledge: And I am very glad that his Life is writing by another Hand, as you tell me. *He was certainly as Saint-like a Man, as ever I knew; and his Books are Demonſtrations of it, which are full of as Solid and Searching a Piety, as ever I read.* God was pleaſed to take him from the Evil to come, to his own infinite Advantage, but to *our great Loſs.* His Bleſſed Will be done. Since the Date of your Letter, a *New Scene* has been opened: And if the Act paſſes, which is now on the Anvil, I preſume the Priſons will be filled with the Malecontents; and your Friend, though Innocent and Inoffenſive, yet apprehends he may ſhare in the Calamity: and foreſeeing it, it will be no Surprize to him. In reſpect of that Sort of Men, I have been always of the Mind of the Prophet, that their *Strength was to ſit ſtill:* And ſo it will be found at the long Run. And 'tis the Wiſeſt and moſt Dutiful Way, *to follow, rather than to anticipate Providence,* &c. I commend you all to God's moſt gracious Protection.

Good SIR,

March 2. 169⅞. *Your very Affectionate Servant.*

SUPERSCRIBED,
For his Worthy Friend Mr. Nelſon,
at his Houſe on Black-Heath.

And Indorſed by Mr. *Nelſon,*
Biſhop Kenn's *Teſtimony about Mr.* Kettlewell.

NUMB.

NUMB. XXVI.

Extract of ſome Letters from a Reverend and Pious Clergyman, an Intimate of Mr. Kettlewell, *concerning his General Character, and ſome Remarkables concerning him, written not long after his Deceaſe to* Robert Nelſon *Eſq;*.

SIR,

I Am very glad you have enter'd upon ſo good a Deſign, as writing the Life of my Dear Friend Mr. *KETTLEWELL*, whoſe Memory, though his own Works will not ſuffer it to die, will however be the more revived by yours: And your Name too, like that of the Statuaries, will laſt as long as the Monument you erect for another. But Fame, I perceive, is not the Thing you propoſe to your ſelf, but the Benefit of others, and a generous Deſign of obliging the Publick with an Example of a good Life, which is uſually of more Force than Precepts. And I pray God we may all endeavour to imitate it. —— In the Year 1682, he was promoted to the Vicarage of *Coleſhill* in *Warwickſhire*, which being freely offered to him by one that was a Stranger to his Perſon, (tho' not to his Character) without any ſeeking after it; he looked upon it as a Call, and ſo (tho' he deſerved a bettter, yet) did not ſtand much to deliberate whether he ſhould accept of it, or not; and ſo at the ſame time ſhewed both a Religious and Humble Mind, the one by following Providence, and the other by denying himſelf. Tho' indeed afterwards the ſame good Providence, with which he was always willing to comply, doubled his Preferment upon him, his good Lord and Patron giving him the Parſonage alſo. Which I mention to you, not by way of Information, but as a particular Providence that attended him in enjoying that, when he could no longer hold his Vicarage by not taking the Oaths; which he did not raſhly refuſe, but ſtudied the Point; and to my Knowledge made a Journey on purpoſe to *London* (calling at *Oxford* by the way) in Order to his Satisfaction. He was alſo a very Communicative Perſon: He did not hoard up Learning for himſelf, but was willing alſo to impart any of it to his Friends; and that not out of Oſtentation to ſet out himſelf, but purely for the Benefit of others: He did not light his Candle, and put it under a Buſhel, but on a Candleſtick, that it might give Light to all that were in the Houſe.

He was moreover remarkable for his good Temper and Diſpoſition, which expreſſed it ſelf not only in Courteouſneſs and Affability, which to him was natural, but alſo in doing of good Offices; and ſo gave Proof of his Kindneſs by a Demonſtration of it. Nay, ſuch was his Readineſs to do good, that when any one almoſt had a Suit to him, (when there was no Concern for Deſert; for that with him always took place) he commonly (like the Emperor *Titus*) doubled the Favour by his Forwardneſs in granting it: And when he had ſo done, he uſed to lay no Streſs upon it afterwards, to draw on an Obligation; contrary to many others in the World, who love either to magnify their Favours, and ſo in Effect leſſen them, or elſe by their Backwardneſs of Conſent render them extorted. But give me the Kindneſs, and the Honey (ſweet alike) that comes without preſſing. He was moreover a very temperate Perſon, ſo far from being guilty at any time of Exceſs, that he did not ſo much as mind the indulging of his Appetite, or gratifying his Palate: And that not for want of Taſte, but out of Self-denial, according to that of the Poet,

Eſt Virtus placitis, &c.

Yet that he might not ſeem to affect Singularity, his Rule, to my Knowledge, was that of St. *Paul* (in the Letter, tho' not in the Senſe) namely, to partake of whatſoever was ſet before him, without any Obſervation, except that of Moderation and Thankfulneſs: So that whatſoever he ate or drank, or whatſoever he did elſe, he might be ſaid to *do all to the Glory of God.*

I ſhall conſider Mr. *Kettlewell* next in his Writings, in his Sermons, and in his Prayers. And firſt in his *Writings*, which I ſhall not go about to give any particular Account of, but only ſuggeſt to you, that in all of them he had an Eye to the Practical Part, as well as to the Inſtructive; knowing that as without Underſtanding,

ſo alſo without doing his Duty, a Man is certainly defective, either blind or lame: For this I ſhall only give the Inſtance of his *Practical Believer*. Another thing I would hint to you, to wit, That in all his Diſcourſes he had regard not only to the Learned, but alſo to the meaner Capacity, for which he thought nothing could be too plain; which is the Reaſon, to my Knowledge, why ſome things which might have been expreſſed ſhorter, are at large; and others, which might have been omitted, are repeated. Secondly, I ſhall conſider him next in his *Preaching*, which was always upon Uſeful Texts; for his Aim was not to ſpeak to the Heads and Ears, but moreover to the Hearts of his Auditors; which he alſo the rather did by his affectionate Way of Delivery, and ſo as it were by one Fire kindling another. He had indeed no good Voice; yet he knew how to make the beſt of it, and to give every Word its due Weight. He was not for any Harangues, but very much for Method in his Sermons; which made them both the more taking, every Head being as it were a freſh Subject; and alſo the more uſeful, as being the more eaſily remembred. And indeed *Method* is a wonderful Help to Memory; and ſo much the greater, and therefore the better, the more Eaſy and Natural it is. And this I the rather mention, becauſe tho' at his own Cure he uſed to enlarge *extempore*, yet he ſtudied the Heads of his Sermons, and took Notes of them; and indeed, as to himſelf, there was no need of doing more, he having beſides a Quickneſs of Invention, a Volubility of Tongue, and a Supply of Confidence, a great Preſence of Mind, which are all neceſſary to preaching unwritten. He had moreover another Help always at Command, to wit, his *Firſt Book*, which being as it were a *Body of Divinity*, (and he abſolute Maſter thereof) has, as he has told me, upon Occaſion been very ſerviceable to him. As to his Diligence in Preaching, I refer you to Mrs. *Kettlewell*, which if I miſtake not, was commonly, if not conſtantly, Twice a Day; which I look upon as very convenient in great Towns, to keep the Flock from ſtraggling abroad, or from falling into the Hands of other Shepherds that come not in at the right Door. He was indeed a true Shepherd, according to our Saviour's own Character of ſuch an one, *John* 10. 4. in *going before* his Sheep: He went before them in a good Life; and ſo taught them by Example, as well as Inſtruction. He took care (with St. *Paul*, 2 *Cor.* 6.) of giving no Offence, that the Miniſtry might not be blamed, *but in all things approving* himſelf *as the Miniſter of God, in much Patience —— in Labours, in Watchings, in Faſtings, by Pureneſs, by Knowledge, by Long-ſuffering, by Kindneſs, by Love unfeigned, by the Word of Truth, by the Power of God, by the Armour of Righteouſneſs on the right hand and on the left.*

He was very *devout* both in hearing and reading the *Publick Offices* of the Church, for which he always had a great Reverence and Reſpect. And as for his own *Prayers*, they were ſo contrived, as not to be Petitions and Thankſgivings only, but alſo Inſtructions unto Duty, that his Hearers might know both what to aſk, and what to endeavour after, upon their Requeſts: Which Things, if rightly obſerved according to the true Nature and End of Prayer, (as it is excellently well ſtated in a Diſcourſe of his upon the ſame Subject) People need not quarrel about a *Set Form*, and a *Changeable Prayer*, if on either ſide it be diſpoſed and digeſted as it ought to be, as to the Matter and Manner of it.

Sir, It may not be amiſs to intimate to you, that Mr. *Kettlewell* was ſometime Chaplain to the Counteſs Dowager of *Bedford*, not Domeſtick, but a Preacher to the Family on the Lord's Day: But as to what he did, and what attended him remarkably in that Station, (in which, I think, he continued not long) I am ſomething a Stranger: It was from thence, if I miſtake not, (tho' it is ſo long ſince, I have almoſt forgot) that he was called to *Coleſhill*.

He was a Perſon of that Affability and Gravity, ſo ſweetly intermix'd, that even by the looſer Sort he was both beloved and reverenced, as *Herod* feared *John the Baptiſt, knowing that he was a juſt Man, and a holy; and obſerved him, and when he heard, he did many things, and heard him gladly.*

He was mightily for appeaſing Quarrels, reconciling Differences, and rectifying Miſunderſtandings, and ſo of Enemies making Friends, and among Friends a greater Intimacy: Neither was it only his Deſire and Endeavour ſo to do, but he had alſo a particular Talent that way, and ſo ſeldom failing of Succeſs, was bleſſed in his Deed; which puts me in mind of a Paſſage in *Virgil, Æneid. Lib.* 1.

Ac veluti magno in populo, cum ſæpe coorta eſt
Seditio, ſævitq; animis ignobile vulgus
Tum pietate gravem ac meritis ſi forte virum quem

Con-

Conſpexere, ſilent, arrectiſq; auribus aſtant:
Ille regit dictis animos, & pectora mulcet:
Sic ——— ——— ———

Of his Modeſty. For which, beſides my own particular Knowledge of it, I might refer to what Dr. *Kennet* ſays of him in his Book of Impropriations and Augmentation of Vicarages,—— " So far was the then Vicar Mr. *Kettlewell* from being the " Means of Impoſing ſuch Thoughts on his Lordſhip, (the late Lord *Simon Digby)* of " his giving back to the Church of *Coleſhill* all the Impropriate Tythes of that Pa- " riſh, that though in every thing relating to the Church and his own Function, he " was a Perſon of an upright and zealous Spirit, and one whom my Lord conſulted " in other Caſes; yet through his Modeſty, which in a Matter ſo nearly concerned " his own preſent Intereſt, he would never be induced to enter into a Diſcourſe " about it. Of which reſerved Modeſty his Lordſhip did often take particular Notice to ſome of his neareſt Relations. Tho' for my part, I think in that reſpect he was over modeſt: For tho' he might have wav'd a Diſcourſe concerning his own Intereſt, yet he ſhould not have over-looked that of the Church, which were conſtitute together. I pray God preſerve your Life and Health, that you may be able to finiſh more good Undertakings, (as you have done ſome of late) for the further Benefit of the Publick; and remain, with very great Reſpect,

Shabington,
Aug. 2, *&c.* 1698.

Your Humble Servant.

F I N I S.

BOSTON
ATHENÆUM